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INDIANA AND INDIANANS

A HISTORY OF ABORIGINAL AND TERRITORIAL
INDIANA AND THE CENTURY OF
STATEHOOD

JACOB PIATT DUNN
AUTHOR AND EDITOR

VOLUME II

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
CHICAGO AND NEW YORK
1919

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Indiana and Indianans

CHAPTER XI

THE CIVIL WAR

It is probable that the United States never passed a more miserable five months than that from the November election, 1860, to April 12, 1861, or rather the Northern States. The Southern States were generally bent on secession. They thought they knew where they were going, and they were "on their way." They were at least free from the depressing uncertainty that hung like a pall over the North. The period was peculiarly trying to newspaper editors. Nobody knew what was going to happen; but most men were not obliged to talk. The editor of a daily paper not only had to talk, but he was expected to lead public opinion, and above all things, to avoid getting his political party into trouble. Any statement would be promptly snatched up by the opposition as an expression of party sentiment, although it may have been in fact a mere personal idea, and the editor may have been quite as willing to have said just the opposite if he had thought it would be popular. From the standpoint of future years, the Indianapolis Journal, the Republican organ of Indiana, started wrong in the Civil War. A quarter of a century later, its editor, Berry Sulgrove, wrote: "From the secession of South Carolina to the attack on Fort Sumter, opinion was divided in Indiana on the measures to be taken with the seceded states. The more demonstrative and probably stronger division, led by Governor Morton, held it to be the duty of the government to reduce the disobedient states by force, proceeding by aggressive warfare, invasion, and destruction of life and property, as in the case of any other public enemy. The other division, represented by John R. Cravens, David C. Branham, and the Journal, under the direction of B. R. Sulgrove, thought that an aggressive war on the part of the government, which would make it strike the first blow and shed the first blood, while the South acted only by ordinances and resolutions, would force all the border states into the Confederacy, repel the sympathy of

Europe, and probably induce alliances there, consolidate Democratic sympathy in the North with secession, and present a front of hostility against which the government might be broken hopelessly. Considering the condition of Indiana after the elections of 1862,—and Indiana was no worse than other states—and the course of the Legislature of 1863, and the active sympathy with the rebellion that made draft riots all over the country, with numerous murders of draft officers, and considering further, our narrow escape from an English war in the Trent case, it is now far from clear that the aggressive policy would have been wise or successful. But all differences were blown to pieces by the first gun fired at Major Anderson's little garrison. Those who differed about aggression could have no difference about resisting aggression."[1]

This statesmanlike view of the situation is hardly borne out by the record. On election day, November 6, 1860, the Journal scoffed at Southern threats of secession as campaign buncombe. On November 10, after South Carolina had begun active and open preparations for secession, the Journal said: "South Carolina and Georgia seem to be the most active in the folly, but probably Alabama and Mississippi will join them. If they do, we say 'Amen'. * * * When they have suffered the benefits of disunion about a year they will be glad to get back on any terms. We are sick of this insanity, and believe its only cure is to let it run its course. Let the two or three or four states which are bent on disunion go out, and go to ruin. They solicit their peril, and we are willing they should experience its virtues. Nobody need care a straw for such folly. It will never amount to more than words, and if it does it can only damage those who are engaged in it. The Union is too strong, and too good to suffer from the madness of such men." On November 13, it said: "The parade of military organization and forcible resistance which they are making is the acme of absurdity. * * * They know very well that if they are determined to leave the Union no Republican will care to have them stay. A Union preserved only by intimidation and force is a mockery, and it is better broken than whole. If South Carolina and her associates in folly really want to leave the Union they can go without a word of objection from any man North of Mason and Dixon's line." On November 15, it said: "Coercion we regard as out of the question in any case. And South Carolina is not going to use her troops to assault the United States forces unless they come with coercion in view. We have no fears of a bloody collision therefore." On November 19, it said: "In the present case it seems clear to us that if the enforcement of the Constitution leads to civil war, we shall be better off to let the Constitution

[1] History of Indianapolis, p. 305.

be broken and save bloodshed. * * * We can imagine no evil equal to an American civil war. The separation of the whole confederacy into independent nations would be harmless beside it. We cannot endure the thought of it. The main question therefore is not the constitutionality of secession, but the blood and horror of coercion, * * * Of what value will a Union be that needs links of bayonets and bullets to hold it together? * * * If any state will go from us, let it go. * * * Of course peaceable secession implies the adjustment of some very complicated and delicate questions of debt, common property and future intercourse, but it is better to settle them by a commission than by a campaign."

This last editorial called forth a strong protest from Abel D. Streight, which is notable as the first clear pronouncement in favor of forcible resistance to secession in a State, the vast majority of whose people were devoted to the Union. Streight's letter, published in the Journal of November 21, closed with these words: "Is war so dreadful or peace so desirable that we should consent to the overthrow of the Constitution prepared by the fathers of our country as a sacred guarantee for our liberties and the basis of our unexampled prosperity? May it never be said that we are the degenerate sons of a brave and noble ancestry, who are too timorous to preserve the liberties so gallantly won by the immortal heroes of the Revolution." Streight was a notable character. His father, a native of Vermont, moved to Steuben County, New York, and settled on a farm, where Abel D. was born June 17, 1828. At the age of seventeen, having passed his boyhood on the farm, with ordinary common school advantages, he "purchased his time" of his father, until twenty-one, at sixty dollars a year, and started out for himself. He learned the carpenter's trade, and at nineteen took a contract for a large mill, which he successfully completed. He purchased a saw-mill, and engaged in the lumber business at Wheeler, N. Y., until 1858, when he removed to Cincinnati. The following year he removed to Indianapolis, and engaged in publishing. Not satisfied with newspaper articles, he published a pamphlet on the duty of the hour, urging the preservation of the Union at all hazards, and reproducing articles from The Federalist, President Jackson's secession message, and other standard expressions of American statesmen on the same patriotic lines. In September, 1861, he joined the army, as Colonel of the Fifty-First Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and went to the front, seeing actual service first at the siege of Corinth. In April, 1863, Streight was sent by Rosecrans, with a force of 1,800 men, to cut the railroads in western Georgia, over which supplies were sent to Bragg's army. The force divided, and Streight, with about two-thirds of it, was surrounded on May 3 by a large force under General Forrest,

and forced to surrender. The prisoners were taken to Libby prison, where in a few weeks the enlisted men were exchanged, but the officers were held, under various pretexts. After eight months imprisonment Streight escaped, but was recaptured, put in irons, and confined in a dungeon for twenty-one days. On February 9, 1864, he escaped with 108 others, through a tunnel under the prison wall. The

Col. Abel D. Streight

tunnel was sixty feet long, and they were three weeks digging it. After hiding in Richmond for eight days, Streight made his way north and reached Washington on March 1. He stopped for a few weeks at Indianapolis, during which he got out a new edition of his war pamphlet, with additions concerning the draft law; after which he went to the front again to remain till the close of the war, when he was mustered out a brevet brigadier-general.

Another forcible expression quickly followed. The "Rail Maulers" had arranged for a Republican jollification on November 22, and Lane

and Morton spoke. Lane followed the general and popular line of conciliation, referring especially to the friendly relations that had always existed between Indiana and Kentucky. Morton ignored conciliation, and turned his guns on the Journal's position against coercion. He said: "We hear much said against the policy of coercing South Carolina in case she attempts to secede. What is coercion but the enforcement of the law? Is anything else intended or required? Secession or nullification can only be regarded by the general government as individual action upon individual responsibility. Those concerned in it can not entrench themselves behind the forms of the state government so as to give their conduct the semblance of legality, and thus devolve the responsibility upon the state government, which of itself is irresponsible. The constitution and laws of the United States operate upon individuals, but not upon states, and precisely as if there were no states. In this matter the President has no discretion. He has taken a solemn oath to enforce the laws and preserve order, and to this end he has been made commander-in-chief of the army and navy. * * * There is but one way in which the President can be absolved from his duty to enforce the laws in South Carolina, and that is by our acknowledgment of her independence. * * * If Congress possesses the power to acknowledge the independence of a state, and thus to place it without the pale of the Union, that power must result from an inexorable necessity produced by a successful revolution. While a state is in the Union, there is no power under the constitution permitting the general and state governments to enter into negotiations with each other. No government possesses the constitutional power to dismember itself. If the right does exist in this government to acknowledge the independence of South Carolina, or of any other state, that right can only be exercised by an act of Congress. The President, of himself, does not possess it, and consequently, until released from his duty by such acknowledgment, he must exert his power to enforce the laws. * * *

"The right of secession conceded, the nation is dissolved. Instead of having a nation—one mighty people—we have but a collection and combination of thirty-three independent and petty states, held together by a treaty which has hitherto been called a constitution, of the infraction of which constitution each state is to be the judge, and from which combination any state may withdraw at pleasure. It would not be twelve months until a project for a Pacific empire would be set on foot. California and Oregon, being each sovereign and independent, would have a right to withdraw from their present partnership and form a new one, or form two separate nations. * * * We should then have before us the prospect presented by the history of the petty

states of Greece and Italy and the principalities of Germany. Need I stop to argue the political, intellectual, social and commercial death involved in this wreck and ruin? We must then cling to the idea that we are a nation, one and indivisible, and that, although subdivided by state lines, for local and domestic purposes, we are one people, the citizens of a common country, having like institutions and manners, and possessing a common interest in that inheritance of glory so richly provided by our fathers. We must, therefore, do no act, we must tolerate no act, we must concede no idea or theory that looks to or involves the dismemberment of the nation. And especially must we of the inland states cling to the national idea. If South Carolina may secede peaceably, so may New York, Massachusetts, Maryland and Louisiana, cutting off our commerce and destroying our right of way to the ocean. We should thus be shut up in the interior of a continent, surrounded by independent, perhaps hostile nations, through whose territories we could obtain egress to the seaboard only upon such terms as might be agreed to by treaty. * * * But we are told that if we use force to compel submission to the laws in South Carolina, this act will so exasperate the other slave states as to lead them to make common cause with her; I am not willing to believe that treason is so widely spread, and that sympathy with South Carolina will be stronger than devotion to the Union. * * * But if they intend to secede we can not know the fact too soon, that we may prepare for the worst. I am not willing to believe that the bad example of South Carolina will be followed by any other states—certainly not by more than one or two. If South Carolina gets out of the Union, I trust it will be at the point of the bayonet, after our best efforts have failed to compel her submission to the laws. Better concede her independence to force, to revolution, than to right and principle. Such a concession can not be drawn into precedent and construed into an admission that we are but a combination of petty states, any one of which has a right to secede and set up for herself, whenever it suits her temper, or her views of her peculiar interest. * * *

"Shall we now surrender the nation without a struggle and let the Union go with merely a few hard words? Shall we encourage faint-hearted traitors to pursue their treason, by advising them in advance that it will be safe and successful? If it was worth a bloody struggle to establish this nation, it is worth one to preserve it; and I trust that we shall not, by surrendering with indecent haste, publish to the world that the inheritance which our fathers purchased with their blood, we have given up to save ours. Seven years is but a day in the life of a nation, and I would rather come out of a struggle at the end

of that time, defeated in arms and conceding independence to successful revolution, than purchase present peace by the concession of a principle that must inevitably explode this nation into small and dishonored fragments. * * * I will not stop to argue the right of secession. The whole question is summed up in this proposition: 'Are we one nation, one people, or thirty-three nations, thirty-three independdent and petty states?' The statement of the proposition furnishes the answer. If we are one nation, then no state has a right to secede. Secession can only be the result of successful revolution. I answer the question for you—and I know that my answer will find a response in every true American heart—that we are one people, one nation, undivided and indivisible." The Journal did not print a report of this meeting on the following day. The "local editor" said that he did not attend the meeting. It was not until the 27th that Morton's speech appeared in the columns of the Republican organ; and it was offset to some extent by a long argument from Robert Dale Owen against coercion published on the 28th. Streight answered Owen in a long article in the Sentinel.

At the close of Morton's speech a paper was handed to him from which he read as follows: "This is understood to be meeting of rejoicing over the election of Abraham Lincoln. Will the speaker please state to his audience: '1. Whether or not he and his party rejoice over the universal bankruptcy and ruin now about to fall upon our country, as a consequence of that election? 2. Whether they rejoice that the free laborers, about which they have told us so much, are on the eve of being turned out and starved as a consequence of that election? 3. Whether they rejoice at the prospect of fraternal strife and internecine war, which now presents itself in the immediate future as a consequence of that election? 4. Whether they rejoice in the humiliation of being compelled, by the exigencies of the times, to accept the very principle announced and maintained by Stephen A. Douglas (whom they have denounced and vilified for his steadfast advocacy of it) as the only basis of Union and peace hereafter; or, on the other hand, whether they rejoice in the certainty that the honest adherence to their own principles and doctrines will insure the speedy destruction of their country, and demonstrate the failure of republican governments to the world?" Morton said that has he recognized the signer of the paper as a gentleman, though a Democrat, he would take pleasure in answering. He answered on political lines, as was fully justified, that he and his party were not rejoicing at any public calamity, present or to come, but that any such calamity was due to the Democratic party refusing to submit to the result of a legal and

fair election. He "called for a division" of the fourth question, which he truly characterized as "quite lengthy, and has a very considerable stump speech injected into the body of it," and said: "To the first branch of the question, I answer that we have not 'vilified' Stephen A. Douglas for his 'steadfast advocacy' of a principle or for any other cause. He has been upon all sides of the vexed question. Within the last twelve months he has undergone more changes than the moon. He has advocated nothing steadfastly but Stephen A. Douglas. To the last branch of the question, I answer that we do not rejoice in the certainty that an honest adherence to our principles 'will insure the speedy destruction of our country and demonstrate the failure of republican government to the world.' On the contrary, we believe that our principles are those of the constitution of the fathers, and that peace can only be restored and the safety of our institutions secured by bringing the government to that ancient, just and liberal policy upon which it was founded and administered for many years."

Morton's fling at Douglas was justifiable only from the purely political standpoint, as it was both illogical and impolitic. During the campaign just closed Douglas had sturdily preached the very doctrine that Morton had just been preaching; and historians accord him a large part in the salvation of the Union. Judge Howe, a Republican and an old soldier—old soldiers are usually far more just than civilians in their discussions of the Civil war—says of Douglas, in the campaign of 1860: "He entered upon a speaking campaign, making speeches in many places in the South as well as in the North. To a question put to him at Norfolk, Virginia, whether the Southern States would be 'justified in seceding from the Union if Abraham Lincoln was elected President', Douglas, promptly and without any attempt at evasion, replied: 'It is the duty of the President and of others in authority under him to enforce the laws of the United States as Congress passes and the courts expound them; and I, as in duty bound by my oath of fidelity to the Constitution, will exert all my power to aid the government of the United States in maintaining the supremacy of the laws against all resistance from any quarter whatever.' At Petersburg, Virginia, he said there was 'no grievance that can justify disunion.' Goaded by the bitter opposition of both the Buchanan Administration and the Southern Democratic leaders, Douglas's courage and patriotism both seemed to rise to the occasion. At Raleigh, North Carolina, he said that 'there is one thing remaining to be done, in order to prove us capable of meeting any emergency; and whenever the time comes I trust the Government will show itself strong enough to perform that final deed—hang a traitor.' To Douglas's great credit, it is to be said that through-

out the campaign he never abated one iota of his unflinching patriotism in order to court favor in the South." After noting the votes of the September and October states for Lincoln, Judge Howe continues: "It was now plain to Douglas, as to all others, that he could not be elected, but he did not despair. 'Mr. Lincoln,' he said, 'is the next President. We must try to save the Union. I will go South.' He at once cancelled all his speaking engagements in the North and made a tour through the South, making an heroic but hopeless effort to stem the rising tide of secession. * * * And when the crisis came with the firing on Fort Sumter, his attitude was that of unswerving and uncompromising loyalty to the Union. He will be remembered in future history, not for his record as a politician, but for his services as a patriot." [2]

Naturally, the example of Judge Douglas had great influence with his political adherents, and they included nearly half of the voters of Indiana. There is a striking illustration of this influence in this connection. While Morton was answering the questions just quoted, he was interrupted by Richard J. Ryan, an impulsive young war Democrat, who asked "whether those questions were really prepared by a Democrat?" Gordon Tanner then arose and stated that he was the author of the the questions. Tanner was a Democrat of some prominence. He was born near Brownstown, Jackson County, Indiana, July 19, 1829. He was of Revolutionary stock, and his father was a militia colonel for fifteen years. Not strong physically, Gordon became a great reader, and at thirteen began preparation to enter college, but the death of his father in 1845 stopped this for the time. He enlisted for the Mexican War, but contracted yellow fever at New Orleans, and after three months confinement returned home, and served as recruiting officer of the Third Indiana during the remainder of the war. He attended Bloomington University in 1848 and 1849, and began the study of law. In 1850 he published the Brownstown Observer, but disposed of it to join Walker's Cuban expedition. Fortunately he reached New Orleans after the ill-fated expedition had started, and returned home and resumed the study of law. In 1850-51 he was Assistant Secretary of the Constitutional Convention; and in 1854 was elected State Librarian, aiding in editing the Democratic Review while in that position. In 1856 he edited the Democratic Platform, a campaign paper and in the same year was elected Reporter of the Supreme Court. His biographer says: "He was an enthusiastic admirer and devoted friend of Stephen A. Douglas, and followed the political fortunes of that great statesman and political leader with unswerving fidelity. * * * The great speeches

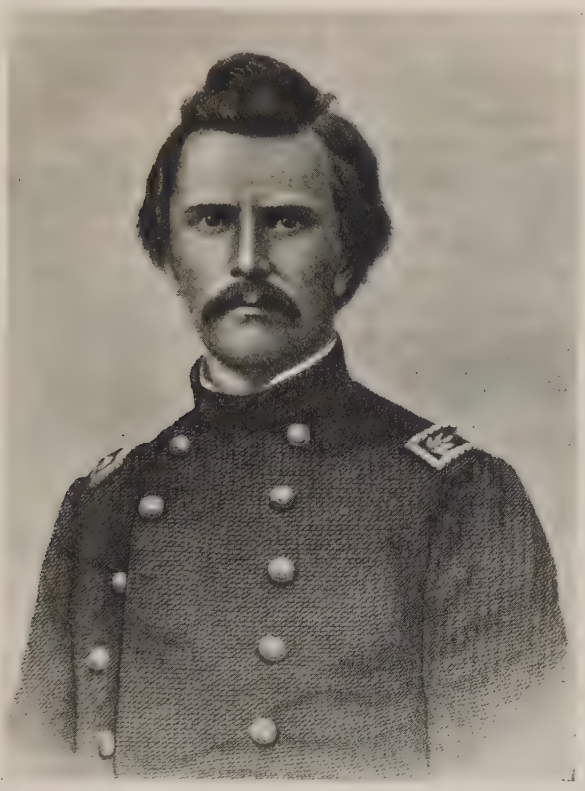
[2] Political History of Secession, pp. 444-447.

of Mr. Douglas, just before and after the inauguration of President Lincoln, expressed the sentiments which Major Tanner thought should be entertained by every patriotic citizen." His question to Morton did not come from any sympathy with secession. Two months later he responded to a toast to Indiana at a re-union, at Cincinnati, of the legislatures of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio and Indiana, and said: "On behalf of the citizens of Indiana, from the lake to the Ohio, from the Miami to the Wabash—on behalf of the whole people of our state, the humblest of her citizens may express gratitude to the Divine Providence which has brought together, in peace and harmony, the contending brethren of sister republics. Indiana responds, throughout all her borders, to each and every expression of patriotism and devotion to the Union which has been uttered by the eloquent and honored representatives of her elder and greater sisters. Thank God! Indiana needs no panegyric. Not one word need be said of her devotion to the union of these States. Her past history speaks for her. There is not this day one disunionist, one secessionist, within her boundaries. There is not a battalion of drilled soldiery in the northwest that could prevent the conservative masses of Indiana from hanging a professed disunionist on the nearest tree. She has been in some sort a silent member. She has been the Cinderella of a more brilliant and favored sisterhood. What influences have brought a great and powerful State to this position, I do not now propose to point out. But from this time forth she intends that her voice shall be heard and her power felt in determining the destinies of this republic. The time for action has come. We have among us those who can move the people by their eloquence. We have among us those who have fought more wordy battles for the Union, against more fearful odds, than have been fought by the citizens of any State in the Confederacy. But we are tired of talking about disunion. We are ready for the 'overt act.' We are ready to pledge our wealth, our intellect, our muscle, and honor to the people of the Mississippi Valley to 'crush out treason wherever it may raise its head'." [3]

This is a broad statement, but it was no "bluff" so far as Tanner was concerned. He went into the army as Major of the Twenty-Second Regiment, which was sent to Missouri. On September 18, 1861, he was sent with three companies on a reconnoissance near Glasgow, in that state; and in the night was fired on by Union pickets, who thought it a hostile party. The fire was returned, and in the engagement thirteen men were killed, and Tanner was severely wounded. He died eleven days later from his wounds. He was buried at Indianapolis on October

[3] Indiana's Roll of Honor, Vol. 1, pp. 499-506.

4, with all the honors of war. It does not seem strange that a Jackson Democrat should readily see his place on the Union side, for Morton's speech, and those of Douglas, were exactly on the line of Jackson's celebrated nullification message; but that was twenty-eight years earlier, and for a generation the attention of Americans has been centered on the somewhat abstract question of the constitutional rights of



MAJ. GORDON TANNER

slave-owners in the territories, and nine-tenths of them had been denouncing the disturbing agitation of abolition. Even Lew Wallace, an original Whig, found the problem a hard one. He portrays his mental struggle at length, and concludes: "I grouped all the interests together—Freedom, Slavery, Individual Rights, Popular Government —and tried to weigh them dispassionately. There was immense worry to me while the subject was in the scales but at last it became sunlight clear that the one thing upon which all the rest depended, was the union

of the states. * * * I resolved to hold myself in readiness to go with the side proposing to uphold the integrity of the Union—this without regard for section or party."[4] It was a time of mental readjustment all over the country, but the people of the North were spared one hard choice—that between loyalty to the Union and loyalty to the State. In the election of 1860 the Bell Union party came as near dividing the South with Breckenridge as Douglas divided the North with Lincoln; but when secession came, thousands of these Union men went with their states. On the other hand, many of the original Abolitionists did not want any "Union with slaveholders," and had no use for the "Constitution as it is"—in fact the Garrison following had publicly burned that "covenant with death and an agreement with Hell" on July 4, 1854, and took no interest in the suppression of the Rebellion until after the Emancipation Proclamation.[5] Sulgrove had a strenuous time getting the Journal into a consistent position. He held to his position against coercion for two months, and urged conciliation even to the extent of declaring his willingness to allow slave owners to bring their slaves temporarily into free territory;[6] but in January, 1861, he reconciled himself and his paper on the theory that while he was in favor of letting South Carolina secede if she desired to do so, yet if she opposed the enforcement of United States laws within her borders, that would constitute aggression which must be resisted; and thereafter he vehemently denounced as traitors all those who adhered to his original position.[7] However, on February 5, he published with approval a letter of W. S. Holman, Democratic Congressman from Indiana, declaring himself in favor of conciliation, "But if the Union cannot be preserved by such sacrifices I am unwilling at any time or under any circumstances whatever that this Union shall be dissolved. I hope Indiana will be willing to make any reasonable concession, but at every peril to her sons I trust she will never by her acts or by her silence consent to the dissolution of the Union."

Morton was opposed to any conciliation. He appointed as delegates to the Virginia Peace Congress Caleb B. Smith, Pleasant A. Hackleman, Godlove S. Orth, Thomas C. Slaughter, and Erastus W. H. Ellis, all well known Republicans, but Foulke says that before appointing them he submitted to each four written questions: "1. Would you favor any proposition of compromise that involves an amendment of the constitution of the United States? 2. Would you be in favor of

[4] Autobiography, pp. 236-243.

[5] Howe's Political History of Secession, pp. 77-83; Julian's Speeches, pp. 184, 205.

[6] Journal, December 1, 7, 22, 1860.

[7] Journal, Jan. 1, 7, 1861.

any proposition by which slavery should be recognized as existing in any of the territories of the United States, present or to be acquired? 3. Would you favor granting to slavery any additional guarantees? 4. Are you in favor of maintaining the constitution of the United States as it is, and of enforcing the laws?" To these questions the appointees answered the first three in the negative and the last in the affirmative.[8] Foulke says: "The commissioners from Indiana did not carry out in full the views they had expressed in their letters to Morton. But nothing came of the proposed amendments (to the constitution), so it was not necessary for him to disclose the change of front on the

Old Bates House Where Lincoln Spoke

part of the men he had chosen." This action was characteristic of Morton. On February 11, Lincoln arrived at Indianapolis, on his way to his inauguration and spoke briefly to an enthusiastic welcoming throng from one of the balconies of the Bates House. Foulke says: "Lincoln had not spoken at this time of his policy or intentions, and Governor Morton desired, if possible, to draw out some expression of the views of the President-elect. So he delivered a brief speech of welcome, in which he referred to the Union as 'the ideal of our hopes, the parent of our prosperity, our shield and protection abroad, and our title to the respect and consideration of the world.' He then continued: 'You are about to enter upon your official duties under circumstances at once novel and full of difficulty, and it will be the duty of all good citizens, without distinction of party, to yield a cordial

[8] Life of Morton, p. 105.

and earnest support to every measure of your administration calculated to maintain the Union, promote the national prosperity and restore peace to our distracted and unhappy country. Our government * * * is today threatening to crumble into ruins, and it remains to be seen whether it possesses a living principle, or whether, in the fullness of time, the hour of its dissolution is at hand. But we are full of confidence that the end is not yet, that the precious inheritance of our fathers will not elude our grasp or be wrested from us without a struggle. * * * ''

But Lincoln was too wise to be caught in that way. He knew that the time for him to talk had not arrived. For weeks he had resolutely kept silent while everybody else was talking, while newspapers were asking why he did not announce what he was going to do, and while zealous citizens were calling at his home and trying to get him to commit himself. In response to Morton, after returning thanks for his reception, he said: ''You have been pleased to address yourself to me chiefly in behalf of this glorious Union in which we live, in all of which you have my hearty sympathy, and, as far as may be in my power, will have, one and inseparably, my hearty consideration. I will only say that to the salvation of this Union there needs but one single thing, the hearts of a people like yours. Of the people, when they rise in mass in behalf of the Union and the liberties of their country, truly may it be said, 'the gates of hell can not prevail against them.' In all the trying positions in which I shall be placed, and, doubtless, I shall be placed in many such, my reliance will be upon you, the people of the United States, and I wish you to remember, now and forever, that it is your business, and not mine; that if the union of these states and the liberties of this people shall be lost, it is but little to any one man of fifty-two years of age, but a great deal to the 30,000,000 of people who inhabit these United States, and to their posterity in all coming time. It is your business to rise up and preserve the Union and liberty for yourselves and not for me. I am but an accidental instrument, to serve but for a limited time, and I appeal to you again to bear constantly in mind that with you, and not with politicians, not with Presidents, not with office-seekers, but with you is the question, 'Shall the Union, shall the liberties of this country be preserved to the latest generation?' ''[9] He expressed his own desire, but he knew he was talking to the entire nation, and not merely an Indianapolis audience; and closed no door through which salvation could possibly enter.

The legislature which met in January, 1861, had a Republican ma-

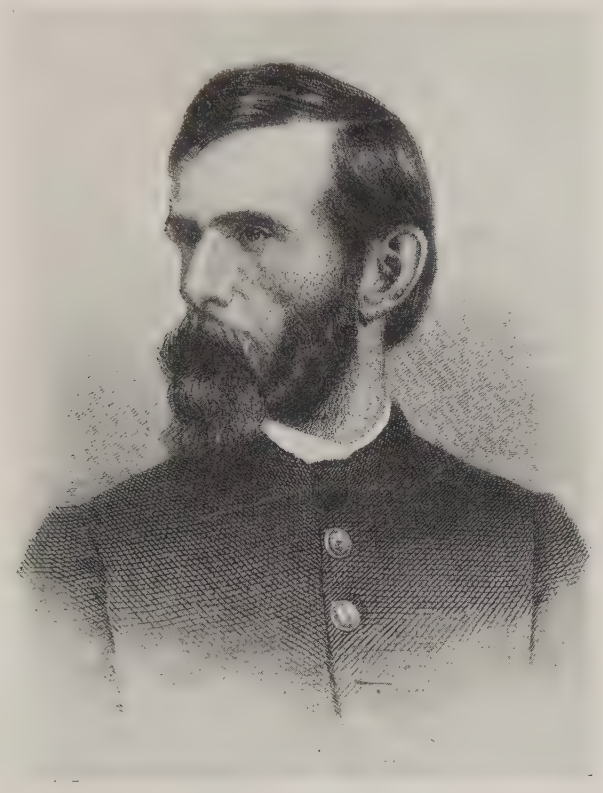
[9] Journal, Feb. 12, 1861.

jority, but it exhibited much of the chaotic condition of public sentiment that existed outside, as well as much of the political feeling of the preceding campaign. There were charges of frauds and irregularities made, one reflecting on the late Governor Willard, which was of course resented by his friends. There was a congressional apportionment bill urged, which like the ordinary Indiana apportionment bill, favored the dominant party. There was a militia bill, abolishing the existing militia establishment, and creating a new one, in which the appointments would be made by Morton, who had advanced to a new position on national questions. It was decided to raise the national flag over the State capitol on January 22, with public ceremonies, including a review of the militia companies. There is no room to doubt that the large majority of the legislature were disposed to be conciliatory, if there was any chance to save the Union by reasonable concessions, for ten days later they passed a joint resolution for the appointment of delegates to the Virginia Peace Congress. The speakers were Senator Lane, ex-Governor Hammond, Thomas A. Hendricks, Daniel W. Voorhees, and Governor Morton. The first four spoke on conciliatory lines, such as were commonly discussed at the time. Hammond favored the "Crittenden Resolution," and Hendricks advocated the concession of "state equality," i. e., to give slave owners the right to carry their slaves into the territories, which the Supreme Court had asserted they already had, in the Dred Scott case. Morton said: "I came not here to argue questions of state equality, but to denounce treason and uphold the cause of the Union. We live at a time when treason is running riot through the land. Certain states of this Union, unmindful of the blessings of liberty, forgetful of the duties they owe to their sister states and to the American people as a nation, are attempting to sever the bonds of the Union, and to pull down in irretrievable ruin our fabric of government, which has been the admiration and wonder of the world. * * * In view of the solemn crisis in which we stand, all minor, personal and party considerations should be banished from every heart. There should be but one party, and that the party of the Constitution and the Union. No man need pause to consider his duty. It is inscribed upon every page of our history, in all our institutions and on everything by which we are surrounded. The path is so plain that the wayfaring man, though he be a fool, can not err therein. It is no time for hesitation; the man who hesitates under circumstances like these is lost. I would here in all kindness speak a word of warning to the unwary. Let us beware how we encourage them to persist in their mad designs by assurances that we are a divided house, that there are those in our midst who will not permit the en-

forcement of the laws and the punishment of their crimes. Let us diligently search our hearts and see if there are any partisan prejudices, any party resentments that are, imperceptibly and unknown to ourselves, leading us aside from the path of duty, and if we find them there, pluck them out and hastily return. For myself, I will know no man who will stop and prescribe the conditions upon which he will maintain that flag, who will argue that a single star may be erased, or who will consent that it may be torn, that he may make choice between its dishonored fragments. I will know that man only who vows fidelity to the Union and the constitution, under all circumstances and at all hazards; who declares that he will stand by the constituted authorities of the land, though they be not of his own choosing; who, when he stands in the base presence of treason, forgets the contests and squabbles of the past in the face of the coming danger; who then recognizes but two parties—the party of the Union, and the base faction of its foes. To that man, come from what political organization he may, by whatever name he may have been known, I give my hand as a friend and brother, and between us there shall be no strife."

It would be hard to imagine a more patriotic position than these words imply at first blush; but what Morton meant was that there must be only one political party at the North, and that must be his party. He announced here his opposition to all the "peace panaceas" that were being considered by nine-tenths of the Union men of the country, though not as explicitly as in his questions to the delegates to the Virginia Peace Congress; and this was ten weeks before the firing on Fort Sumter. When that came, there seemed for a while a complete realization of Morton's program. It is thus stated by John H. Holliday, a life-long Republican, who lived through this epoch: "The blow fell with the attack on Ft. Sumter. Sentiment crystallized in a flash. War had come unprovoked. The flag had been fired on and humiliated by defeat. There was but one voice—sustain the government and put down the rebellion. The 13th day of April was another great day in Indianapolis, the greatest it had yet seen; and probably it has never been surpassed in the intense interest, anxiety and enthusiasm exhibited. Never were its people so aroused. It was Saturday. Business was practically forgotten; the streets were crowded; the newspaper neighborhoods were thronged; a deep solemnity was over all as they waited to hear the news, or discussed in low tones the crisis that was upon them. In the afternoon dodgers were issued calling for a public meeting at the Court-house at seven o'clock. Before the time the little room was packed. Ebenezer Dumont, a Democrat, who had been an officer in the Mexican war, was made chairman, and immediately a motion was

made to adjourn to the Metropolitan theater. The crowd, constantly augmenting, hurried down Washington street to the theater, which was soon filled to overflowing. The Masonic Hall, across the street, was opened and filled, with hundreds standing in the streets. The meetings were full of the war spirit. Governor Morton and others spoke. Patriotic resolutions were adopted declaring in favor of armed



GEN. LEW WALLACE
(In 1864)

resistance. Major Gordon announced that he would organize a flying artillery company, for which Governor Morton had already secured six guns, and forty-five men enrolled their names for the war. At the close the surrender of Ft. Sumter was announced, and the meetings dispersed in deep gloom but with firm purpose.'' [10]

The Union spirit grew as by infection. On the 16th the Journal

[10] Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs., Vol. 4, p. 548.

said: "There is but one feeling in Indiana. We are no longer Republicans or Democrats. Never did party names lose their significance so rapidly or completely as since the news of Saturday. Parties are forgotten and only common danger is remembered. Here and there inveterate sympathizers with Southern institutions and feelings scowl and curse the mighty tempest of patriotism they dare not encounter; but they are few, as pitiful in strength as in spirit. Even the Sentinel now avows its devotion to the stars and stripes, and gives us some cause to modify if not recall the harsh censures we expressed yesterday. * * * In the full spirit of the times Govèrnor Morton has sunk party distinctions, and yesterday appointed to the important post of Adjutant General of the state, Capt. Lewis Wallace of Montgomery County, a prominent Democrat and widely known for his military zeal and skill. Lewis H. Sands, of Putnam, another Democrat devoted to his country, has been appointed colonel. There will be no more Republicans or Democrats hereafter till the country is at peace." But the rift in the lute was at hand. Mr. Holliday says: "Candidates at the election of city officers on May 3d had been nominated before the war began. A few days later C. A. R., in a communication to the Journal, advises that 'the Republican candidates should resign in favor of a patriotic ticket or a new party,' 'embracing all its country's friends.' 'Let us all unite now and forget party till the war is over.' Sound advice, that if heeded and followed up would have been of untold value, but the selfish desire for office was too great and the election was held on party lines with Republican success. Soon after two new wards were organized, but the councilmen were Democrats and they were kept out of office by the Republican majority until their terms were almost out. Such peanut politics bore bitter fruit in increasing partisan hostility. The Sentinel, though professing extreme loyalty, soon began a course of censorious criticism and opposition to the State and Federal administrations that grew fiercer as the war progressed, and was terribly effective for harm to the national cause. Possibly a different attitude on the part of the Republicans might have prevented this, or at least modified it. Later in the summer the Democrats offered to withdraw their candidates for county and township officers and unite with the Republicans on a union ticket, but the offer was treated wtih contempt and another opportunity for conciliation lost."[11] In succeeding campaigns the Republicans dropped their party name, and adopted the title of "the Union party," designating all Democrats as "butternuts." "copper-heads," "rebels" or "Southern sympathizers."

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[11] Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs., Vol. 4, p. 560.

The display of Union spirit was not confined to Indianapolis. A special session of the legislature was called for April 24, and Morton's message asked all that he thought desirable to put the State on a war footing. Foulke says: "The General Assembly, almost to a man, seemed animated by the spirit which ran through this message. It responded with alacrity to the Governor's recommendations. He asked an appropriation of one million dollars and more than two millions were appropriated. The bonds were provided for, the militia system inaugurated, the additional troops taken care of, treason against the state defined and punishment provided, counties authorized to appropriate money for army purposes, and other salutary legislation enacted. The law suspending the collection of debts against soldiers was the only recommendation neglected, and this was omitted on account of its doubtful constitutionality, a matter which in the press of affairs Morton had no doubt overlooked. This was par excellence a 'star and stripe' session. The first glow of the war fever was upon the members of the legislature and their resolutions and speeches breathed the fervor of enthusiastic patriotism. * * * One who looks into the record of this session will find it hard to believe that the same members were taking part in it, so great was the change wrought by the inspiration of the attack on Sumter."[12]

At the opening of the special session, Horace Heffren, Democratic nominee for Speaker at the regular session, and former outspoken opponent of coercion, nominated Cyrus M. Allen, his former opponent, for Speaker, saying: "Times have changed. The Union that you and I love, and we all love—the star-spangled banner, which my hands and the hands of my gray haired friend here assisted in raising over the dome of this building, is in danger. Union and harmony and concession should now be our motto." Allen and the other officers were elected by unanimous votes. Foulke says: "Equally emphatic was the expression of the House in regard to the conduct of Jesse D. Bright, who represented Indiana in the United States Senate, and who had avowed his sympathy with secession. On May 23 the House requested his resignation, and near the end of the session declared that he was no longer an inhabitant of the state and had forfeited all right to represent it, and the Senate was requested to declare his seat vacant." No resolution naming Senator Bright was introduced in the House, but on May 23 a committee resolution was reported that any Representative or Senator who may "sympathize with those engaged in said rebellion, and be disinclined to vote men and money to aid in the sup-

[12] Life of Morton, pp. 121-3.

pression thereof, they are hereby requested to resign their seats'' and give room for someone who really represented the State. This was adopted by a vote of 82 to 2; and in the discussion, Lewis Prosser, Democrat from Brown County, said he wanted to know where Jesse D. Bright stood; that ''a man who had taken the ground he had on the Kansas-Nebraska matter was mean enough to go over and join Jeff Davis's army. He had broken up the Democratic party, and the Democrats hated him as they did the devil.'' Before this, however, on May 10, Smith Jones, Democratic Senator from Bartholomew County, introduced the following: ''Resolved, That the Committee on Federal Relations be instructed to inquire and report at any early day whether Jesse D. Bright, one of our United States Senators, is a citizen of Indiana; and further, whether he can and will represent the people of Indiana in the United States Senate truly and fully in the present crisis; and further, whether his present position on the questions now engrossing public attention does not render his future continuance in the Senate of the United States inconsistent with public interests and public safety.'' This was adopted by consent, but no report was made on it.

These notable expressions by Democrats were made long before any knowledge of Mr. Bright's ''overt act,'' which was the following letter:

''Washington, D. C., March 1, 1861.

''My Dear Sir—Allow me to introduce to your acquaintance my friend, Thomas Lincoln, of Texas. He visits your capital mainly to dispose of what he regards a great improvement to fire-arms. I recommend him to your favorable consideration as a gentleman of the first respectability, and reliable in every respect.

''Very truly yours,

JESSE D. BRIGHT.

''To His Excellency Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederation of States.''

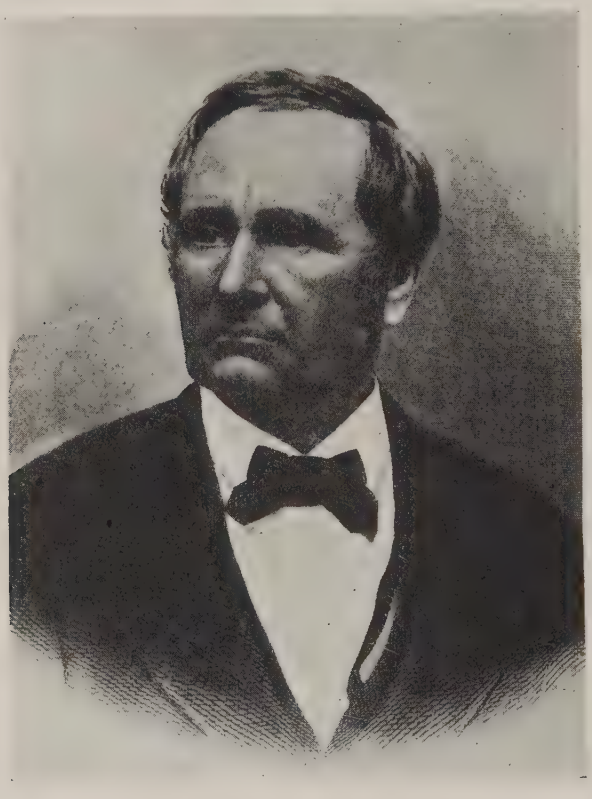
Nothing was known of this letter until the arrest of the bearer, Lincoln, at Cincinnati, August 17, 1861; the account of the letter being found on him appearing in the Indianapolis papers of August 22. It was brought before the Senate at the next session of congress, and on January 13, 1862, the Committee on Judiciary reported that the facts were not sufficient to justify expulsion. This was contested on the floor, and in the discussion Bright submitted a letter which he had written to John Fitch, of Madison, Indiana, on September 7, 1861, concerning the Lincoln letter, which contained the statement, ''I have op-

posed, and so long as my present convictions last shall continue to oppose the entire coercion policy of the Government." This was denounced as worse than the first letter, which had been written before Sumter was fired on, and on February 5, 1862, Bright was expelled by a vote of 32 to 14. He sought reëlection in 1862, as a "vindication," but the Democratic members declined, and elected David Turpie, a war Democrat, in his place. Bright devoted the remainder of his life to efforts to "get even" with those responsible for his defeat, and was probably responsible for the defeat of Hendricks for the Presidential nomination in 1868.[13] He died at Baltimore, May 20, 1875.

Morton changed his positions on a great many subjects, but he always adhered to this proposition that there could be but one political party in the North that was for the Union. It was much as if President Wilson should announce that henceforth there would be but two political parties in this country, the Kaiser party and the anti-Kaiser party, and, as a matter of obvious convenience, the Democratic organization would manage the anti-Kaiser party. There have been many persons who have maintained the desirability of an opposition party in time of war, to restrain the tendency to undermine the constitutional safeguards of personal liberty, which is frequently manifested in such times; but no one has had the temerity to avow that it is easy for such a party to maintain a strict adherence to the demands of loyalty. Its very existence presupposes the criticism of the administration when it is supposed to deserve criticism, and in war time this, of itself, is usually treated as evidence of disloyalty. The position of the editor of an opposition newspaper, in war time, is especially trying, for he is obliged to express himself, and is at once responsible for saying things that will suit his party, and avoiding anything that will get it into trouble. The editor of the Sentinel, Joseph J. Bingham, and the editor of the Journal, Berry R. Sulgrove, were neither of them broadminded men, merely controversial experts of the old type, whose chief aim in life was party advantage. On January 23, 1861, these two were their party candidates for State Printer, and Sulgrove was duly elected. From that time forward he succeeded in avoiding any conflict with Morton's ideas, such as he had fallen into on the subject of coercion. Later he became Morton's private secretary. Unquestionably, a great deal that was said in both papers was purely for political purposes, and one who desires to get a true historical perspective must keep this in mind. One of the most effective political methods of the time was what is commonly known as "smoking them out." This was in part done

[13] Woollen's Sketches, pp. 230-2.

by so-called "vigilance committees," who waited on Democrats and demanded an expression of their loyalty; and thereafter if one of them appeared in politics, the Journal's sufficient comment was that the person had been waited on by a vigilance committee. Another effective scheme was to print some unfounded rumor about a prominent Democrat, and force him to denial. On April 23, 1861, the Journal printed



THOMAS A. HENDRICKS

such a report about Thomas A. Hendricks, and Mr. Hendricks at once replied as follows:

"Indianapolis, April 24, 1861.

"Mr. Editor—My attention has been called to an editorial in the Journal this morning, in which it is stated that, at a Union meeting held at Shelbyville a few evenings since, a committee was appointed to wait on me with the request that I would speak; that being called upon by the committee, I refused to speak, saying that I had no hand

in originating the difficulty and would have nothing to do in extricating the country from its perilous condition.

"The writer has been wholly misinformed. I never heard of the appointment of such a committee, and suppose that none was appointed. No committee waited upon me with such a request. Had I been so honored, I certainly should have responded. I have never withheld my views upon any question of public interest from the people of Shelby County. Upon all occasions when it appeared proper, I have expressed my opinions in relation to our present troubles. Since the war commenced I have uniformly said that the authority of the government of the United States is not questioned in Indiana, and that I regarded it as the duty of the citizens of Indiana to respect and maintain that authority and to give the government an honest and earnest support in the prosecution of the war until, in the providence of God, it may be brought to an honorable conclusion and the blessings of peace restored to our country—postponing until that time all controversy in relation to the causes and responsibilities of the war. No man will feel a deeper solicitude in the welfare and proud bearing of Indiana's soldiery in the conflict of arms to which they are called than myself.

"Allow me to add that, in my judgment, a citizen or newspaper is not serving the country well in the present crisis by attempting to give a partisan aspect to the war, or by seeking to pervert the cause of the country to party ends."

The Journal printed this, with no apology but that it had not known what the views of Mr. Hendricks were; and Mr. Foulke commits a more unpardonable offense by saying: "Even Mr. Hendricks thought it necessary to avert the suspicion of disloyalty" by writing this letter. The only disloyalty of which Mr. Hendricks was guilty was voting and supporting the Democratic ticket. In 1862 he was elected to the United States Senate, and twenty years after the war, when the political emergency was gone, Sulgrove himself wrote of Hendricks: "He favored the earnest prosecution of the war, and voted for supplies to sustain the army. He was opposed to conscription, and favored the enlistment of volunteers and payment of soldiers' bounties. * * * The extent and character of Governor Hendricks' attainments can be well gauged by his public and professional record. The same may be said of his political views, although he has stronger convictions than are credited to him. Under a somewhat cautious, reserved manner he conceals great depth of sentiment and indomitable faith in the triumph of right over wrong, truth over envy, malice and detraction."[14]

[14] Hist. of Indianapolis, p. 201.

It may be noted, in this connection, that later writers have in some cases out-Journaled the Journal. For example, Mr. Foulke, in his account of the Democratic meeting held on the State House square, on May 20, 1863, says: "About four o'clock in the afternoon, while Hendricks was speaking, some eight or ten soldiers with bayonets fixed and rifles cocked entered the crowd and advanced slowly toward the stand. A great uproar arose. The multitude scattered in every direction. A high fence on the east side of the state-house square was pushed down by the rushing crowd. A squad of cavalry galloped along Tennessee street adding to the tumult. The soldiers who were moving towards the stand were ordered to halt by Colonel Coburn, who had been guarding the quartermaster's stores north of the state-house, but who came out when he heard the disturbance. He asked what they were doing. They said they were 'going for Tom Hendricks,' that he had said too much, and they intended to kill him. Coburn expostulated with them and they desisted. There was much confusion on the stand. Hendricks closed his remarks prematurely, suggesting that the resolution be read and the meeting dismissed."[15] The Journal report of the same meeting, on May 21, 1863, after speaking of the interruption of a speech by Samuel Hamill, earlier in the day, says: "There was no disturbance after this of any consequence till Mr. Hendricks had been speaking some time. Then, in reply to some mean disloyal remark of his, a Union man in the crowd called out something which he did not hear. A Copperhead seized him, and he rushed towards the stand. A scuffle followed, which was ended by the soldiers entering the crowd and taking off the man who committed the assault. This affair soon got out into the streets in fifty wild forms, the most prevalent of which was that the soldiers had cleared the stand, broken up the meeting, and chased Hendricks out of the yard. The truth is Mr. Hendricks finished his speech, though interrupted occasionally, and improperly, and the resolutions of the committee were read by Mr. Buskirk, and adopted, and the meeting adjourned *sine die*, regularly, and without any row at all. It was then that the Union men and soldiers took possession of the stand, and held a meeting of their own."

During the war the four prominent leaders of the Democratic party in Indiana were Hendricks, McDonald, Turpie and Voorhees. They were personal as well as political friends, and their standing outside of their party is, in the main due to the fact that Morton had a personal antipathy to Hendricks and Voorhees, and personally liked McDonald and Turpie. The Journal reflected these feelings, and others. In the

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[15] Life of Morton, Vol. 1, p. 274.

early part of the war, the national administration did not move fast enough to suit Morton, and especially Simon Cameron, the Secretary of War. On August 23, 1861, Sulgrove published a remarkable editorial attack on the administration, under the head "A Few Plain Words," in which he said: "The President has acted a good deal as if the army were no particular portion of his business, though an affair of interest enough to induce him to go out and look at it once in a while. He has reviewed the troops a few times, and visited their camps for a few moments, probably a dozen times. But we have no information at all that he has busied himself to find out or improve the conditions of the men. * * * Men have suffered for food within five miles of Washington. Whole regiments have been nearly in mutiny because their clothes were rags and their food rotten. A visit, not of parade, but aid, from the President, and a word to the commissary, would soothe the men and rectify the neglect. * * * We believe he ought to make the army his place of business now, and let politicians and diplomatists go—well, let us say go home. * * * At Fortress Monroe there are two regiments actually worthless, so worthless that a portion of each has been taken out of the field, and they have become so solely because nobody has cared for them. Their food has been abominable, their camps filthy, their clothing rotten. Their officers in disgust have resigned, and the men, sick and without officers are disorganized. Would these men have become what they are if they had seen with their own eyes, that the head of the Government felt so much interest in them that he examined into their camps, inquired about their clothing, and looked after their food himself? * * * What is true of the President is true of the Cabinet. What he can do they can do, in some cases better than he. But Secretary Cameron is too busy settling the conflicting claims of his friends for army contracts and laying out anchors to pull round a Presidential nomination by, to bother himself about the clothing and food of the men whose courage alone gives him the means of keeping his place. * * * The Administration, all through, has apparently regarded the war as a far-off matter, that could be attended to with ample care by following the old beaten line of official duties. It is time this should change."

This was the more notable because similar charges of poor supplies had been made in regard to the State troops at Camp Morton. Letters of complaint appeared in the papers, demonstrating that even at that time Indiana had literary talent capable of producing "best-sellers." One soldier from Hancock County, the home of Riley—but he was too young to be in the army—declared that "a wild goose could take a grain of coffee in its bill, swim down the Mississippi from St. Paul,

and make a better beverage all the way to the Gulf than the soldiers get at Camp Morton.'' A joint committee of the legislature investigated the matter, and Foulke says they found that Morton's ''old friend, Isaiah Mansur, commissary general,'' had issued rations that ''were not in accordance with the commissary's schedule, that there had been favoritism on the part of employees, that the coffee was 'basely adulterated' with parched beans, and that fourteen-ounce packages were distributed as one pound, though it did not appear that Mansur had made anything by this. Bad meat, however, had been furnished by the commissary general out of his own pork-house which he rather naively explained by saying that the commissary's duties were hard and that if anything was to be made out of the sales he thought he had as good a right to make it as any one'.'' It was even worse. The committee reported the beans ''poor,'' the meat ''bad,'' and the dried fruit ''very bad''; but they thought that nobody should be blamed, because it was such a large business, and had to be done so hastily that mistakes were unavoidable, though they could not understand why the contractor went to the trouble of mixing peas and beans with the coffee.[16] The House was not so exculpatory, and on May 25, requested the removal of the commissary by an almost unanimous vote. Morton accepted his resignation, and appointed Asahel Stone in his place, after which things went better, though there was complaint five months later that the coffee was the ''worst on the market.'' [17]

Obviously, there had been some room for ''camp visiting'' at home, but after this first miscarriage, the soldiers had no occasion for complaint of Morton. He went into the war work with feverish zeal. There was no trouble about getting men. The first call, for six regiments, was responded to by more than twice the number of men wanted. The total call on Indiana for men in 1861, was 38,832, and Indiana actually furnished in that year 48 regiments of infantry, 3 regiments of cavalry, and 17 batteries, in all 53,035 men, or an excess of 14,203. But through failure to file muster rolls at Washington, the State did not get credit for this excess until after the year 1862. In July and August, 1862, President Lincoln called for 600,000 men, Indiana's quota being 42,500. By September 20, the volunteers were 6,060 short of this number, and a draft was ordered, to take effect October 6. By that time the apparent deficiency was reduced to 3,003, for which the draft was made, although the State was in reality over 25,000 in excess of her quota at the time.[18] The drafted men were to serve for

[16] House Journal, Special Session, 1861, p. 213.

[17] Journal, Oct. 1, 1861.

[18] Terrell's Report, Vol. 1, p. 76.

nine months, but all but four companies of them (395 men) volunteered for three years, and were sent to the front as volunteers. By December 1, 1863, Indiana had furnished over 110,000 men. But, at the outset, there was a sorry lack of equipment and supplies. In March, 1861, anticipating war, Morton went to Washington for supplies. There were 488 muskets due the State on its 1861 militia allotment, and he took a 6-pound cannon and 350 minie rifles in place of them. The State had less than 800 muskets, in serviceable condition, mostly in the hands of the militia. Seeing that the State would have to purchase arms to get them promptly, he sent Calvin Fletcher to find what could be done in that line, but without success. On May 30, he appointed Robert Dale Owen agent to purchase 6,000 rifles and 1,000 carbines, and continued his service until by February 6, 1863, he had purchased 30,000 Enfield rifles, 2,731 carbines, 751 revolvers, and 797 sabres, at a cost of $752,694.75; and had also expended $3,905 for cavalry equipment, $50,407 for blankets, and $84,829 for overcoats. Morton kept the telegraph wires warm seeing that these overcoats got to the Indiana soldiers.

Ammunition could not be bought in quantities. Morton found that Herman Sturm, an officer in one of the batteries, had learned the business in Germany. He rented a room in the square south of the State House, and put Sturm in charge, with a blacksmith's forge for melting lead, and a detail of men from the Eleventh Regiment to make cartridges. The work was so successful that buildings were erected on the square north of the State House—now the north half of the Capitol grounds—and an extensive manufactory inaugurated in June. At one time over 600 people were engaged in this work, and the total product to its close, on April 18, 1864, amounted to $788,838.45, out of which the State made a clear profit of $77,457.32. In 1862, this arsenal was moved to a location a mile and a half east of the State House, and in 1863, the national government purchased the tract now occupied by the Technical High School, and erected buildings for an arsenal there, the work being turned over to it thereafter. The western armies were largely supplied from this State arsenal when the government could not supply them, and several times at criticial periods. In addition to the supplies purchased by Owen, the Quartermaster General of the State reported in May, 1862, that he had expended $406,484.75 for clothing and blankets, and $65,801.77 for camp equipment. Morton established a Post Bakery at Camp Morton, which furnished the men 11,000 loaves of fresh bread per day. In 1862, he established a Soldiers' Home on West Street, south of Maryland, which was increased until it would accommodate 250 men with lodgings, and 1,000 for meals. In

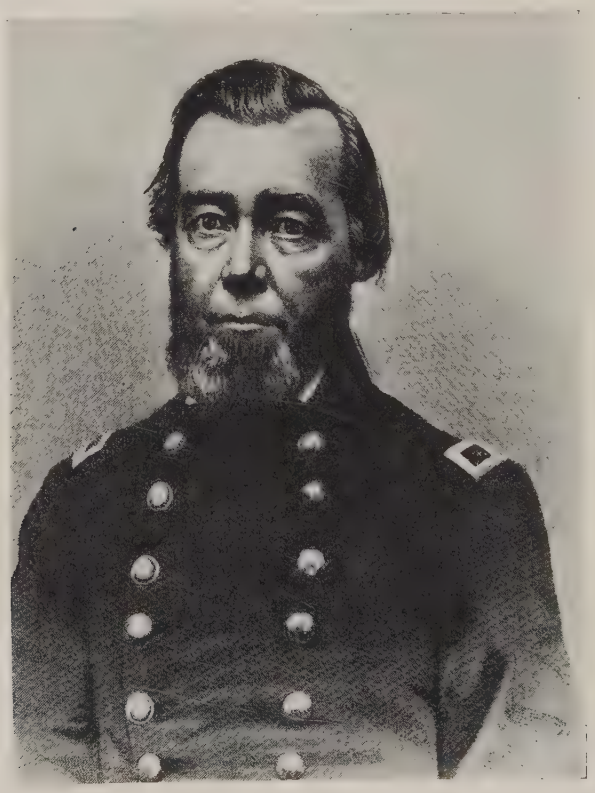
the fall of 1863 he established a Soldiers' Families Home, near the Union Station, for the accommodation of women and children visiting soldier relatives. On October 10, 1861, Morton issued an appeal to the patriotic women of Indiana to furnish socks, underwear, mittens, etc., for the soldiers. The State was fairly swamped with such supplies within a month. Best of all, in the spring of 1862, he organized the Sanitary Commission, which did a great work in raising money and furnishing the soldiers with all sorts of supplies and comforts not furnished by the United States. On May 18, 1861, through his efforts, the unfinished City Hospital of Indianapolis was turned over to the government for a military hospital, and he was also active in securing the establishment of military hospitals at Evansville, New Albany, Jeffersonville and Madison. After the battle of Shiloh, he obtained from the national government permission to appoint two assistant surgeons for each Indiana regiment, which proved so advantageous that Congress passed a law providing an assistant for all regiments. He kept agents in the South to look after soldiers who needed assistance, and chartered steamboats to carry medical and other supplies to the Indiana troops. He sent agents to the camps to induce soldiers to send part of their pay to their families, and to forward the money for them. As this work grew in magnitude, he established an office at Indianapolis which attended to forwarding the money without expense. Unquestionably Morton fairly earned his title of "The Soldier's Friend."

As there had been five Indiana regiments in the Mexican war, the Civil war regiments numbered from the Sixth. The first regiment called into service was the Eleventh, commanded by Lew Wallace, and composed largely of militia companies which were already equipped. On May 8, a banner was presented to it by the ladies of Indianapolis, Mrs. Abbie Cady making the presentation at the State House; and then Wallace recounted the story of the unfair treatment of the Second Regiment in the Mexican war by Jeff Davis, and had the men kneel, and swear to "remember Buena Vista." On the evening of the ninth, the Eleventh took cars for Evansville, whose people were calling for protection from anticipated raids from Kentucky, and commissioned to stop the shipment of supplies to the South. The remaining regiments were sent into West Virginia, and did the first fighting of the war, after the attack on Sumter. The delegates from the western counties of Virginia had opposed the secession ordinance adopted by the convention of that State, on April 17, 1861, and were supported by their constituents. On April 20, Gov. Letcher, of Virginia, telegraphed to Mayor Andrew Sweeney of Wheeling to "take possession of the Custom House, Post Office, all public buildings and public documents, in

the name of Virginia.'' Sweeney answered that he had taken possession of them ''in the name of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, whose property they are.'' A convention of Union men was called at Wheeling on May 13, but adjourned to June 11 without action. Letcher began sending troops into the western counties, and trying to enlist recruits there. On May 24, George B. McClellan, who had been put in charge of the Department of Ohio, including western Virginia, visited Indianapolis, and reviewed the five regiments, which had been organized as a brigade, under command of Gen. Thomas A. Morris. On May 26, McClellan, at Cincinnati, received word that the rebels were burning the bridges on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. He at once issued a proclamation to the Virginians that he was about to send troops for their protection, adding, ''Notwithstanding all that has been said by the traitors to induce you to believe that our advent among you will be signalized by interference with your slaves, understand one thing clearly—not only will we abstain from all such interference, but we will, on the contrary, with an iron hand, crush any attempt at insurrection on their part.'' He called for the Indiana regiments, which were sent at once, Gen. Morris, with the Sixth, Seventh and Ninth regiments going to Grafton, West Virginia.

Morris was born in Nicholas County, Kentucky, December 26, 1811. In 1821, his father, Morris Morris, moved to Indianapolis, then in its infancy, and in 1823 young Morris went to work in the office of The Western Censor and Emigrant's Guide, the predecessor of the Journal. After three years, during which he became a fair printer, he stopped to go to school. At nineteen he was appointed to West Point, and graduated there in 1834. After a year of service as lieutenant of artillery, he was detailed to aid in the construction of the National Road in Indiana and Illinois, and had charge of the division between Richmond and Indianapolis. A year later he entered the service of the State, having charge of the construction of the Central canal. From 1841 to 1847, he was chief engineer of the Madison Railroad, the first railroad in the State; and thereafter until 1859 was engaged in railroad work, as chief engineer of the Vandalia, the ''Bee Line,'' and the Indianapolis and Cincinnati, serving also as President of the last two. At the beginning of the war, Morton appointed him Quartermaster General, and he supervised the equipment of the troops that he commanded in the three months service. He was promised appointment as Major General at the close of the three months service, but failed to receive it, due, it was charged, to the hostility of Gen. McClellan. He then resumed railroad work, in connection with the Indianapolis and Cincinnati, and Indianapolis and St. Louis, building the latter from Terre Haute to Indian-

apolis. In 1877 he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the erection of the present State Capitol—a position which his father held for the one preceding it. He planned and superintended the construction of the Union Railway and Union Depot at Indianapolis, and was later President of the Indianapolis Water Company. He died at Indianapolis, April 1, 1904.



Gen. Thomas A. Morris

When Morris arrived at Grafton, he learned that Col. Porterfield was at Philippi, a few miles away, with 1,200 rebel troops, 500 of whom were cavalry. He planned a surprise, divided his force into two parties, marched twelve miles through rain and mud on the night of June 2, and struck Porterfield's camp at dawn of June 3. The rebels fled at the first fire, leaving their baggage, 380 stand of arms, and one flag. They were reinforced by Gen. Garnett, and took a strong position at Laurel Hill, where Morris held them while McClellan made a night

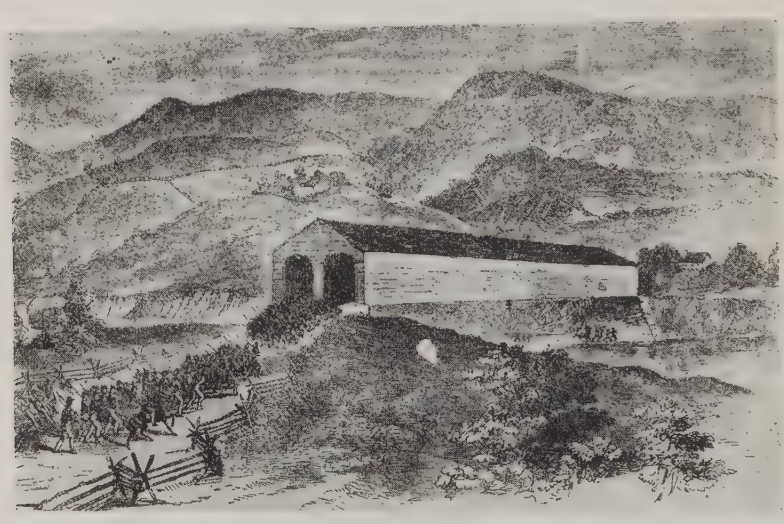
march and defeated Gen. Pegram at Rich Mountain. Garnett, learning of this, slipped away on the night of July 11, but was followed the next morning by Morris, who overtook and defeated him at Carrick's Ford, Garnett being killed in the engagement. Pegram was hemmed in, and surrendered to McClellan. In this brief campaign, West Virginia was cleared of rebel troops, and five guns, twelve flags, 1,500 stand of arms, and 1,000 prisoners were taken. Meanwhile, on June 6, Wallace was ordered to take the Eleventh from Evansville to Cumberland, Maryland. On arriving at Piedmont, he made a night march and surprised Col. Angus McDonald who was at Romney with 500 Virginia troops and two guns, on the morning of June 13. The rebels fled after a few shots, and fugitives reported to Gen. J. E. Johnston at Harper's Ferry, that McClellan was advancing on him from that quarter, whereupon Johnston burned all the bridges over the Potomac from Harper's Ferry to Williamsport, and fell back to Winchester. So all of the three months regiments returned covered with glory, and most of them reënlisted for three years. Their achievements also induced many others to enlist. In the skirmishing at Laurel Hill, William T. Girard, of Company G., Ninth Indiana, was killed; and was the first Union soldier killed in battle after Fort Sumter was taken. It is a singular fact that the last Union soldier killed in battle was John J. Williams, of the Thirty-Fourth Indiana, who fell at Palmetto Ranch, Texas, on May 13, 1865.

Indiana also got into the illustrated papers early in the war. J. F. Gookins, the Indiana artist, enlisted in the Eleventh Indiana as a musician, and was at Romney. He made a sketch of the fight at the bridge, and sent it with an account of the battle to Harper's Weekly, which duly published it; and it remains in striking contrast with other battle scenes in the same publication "by our Special Artist," who probably drew them in some back-room in New York.[19]

It is not within the scope of this work to give the details of the movements of Indiana troops in the war. That has been the subject of dozens of volumes, and will be the subject of many more. Their service was universal. No history of the Civil War can be written that does not include the recital of the achievements in which they participated at every turn. After the close of the war, on July 4, 1866, the flags of the Indiana troops were formally presented to Governor Morton to be deposited in the State House. In making the presentation speech, Major General Lew Wallace said: "Three of our regiments took part in the first battle of the war, while another, in view of the Rio Grande,

[19] Harper's Weekly, 1861.

fought its very last battle. The first regiment under Butler, to land at the wharf at New Orleans, was the Twenty-First Indiana. The first flag over the bloody parapet at Fort Wagner, in front of Charleston, was that of the Thirteenth Indiana. The first to show their stars from the embattled crest of Mission Ridge, were those of the Seventy-Ninth and Eighty-Sixth Indiana. Two of our regiments helped storm Fort McAllister, down by Savannah. Another was among the first in the assaulting line at Fort Fisher. Another, converted into engineers, built all of Sherman's bridges from Chattanooga to Atlanta, from Atlanta to the sea, and from the sea northward. Another, in line of battle, on



Battle of Romney—Skirmish at the Bridge
(From drawing by J. F. Gookins, in Harper's Weekly)

the beach of Hampton Roads, saw the frigate Cumberland sink to the harbor's bed, rather than strike her flag, and, in looking from the same place, the next day, cheered as never men cheered, at the sight of the same Merrimac beaten by a single gun in the turret of Worden's little Monitor. Others aided in the overthrow of the savages, red and rebel, at Pea Ridge, Missouri. Three from Washington, across the peninsula, within sight of Richmond evacuated, to Harrison's Landing, followed McClellan to his fathomless fall. Five were engaged in the salvation of Washington at Antietam. Four were with Burnside at Fredericksburg, where some of Kimball's Hoosiers were picked up lying nearer than all others to the pitiless embrasures. Five were at Chancellorsville, where Stonewall Jackson took victory out of Hooker's hands

and carried it with him into his grave. Six were almost annihilated at Gettysburg. One, an infantry regiment, marched nearly ten thousand miles, literally twice around the rebellion, fighting as it went. Four were a part of the besom with which Sheridan swept the Shenandoah Valley. Finally, when Grant, superseding Halleck, transferred his headquarters to the East, and began the last grand march toward Richmond, four of our regiments, joined soon after by another, followed him faithfully, leaving their dead all along the way—in the Wilderness, at Laurel Hill, at Spottsylvania, at Po River, at North Anna River, at Bethesda Church, at Cold Harbor, in front of Petersburg, down to Clover Hill—down to the final halt in the war, in which Lee yielded up the sword of rebellion.

"But, sir, most of the flags returned to you, belong to regiments whose theater of operations cannot well be territorially described; whose lines of march were backward and forward through fifteen States of the Union. If one seeks the field in which the power of our State, as well as the valor of our people, had the finest exemplification, he must look to the West and the South. I will not say that Indiana's contributions to the cause were indispensable to final success. That would be unjust to States more populous and wealthy, and equally devoted. But I will say that her quotas precipitated the result; without them the war might yet be in progress and doubtful. Let us consider this proposition a moment. At Shiloh, Indiana had thirteen regiments; at Vicksburg she had twenty-four; at Stone River twenty-five; at Chickamauga, twenty-seven; at Mission Ridge, twenty; in the advance from Chattanooga to Atlanta, fifty; at Atlanta Sherman divided them so that exactly twenty-five went with him down to the sea, while twenty-five marched back with Thomas and were in at the annihilation of Hood at Nashville. What a record is thus presented! Ask Grant, or Rosecrans, or Sherman, if from the beginning to the end of their operations there was a day for which they could have spared those regiments?"

Statistics are almost equally striking. Indiana furnished a total of 196,363 men in the war, and only 784 paid money commutation for exemption from service. On this basis, Indiana furnished 74.3 per cent of her total population capable of bearing arms, according to the census of 1860, to the armies of the Union. On this basis, but one State in the Union surpassed or equalled her record, and that was Delaware, which is credited with 74.8 per cent of her military population of 1860. But of the supply credited to Delaware, one-tenth was in money commutation, and nearly one-tenth of the men were colored. On an estimate (Fox's Regimental Losses) made on the basis of white troops ac-

tually furnished for three years of service, Indiana supplied 57 per cent of her military population of 1860—i. e., the males between 18 and 45 years of age. On this basis she was surpassed by only one State, Kansas, whose record was 59.4 per cent. But Kansas furnished in the aggregate less than one-tenth the troops Indiana furnished; and the frontier conditions existing then in Kansas made it much less onerous for a large proportion of fighting men to go to the front. Of the troops sent by Indiana, 7,243 were killed or mortally wounded on the battlefield, and 19,429 died from other causes, making a total death loss of over 13 per cent of all troops furnished. Clearly, Indiana did her full part in the war; and while no just historian could withhold credit from her War Governor for his relentless energy in promoting the Union cause, the chief credit belongs to the people. The conclusive proof of this is that Indiana furnished much more than her quota of men by volunteers, and, as before mentioned, the draft in this State was due to mistake; but of the 3,003 men drafted for nine months service, all but 395 volunteered for three years. Out of all the host furnished by Indiana, there were but 395 men who could be said to have served unwillingly; and no doubt the objection with many of that little number was to be found in family or business reasons, as is the universal rule in such cases.

In connection with the draft, a rather interesting situation developed in Indiana under the provision of the Constitution of the State exempting from militia service persons "conscientiously opposed to bearing arms." The Constitution provides for payment of an equivalent for exemption, but none had been fixed by State law. Under the draft act of Congress of July 17, 1862, the Secretary of War fixed the money commutation at $200. There were 3,169 who claimed exemption in Indiana on conscientious grounds. J. P. Siddall, the Draft Commissioner, says in his report: "A portion of the religious society known as Orthodox Friends, objected to its (the money equivalent) collection on two grounds: First, that no equivalent should be required; second, that if the equivalent were required, the mode adopted was not equitable. As I was unable to see the force of the objection, they appealed from my action in the premises to yourself, and to the War Department. * * * I have since had a consultation, at Washington, with the Assistant Adjutant General, who had the immediate charge of the draft, in relation to the enforcement of the collection of the equivalent. After a mature examination of the whole matter, he doubts the authority of the war power to enforce payment, deeming it a matter more appropriately belonging to State legislation. This conclusion of the War Department, and the absence of State legislation. make

it impossible for me to act further in the premises. I had previously received, by voluntary payments, about $21,000, on equivalents, from members of the religious society known as Dunkers."

Without invidious distinction, there is one case of personal service from an Indiana man that deserves commemoration, and that is the service of James Buchanan Eads. He was born at Lawrenceburg, Indiana, May 23, 1820. Both his father, Thomas C. Eads, and his

Capt. James B. Eads

mother, whose maiden name was Buchanan, were of Irish stock, and came from Maryland to Indiana in the early settlement of the Whitewater Valley. His uncle, William H. Eads, was one of the first business men of Brookville, where he had a store and a tannery, and on November 18, 1811, was licensed to keep a tavern; he was made an associate judge in 1815, and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1816. His father tried merchandising, but was not successful, due prehaps to his migatory disposition. He lived at Brookville, Fairfield, Lawrenceburg, Cincinnati, Louisville, and finally at

St. Louis, where the family stranded on account of a steamboat fire, and Mrs. Eads opened a boarding house. James got a little schooling at Lawrenceburg and at Brookville, where he attended Dennison's school, in the old log court house. He had however a taste for reading, and a mechanical genius which was displayed in making water-wheels, toy steamboats, and the like. At St. Louis he peddled apples, and did odd jobs until Barrett Williams, one of his mother's boarders, offered him work as a clerk in his dry-goods store. Here he remained for five years, having meanwhile the use of his employer's library, where he got his first knowledge of theoretical engineering. Then for three years he was clerk on a Mississippi River steamboat, and there got his first insight of the mysteries of the Father of Waters. In 1842 he joined the partnership of Case & Nelson, and projected a diving-bell boat for raising sunken boats and their cargoes. While it was being built, they took a contract to salvage a bargeload of pig lead that had sunk in the rapids at Keokuk. Eads took charge of the work, with an expert diver from the great lakes, but the diver was unable to do anything on account of the swift current. Eads improvised a diving-bell of a hogshead weighted with lead; went down in it himself to demonstrate its feasibility, and rescued the cargo. The business was very profitable, and Eads got his title of Captain as commander of the diving-bell boat. In 1845 he married Martha Dillon, daughter of a wealthy St. Louis man, and undertook the manufacture of glass. This proved a failure, and he went back to the wrecking business, which developed enormously on account of his ingenuity in devising apparatus. He used to say that there was not a stretch of fifty miles in the river where he had not stood on the bottom under a diving-bell. In 1857, on account of ill-health, he retired from business with a fortune, and for four years was a man of leisure and culture.

Eads was a Union man, and after the election of Lincoln he and three other prominent St. Louis men sent a letter to Lincoln, stating their fear of secession, and urging the appointment of a Southern man as Secretary of State, as a conciliatory measure. They highly recommended Edward Bates for this position. Lincoln made Bates Attorney General, and three days after Sumter was fired on, Bates wrote to Eads that he would be wanted for consultation as to control of the Mississippi. The telegram calling him to Washington soon followed, and Eads hastened there to give what aid he could. Bates and Eads recommended a fleet of gunboats. Lincoln realized the importance of the project, and called the Mississippi "the backbone of the rebellion," and "the key to the whole situation;" but Secretary of War Cameron did not, and, what was worse, claimed jurisdiction of the mat-

ter as against Secretary Welles, of the Navy, who favored it. Finally Cameron sent an officer with Eads to the West to purchase boats to be armed; but he refused Eads' advice, bought three boats at Cincinnati, and armed them himself. In July, the government advertised for the construction of seven iron-clad gun boats, and when the bids were opened on August 5, it was found that Eads offered the lowest bid and the quickest work. On August 7, a contract was signed for the seven boats, to be delivered at Cairo, on October 10. They were built at Carondelet, but the material had to be gathered from eight states. Within two weeks 4,000 men were a work, at widely separated points. The boats were not finished by October 10, on account of the failure of the government to meet payments, and alterations in the plans, which were not made by Eads. But they were all launched within one hundred days from the date of the contract, and were ready before the crews were ready to take charge of them. These boats were 175 feet long, and 51½ feet beam, with flat sides sloping up and in at an angle of about thirty-five degrees. They were intended to fight bow on, and had in front 2½ inches of armor plate, over two feet of solid oak, but their only other armor was abreast the boiler and engines. They had three guns forward, four on each side, and two at the stern. These boats forced the surrender of Fort Henry, on February 6, 1862, and, speaking of the Saint Louis (later the De Kalb), the first one of them launched, Eads said she "was the first ironclad built in America. She was the first armored vessel against which the fire of a hostile battery was directed on this continent; and, so far as I can ascertain, she was the first ironclad that ever engaged a naval force in the world." In September, 1861, General Fremont gave an order for an additional boat, and Eads had an opportunity to follow his own designs. He took a double-hulled snag boat, which he had before recommended to Cameron's agent, and converted it into the "Benton," which was pronounced "the most powerful warship afloat" at that time. She was 200 feet long, and armored all over. The service of these gunboats was reckoned equal to that of 5,000 men each. In April, 1862, Eads was called to Washington to make plans for six iron boats, with Ericsson turrets. He succeeded in getting permission to fit two of them with turrets of his own design, with guns operated by steam, on condition of replacing them at his own expense if not satisfactory. This was the first handling of heavy artillery by steam, and the guns could be fired every forty-five seconds, or seven times as fast as in the Ericsson turrets. In addition to these fourteen gunboats, Eads made seven musket proof transports, commonly called "tinclads," and built four mortar-boats. Boynton truly says: "Such men deserve a place in

history by the side of those who fought our battles." It may be added that Eads not only distinguished himself by his generous donations of money for relief work, but also confined himself so closely to his shop, in devising war apparatus that his health again gave way. Bates wrote to him to take care of himself, adding: "the country can't spare you, and I can't spare you."

There were several natives of Indiana who attained prominence in the war, perhaps the most notable being Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside—he who put the "side" in side-whiskers. He was of an old South Carolina family, the son of Judge Edghill Burnside, who was one of the earliest settlers of Union County. He was born on his father's farm near Liberty, May 23, 1824; and was christened Ambrose Evert, but at West Point his name was entered "Everett" and so it has remained. He served an apprenticeship to John E. Dunham, a tailor at Centerville, and opened a tailor shop at Liberty, in partnership with John M. Myers; but he had a longing for military life, and by the aid of his father, who was at the time a state senator, he secured an appointment to West Point in 1843. He graduated, and remained in the service until 1857. The government wanted a breech-loading gun, and Burnside invented one, which was pronounced the best, in a competitive test, by an examining board. But it was not adopted, and Burnside was informed that it would not be unless he shared profits with John B. Floyd, Secretary of War. In disgust, he resigned, sold his uniform for $30 to a second-hand dealer, and started West, looking for employment. George B. McClellan, an old schoolmate, was vice-president of the Illinois Central Railroad Company, and offered him a position as Cashier of the Land Office of the road. He accepted, and in June, 1860, was made Treasurer of the company, with offices at New York. While in the army, Burnside had been stationed at Fort Adams, near Newport; and while there had married Miss Mary Bishop of Providence. On April 15, 1861, he received a telegram from Gov. Sprague, of Rhode Island, asking him to take command of a regiment he had raised. He accepted, and his regiment was one of the first to arrive at Washington. His subsequent military career, and his service as Governor of Rhode Island, and Senator from that State, are matters of national history. He died September 13, 1881, and was buried at Providence.

Brigadier General Pleasant Adams Hackelman was the only general officer from Indiana killed in battle. He was born in Franklin County, November 15, 1814, passed an uneventful youth, with few advantages, read law, and was admitted to the bar in 1837. He was elected probate judge of Rush County in the same year, representative in 1841, and was county Clerk from 1847 to 1855. He was a prominent Odd Fellow,

and was chosen Grand Master of that order in 1857. On May 18, 1861, he was appointed Colonel of the Sixteenth Indiana Volunteers, and on April 30, 1862, was promoted Brigadier General. He was fatally wounded while leading his brigade at Corinth, October 3, 1862.

Gen. Robert H. Milroy was born in Washington County, Ind., June 11, 1816. When he was ten years old his father, Gen. Samuel Milroy,

Brig.-Gen. Pleasant A. Hackelman

a prominent pioneer, who was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1816, removed to Carroll County; and there Robert grew to manhood, receiving a good common school education. In 1840, he entered the Military Academy of Captain Partridge, at Norwich, Vermont, from which he graduated in 1844, and at once took up the study of law. He served through the Mexican war as Captain in the First Indiana, attended the law school of Indiana University in 1848-9, and was admitted to practice. In 1850 he was elected a member of the Constitutional Con-

vention of that year, and in 1853 was appointed Circuit Judge. On February 7, 1861, foreseeing hostilities, he issued a call for a volunteer company, which was one of the first to report after the attack on Sumter; and he was made Colonel of the Ninth Indiana, the first Indiana regiment to enter West Virginia. He was made Brigadier General September 3, 1861, and Major General November 29, 1862; but was condemned by Gen. Halleck for evacuating Winchester, in the face of a greatly superior force, which he warmly resented.[20] By order of President Lincoln he was transferred to the Army of the Cumberland, where he served efficiently. In 1872 he removed to Washington Territory, where he was Superintendent of Indian Affairs. He died in Washington, March 29, 1890.

Perhaps the ablest of the Indiana Generals was Jefferson C. Davis, who was born in Clark County, March 2, 1828. He was fond of study, and in 1841, he entered the Clark County Academy, an excellent school. He left it to volunteer for the Mexican war, through which he served. On June 17, 1848, he was appointed second lieutenant in the First U. S. Artillery, for gallantry at Buena Vista, and continued in active service until the Civil War. In August, 1858, he was made the first commander of Fort Sumter, where he remained under the command of Major Anderson until the surrender, and accompanied Anderson to New York. He was at once detailed to Indiana as mustering officer, but remained only until August, when he went to Missouri as Colonel of the Twenty-Second Indiana. He soon made a record as a fighting officer, especially at Pea Ridge and Milford, and was promoted Brigadier General. In 1862, when Bragg and Kirby Smith were threatening Louisville, Davis was at home on sick leave, but tendered his services, and was assigned to the command of the citizen soldiery by Major General William Nelson, who was in command. Nelson had originally been a naval officer, and was very abusive and overbearing. He forced a quarrel on Davis, over the merest triviality, and finally struck him in the face. Davis shot and killed him. He was arrested and confined for twenty days, when he was released, and put in command of the forces at Newport and Covington, returning to his brigade when the scare was over. He was recommended for Major General for service at Stone River, and was brevetted Major General August 8, 1864. He was with Sherman in the Atlanta campaign and the march to the sea, in command of the Fourteenth Corps, winning laurels at Rome, Kenesaw, Jonesboro and Bentonville. After the war he resumed army life as Colonel of the Twenty-Third U. S. infantry. After the assassination of Gen. E. R. S.

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[20] Indiana's Roll of Honor, Vol. 2, pp. 408-420.

Canby, Davis was put in command of the troops at the Lava Beds, and forced the surrender of the Modocs. He died at Chicago, November 30, 1879. It may be noted that Gen. Canby is often treated as an Indiana man, having been appointed to West Point from this State. He was born in Kentucky, and his parents removed to Indiana when he was a child. So likewise, Generals Joseph J. Reynolds, George H. Chapman,

Gen. Jeff. C. Davis

Solomon Meredith, William E. Grose, James R. Slack and George F. McGinniss, although going into the war from Indiana, and intimately connected with the State, were not natives of it.

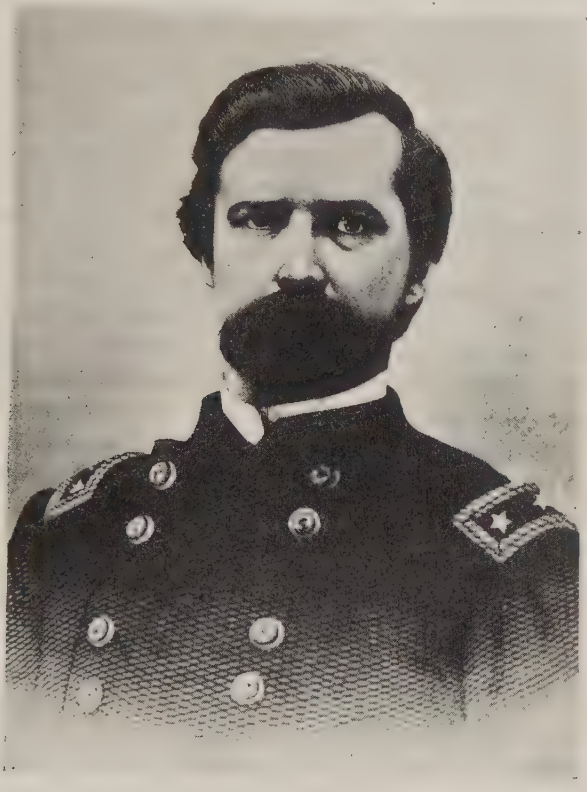
Gen. Nathan Kimball was a native of Indiana, born at Fredericksburg, November 22, 1822. He graduated at Asbury University, read medicine, and secured a large practice, residing consecutively at Salem, Livonia and Loogootee. He commanded a company in the Second Indiana in the Mexican war, where he distinguished himself at Buena

Vista by rallying his company, after the regimental break, and fighting through the rest of the day, as also by publicly refusing to recognize Col. Bowles, and leading his company off the parade ground when the Colonel undertook to inspect them. He was arrested and tried for this, but was soon restored to office. At the beginning of the Civil War he raised a company of volunteers in Martin County, was made Colonel of the Fourteenth Indiana, and sent into West Virginia, where he served with distinction, as later at Antietam, Fredericksburg, Vicksburg, Kenesaw, and various other points. He was mustered out in August, 1865, as Brevet Major General, having been a Brigadier General since April 15, 1862. He was elected Treasurer of Indiana in 1870, and was made Surveyor General of Utah in 1873, by Gen. Grant. He died at Ogden, Utah, June 21, 1898.

Another Indiana general who became prominent in the West was John Franklin Miller. He was born in Union County, November 21, 1831, and his parents removed to South Bend in 1833. He was educated in the schools of South Bend, and at an academy in Chicago; and graduated from the State and National Law School, at Ballston Spa, N. Y., in 1852. He began practice at South Bend, but in 1853 removed to Napa, California, for a stay of two years, returning to South Bend in 1855. In 1860 he was elected to the State Senate. After the special session of 1861, he resigned his seat, organized the Twenty-Ninth Indiana, and was made its Colonel. His early service was in Kentucky and Tennessee, being in command of Nashville during 1862, and having numerous encounters with Morgan's cavalry. He was severely wounded at Stone River, and again at Liberty Gap, losing his left eye at the latter engagement. He was commissioned Brigadier General January 5, 1864, and brevetted Major General September 25, 1865. He was offered an appointment as colonel in the regular army, at the close of the war, but declined, and went to California, where President Johnson made him Collector of the Port of San Francisco. He held this position for four years and was prominent in the State thereafter, being elected to the U. S. Senate in 1880. He always suffered from his wounds, and died March 8, 1886, while serving his term as Senator.

Another Indiana general who was tendered a regular army appointment was Robert Sandford Foster. He was born at Vernon, Jennings County, January 27, 1834, and received a common school education at that place. At the age of 16 he went to Indianapolis, and learned the tinner's trade with his uncle, Andrew Woollen. He went into the war at the beginning as Captain in the Eleventh Indiana; reenlisted as Major in the Thirteenth Indiana; and was promoted for meritorious service to Lieutenant Colonel, Colonel, and on June 13, 1863, Brigadier

General. His service was chiefly with the Army of the Potomac, and the Army of the James. He led one of the columns in the assault on Petersburg, and pursued Gen. Lee in retreat so closely that he had the honor of making that great Confederate put up his flag of truce, and ask for terms of capitulation.[21] For this service he was brevetted Major General March 13, 1865. He was offered an appointment as Lieutenant



GEN. ROBERT S. FOSTER

Colonel in the regular army, but declined. He was a member of the Military Commission that tried the assassins of President Lincoln. Returning to Indianapolis, he was elected City Treasurer for the term 1867-71. He was U. S. Marshal for Indiana 1881-5, and was appointed Quartermaster General by Gov. Durbin, which office he held at the time of his death, March 3, 1903. He organized the G. A. R. in Indiana, and was the first Department Commander of the State.

[21] An account of this pursuit, by Capt. Charles W. Smith, is in Ind. Hist. Pubs., Vol. 5, p. 519.

Indiana's naval officer who attained greatest prominence was Admiral George Brown. He was born at Rushville, June 19, 1835, and appointed to the navy in 1849. At the beginning of the Civil War he had reached the rank of Lieutenant, and was in continuous service during the war. He was in command of the "tin-clad" Indianola at Vicksburg; and after running the batteries there was engaged single-handed with two Confederate rams and two "cotton-clad" steamers. After a fight of an hour and a half, during which the Indianola was rammed seven times, she was run ashore in a sinking condition. Brown was badly wounded, and captured, but was soon exchanged; and commanded the gunboat Itasca in Farragut's operations at Mobile. After the war he was in widely varied responsible naval employment, and was commander-in-chief of the naval forces on the Pacific Station 1889-92. He was made Commodore September 4, 1877, and Rear Admiral September 27, 1893. He retired June 19, 1897, but performed special duty on the West coast during the Spanish-American war. He died at his home at Indianapolis, June 29, 1913. Another naval officer of the Civil War who became an admiral was Napoleon Collins. He is credited to Indiana because appointed from the State, but was born in Pennsylvania, May 4, 1814. His parents removed to Indiana, and he went into the navy in 1834. He achieved international prominence on October 7, 1864, when he captured the rebel raider steamship Florida, in the Brazilian port of Bahia, he being in command of the steam sloop Wachusett, which was at anchor in the port when the Florida came in. The Florida had permission from the Brazilian government to remain for forty-eight hours, and a Brazilian corvette dropped in between the two ships, and anchored. The next morning Collins got under way, and crossed the bow of the Brazilian ship, intending to ram the Florida and sink her. He failed in this, but fired two guns into her, after which she surrendered, and he towed her out of the harbor, and took her to Hampton Roads. The Brazilian government protested at this infringement of neutrality, and the United States disavowed the act, and ordered the Florida returned, but a transport managed to run into her and sink her. Collins was not officially censured, and on July 25, 1866, he was promoted to Captain; January 19, 1871, to Commodore; and August 9, 1874, to Rear Admiral, and put in command of the South Pacific squadron. He died at Callao, Peru, August 9, 1875.

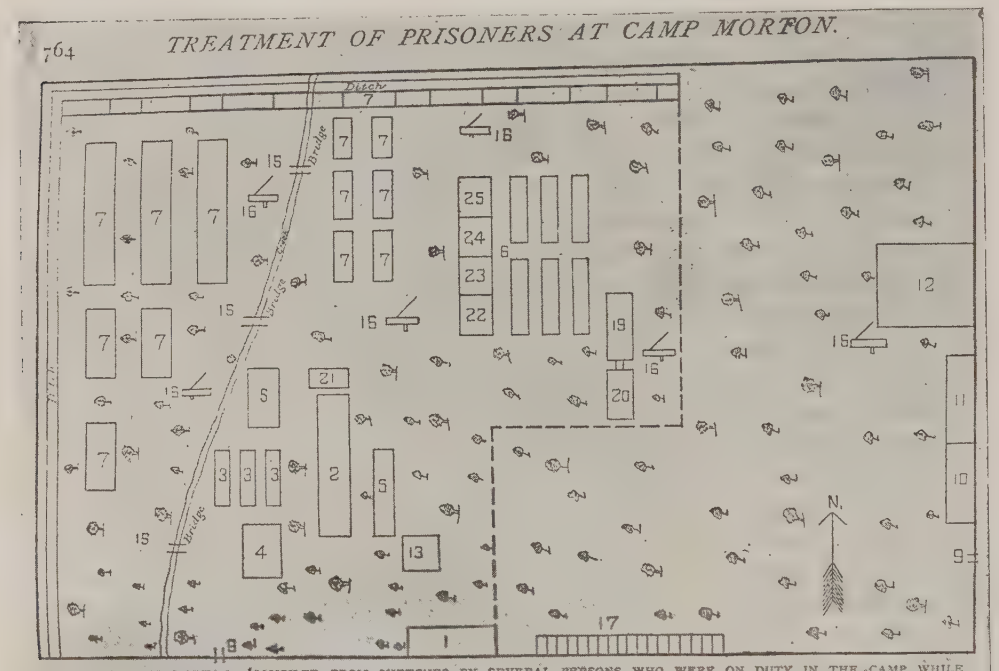
Lieutenant Commander William Gwin was born at Columbus, Indiana, December 5, 1832, and would no doubt have attained greater prominence but for his early death. He was well educated, passing three years at St. Xavier's College at Cincinnati, and an equal period at St. Xavier's at Vincennes, before his appointment to Annapolis, in

1847. Six months later he was ordered to the frigate Brandywine, and began a varied experience in naval service. One of his adventures occurred in 1858, while a Lieutenant on the sloop Vandalia, in the Feejee islands. The cannibals had captured and eaten three American sailors, and Gwin started with sixty men for the chief's town for reparation. They were ambushed and attacked by five hundred savages, but defeated them, and reduced the island to submission. At the opening of the war he was engaged on blockade duty until January, 1862, when at his request he was transferred to Commodore Foote's Mississippi flotilla. He was put in command of the wooden gunboat Tyler, and rendered such effective service that he was put in command of the big iron-clad Benton. While attacking the rebel batteries at Haines' Bluff, Gwin went on deck to observe the effect of the guns, and was struck by a solid shot, from the effect of which he died a week later, January 3, 1863. He had been married two months earlier to a wealthy young lady of New York, and was urged to leave the service, but obeyed the call of patriotism, and went back to his death.

It should be mentioned that in addition to regular war taxes, Indiana made large contributions of money for war purposes, as well as contributions of men. One of the largest items was that of bounties to enlisted men, paid by counties, townships and cities, which made a grand total of $15,492,876. From the same sources came a contribution of $4,566,898 for the relief of the families of soldiers, and the State supplemented this with a contribution of $1,646,809. The contributions to the Sanitary Commission were $606,570, and for miscellaneous war purposes $198,866, making a total of over $22,500,000. The collection and distribution of funds enlisted the services of a great number of unpaid workers, and so did the relief work of all kinds. In all this the women of the State had a large part. More than one hundred Indiana women went as nurses. Two of them died in service—Miss Hannah Powell and Miss Asinae Martin, of Goshen—while serving in the hospitals at Memphis. A notable record was made by Mrs. Eliza E. George, who left home and family when over fifty years of age, to care for the wounded. She went with the army, to be where help was most needed, and was known as "Mother George" by the soldiers. She went with Sherman's army to Atlanta, and on through Georgia, until at Wilmington, North Carolina, she died of typhoid fever, on May 9, 1865. The people of Fort Wayne, her home, erected a handsome monument in memory of her devoted service.

Mention has been made of the rebel prisoners at Camp Morton, which was the only regular prison camp in Indiana, though a few prisoners were temporarily confined at Terre Haute, and Lafayette. After the

capture of Fort Donelson, Gen. Halleck telegraphed an inquiry to Gov. Morton, asking how many prisoners he could care for, and he replied "three thousand." Halleck sent 3,700 to Indianapolis, in addition to 800 that went to Terre Haute, and a like number to Lafayette, temporarily. They arrived on the 22nd of February, 1862. Camp Morton was the State Fair Grounds, which had been converted into a camp for our soldiers at the beginning of the war. Additional barracks were at once



PLAN OF CAMP MORTON. (COMPILED FROM SKETCHES BY SEVERAL PERSONS WHO WERE ON DUTY IN THE CAMP WHILE THE PRISONERS WERE THERE. THE GROUND IS STILL INCLOSED AND USED AS STATE FAIR GROUNDS.)

1. Headquarters. 2. Old Hospital building. 3. Hospital tents. 4. Sutler's store. 5. Hospital buildings — built in 1863. 6. New Hospitals — built in 1864. 7. Barracks. 8. Hospitals. 9. Gates. 10. Quartermaster's office. 11. Commissary of Subsistence. 12. Bakery. 13. Base-ball grounds. 14. Creek —"The Potomac." 15. Bridges. 16. Pumps. 17. Sheds for officers' horses. 18. Ditch. 19. Dining-room. 20. Kitchen. 21. Dining-room. 22. Consulting room. 23. Reception room. 24. Engineer's office. 25. Prescription and supply room. - - - - - - - - Guard line.

built, and bunks, stoves and equipage were furnished as to our own troops; and in March the prisoners at Terre Haute and Lafayette were all brought to this point. Others followed, and the camp was enlarged as needed. A general exchange of prisoners was made in August, 1862, and Camp Morton was temporarily closed as a prison, but was opened again in 1863, after the Vicksburg campaign, and continued to the end of the war. There was some suffering among the prisoners, especially the first ones. Gen. Terrell says: "On arrival, especially the Fort Donelson and Fort Henry prisoners, many were sick from the terrible exposure to which they had been subjected. The day after the main body came,

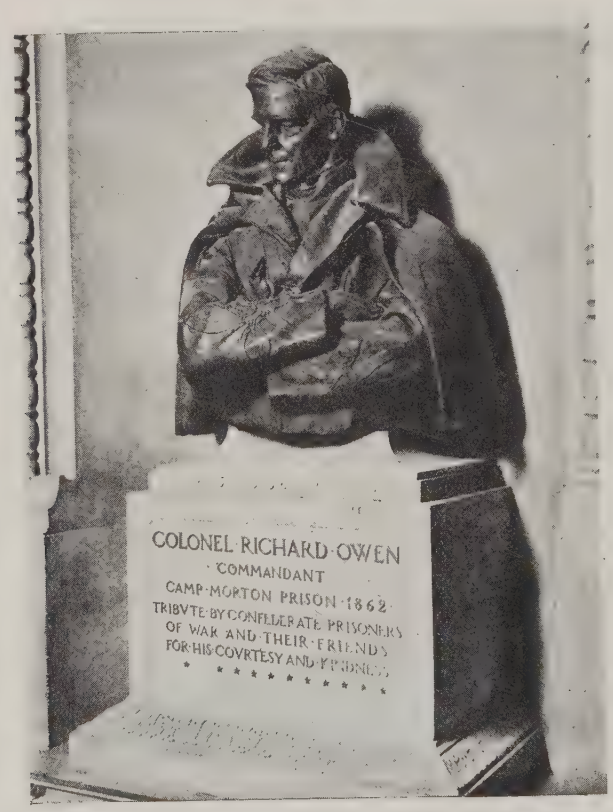
the surgeons of the city prescribed for more than five hundred, and the sick list for some time increased rapidly. The men were thinly clad, unaccustomed to the rigors of outdoor life in winter, and had been poorly fed. The prevailing diseases were pneumonia and diarrhea. Ample hospital arrangements were made, and everything that kindness or humanity could suggest was done to alleviate the distressed condition of the prisoners. The citizens of Indianapolis, as well as of Terre Haute and Lafayette, responded to the calls of the authorities and did all that was possible to be done in furnishing suitable nourishment, delicacies and attention. Many very estimable ladies and gentlemen volunteered their services as nurses and attendants, and prominent members of the medical profession were particularly kind and attentive. Buildings were rented outside the camp and converted into infirmaries, with every convenience and comfort required by the sick. Despite all these efforts, the mortality was frightful during the first month or two. All who died were decently buried in plain wooden coffins, in the public cemeteries, and a record made of their names, regiments, etc., for the information of relatives and friends. After the weather moderated and grew warm a marked change took place in the general health of the prisoners and but few deaths occurred.''[22]

Until June 10, 1862, Camp Morton was under command of Col. Richard Owen, of the Sixtieth Indiana, and the remainder of that year under Col. David Garland Rose, of the Fifty-Fourth. After 1862 the prison was taken over by the national government, and Gen. Ambrose A. Stevens, of Michigan was in command. There has been some controversy over the treatment of the prisoners at this camp, arising chiefly from criticisms made by Dr. J. A. Wyeth, which were answered by a committee of the G. A. R. headed by Gen. Carnahan.[23] In reality the criticisms amount to little more than the statement of the health conditions by Terrell, and when it is considered that in the Civil War the losses of the Union Army from disease were much greater than those from battle, the basis for them becomes slight. What there was of it was happily disposed of in 1913, when S. A. Cunningham, editor of the Confederate Veteran, started a movement for a Confederate memorial to Col. Owen, who was in command during the period described by Terrell. A fund was raised by contributions from ex-confederate prisoners at Camp Morton, and a bust of Col. Owen was made by Miss Belle Kinney, the Nashville sculptress, who made the statue of Gen. Jos.

[22] Report, Vol. 1, p. 457.

[23] Wyeth's ''With Sabre and Scalpel,'' pp. 286-312; Century Magazine, April and September, 1891; Southern Historical Soc. Papers, Vol. 18, p. 327; Report of G. A. R. Committee.

E. Johnston at Dalton, Georgia, and other monuments at various Southern points. It was formally unveiled and presented at the State Capitol on June 9, 1913, the presentation speech being made by Gen. Bennett H. Young, Commander of the United Confederate Veterans, and warm tribute to Col. Owen was made in behalf of his former prisoners, before an audience largely composed of Union and Con-



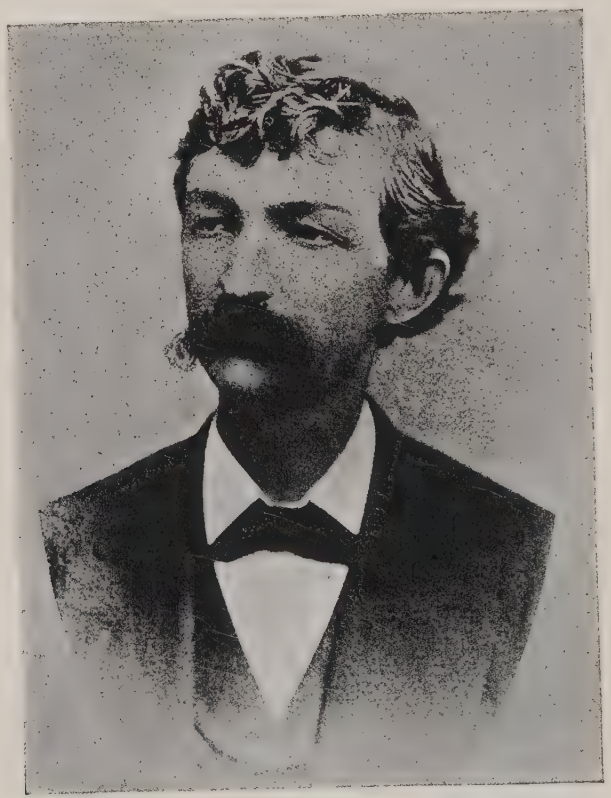
federate veterans, who fraternized most cordially on the occasion. It was an unprecedented tribute, and one in which Indiana takes just pride.

During the war the soil of Indiana was three times invaded by rebels. The first and least important invasion occurred on July 18, 1862, when about thirty men, under command of a guerrilla chief named Adam R. Johnson, seized a ferry-boat, and crossed the Ohio from Kentucky to Newburg, in Warrick County. There were no troops at the place, except about eighty sick soldiers who were in a temporary hos-

pital. The raiders took possession of the hospital, but paroled the inmates. They then seized some arms that were stored in the place, plundered several stores and houses, and returned to the Kentucky shore. Within three days ten companies of volunteers had assembled at Evansville, under command of Col. James Gavin, of the Seventh Indiana, and Col. John T. Wilder, of the Seventeenth Indiana, who were at home on leave of absence. They were sent into Kentucky with orders from Governor Morton to shoot all guerrillas found under arms, and all persons making resistance. In a few days that part of Kentucky was cleared of guerrillas. The people of Newbury decided that the raid had been instigated by citizens of that place, and after the raiders left, killed H. H. Carney and Elliott Melford, who had been seen in consultation with the raiders. The second raid was under command of Captain Thomas H. Hines, of the Ninth Kentucky Cavalry. He was attached to the command of Gen. John Morgan, and early in June, 1863, was sent by Morgan to scout north of the Cumberland, with 120 men. After committing some depredations at Elizabethtown, forty miles southwest of Louisville, he was pursued by Union troops, and part of his men were captured. He then determined, according to Gen. Basil Duke, to cross over into Indiana, "and stir up the copperheads."[24] He reached the Ohio with 64 men, and early on the morning of June 18, crossed at Flint Island, eight miles above Cannelton. They were not in uniform, and were variously armed with muskets, rifles and shotguns, but each had two revolvers. They rode north through Perry County, pretending to be Union troops looking for deserters, and exchanged their tired horses for fresh ones, giving orders on the U. S. Quartermaster at Indianapolis for any agreed difference in value. They reached Orange County, near Orleans, that evening, and learning that the militia were gathering to oppose them, turned east, and rode all night, making towards Leavenworth. They killed one man who refused to give up his horse. At three o'clock in the morning they reached the house of Bryant Breedon, three miles from Leavenworth, and ordered him to conduct them to a crossing of the Ohio near the mouth of Blue River. He sent his son to Leavenworth to warn the Home Guards, and led them by a circuitous route to an island three miles above Leavenworth, where there was a shallow channel on the Indiana side, but on the Kentucky side the river was not fordable. After they were on the island, the militia came up and cut off retreat on the Indiana side, while the steamer Izetta, which had taken on a small cannon at Leavenworth, came up and opened fire on them from the river. Three of the raiders were killed, two drowned, and fifty-four

[24] Morgan's Cavalry, p. 431.

surrendered. Captain Hines made his escape across the river. The prisoners expressed disappointment at being treated as enemies by everybody they had met in Indiana, and the only kindness shown to them was by a man at New Amsterdam, in Harrison County, who was found treating some of them after their capture, and was forthwith put in jail with them.[25]



CAPTAIN THOMAS H. HINES AT TWENTY-THREE
(Afterwards Chief Justice of the Kentucky Court of Appeals)

This is significant in connection with the later activities of Capt. Hines in connection with Indiana. He was an interesting character; a native of Kentucky, born October 9, 1838, of an old Kentucky family. His father, Judge Warren W. Hines, was in comfortable circumstances, and young Hines received so excellent a private education at home that, in 1859, he began teaching in the Masonic University, at

[25] New Albany Ledger, June 22, 1863.

Lagrange. At the beginning of the Civil War, he entered the Confederate army as a lieutenant, and, after the battle of Shiloh joined Morgan's cavalry, for which he raised the company he commanded. He was with Morgan in his raid through Indiana, was captured with him, was the principal agent in the escape of Morgan from the Ohio penitentiary in 1863, and sacrificed himself to protect his chief. He was the principal agent of the South in "the Northwestern Conspiracy," and after its collapse escaped to Canada, where he began to read law with Gen. J. C. Breckenridge, at Toronto. After the war he removed to Memphis, where he edited the Memphis Daily Appeal, and finished his legal studies under Gen. Alfred Pike. He was admitted to practice, and in 1870, was elected Judge of the Warren County Court. In 1878, he was elected a Judge of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, and was Chief Justice of that Court in 1884-5. Later he resumed the practice of law, and died on January 23, 1898.

But the great raid was Morgan's, though that of Hines may have been an introduction to it. As early as June 20, some of the prisoners of the Hines command stated that a rebel force of 1,500 men would be in Indiana within ten days.[26] It appears to have been the purpose to relieve the pressure on Bragg's army by drawing the Union troops out of Kentucky in pursuit of Morgan, who, marching without impedimenta, could avoid pursuing forces, and safely return south of the Ohio. This would probably have been the result, but for an unexpected rise in the Ohio, which prevented his crossing at Buffington Island. Morgan marched rapidly through Kentucky, and arrived at Bradenburg on July 7, and that night captured the steamer "J. T. McComb," which landed at the town; anchored in midstream, and put up distress signals. The steamer "Alice Dean," coming up the river went to the relief, and was also captured. Morgan had sent out parties to cut the telegraph wires in all directions, which was thoroughly done, but citizens of Brandenburg got across the river, and gave the alarm at Mauckport, from where it was sent to Corydon and Leavenworth. A force of Home Guards appeared on the Indiana side, with a six-pound cannon, but Morgan had two three-inch Parrott guns and two twelve-pound howitzers, and the defenders were driven away, and Morgan's forces were all across by midnight of the 8th. Generals Hobson and Shackelford, of Kentucky, who were in pursuit of Morgan, were in reach of Brandenburg on the evening of the 8th, but did not undertake to enter the town until the next morning. A gunboat had come down Salt River, and attacked Morgan, but he had the heavier artillery, and it retired.

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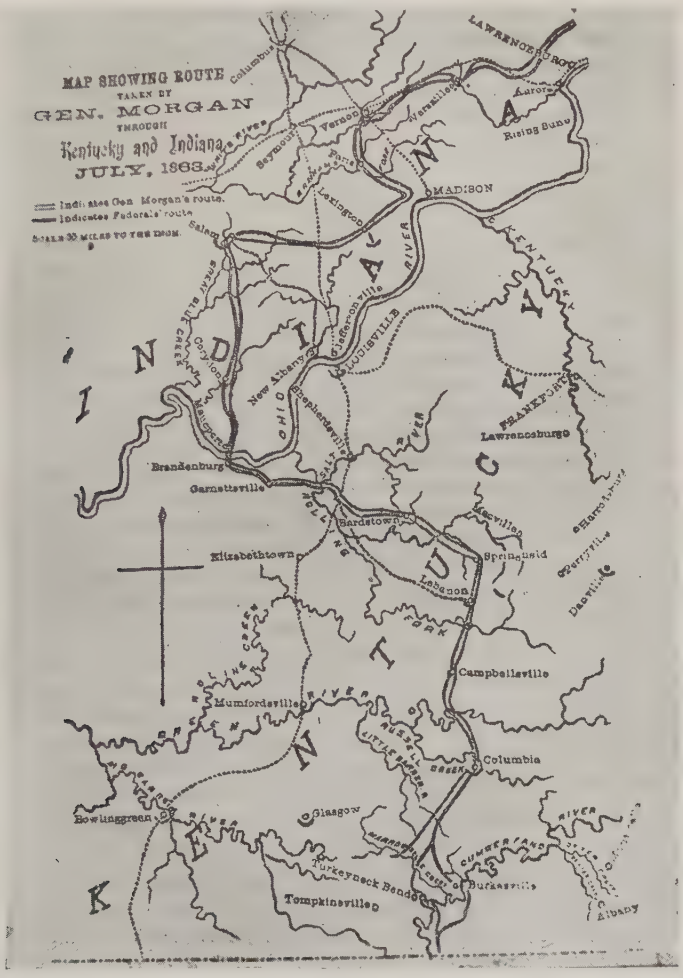
[26] New Albany Ledger, June 20, 1863.

Morgan burned the "Alice Dean," but not the "J. T. McComb," and instead of using the latter at once for putting his troops across the river, Shackelford sent her up to Louisville for transports, and so Morgan had twenty-four hours start of his pursuers in Indiana.

Early on the morning of the 9th, Morgan started north to Corydon. Near Corydon he encountered a force of Home Guards, posted behind rail barricades, and a fight ensued, in which the Home Guards lost four killed and two wounded, while Morgan had eight killed and thirty-three wounded. But Morgan's artillery put an end to the resistance, and 300 Home Guards surrendered and were at once paroled. They delayed the raiders so much that they made only 14 miles that day, or about one-third of their average distance. After a short stay at Corydon, Morgan moved north again, camped for a few hours near Palmyra, and reached Salem at nine o'clock on the morning of the 10th. They left there at two in the afternoon, and moved east to Vienna on the Indianapolis and Jeffersonville Railroad, where they captured the telegraph operator before he could send out a warning message, and, by listening to messages going over the lines, learned of the preparations being made for their reception. Word of the invasion reached Louisville on the afternoon of the 9th, and was at once telegraphed to Governor Morton, reaching him about three o'clock. Morton at once issued a proclamation calling on all able-bodied white male citizens of the counties south of the National Road, to assemble, form companies, arm themselves, and drill. By the 11th, 15,000 improvised militia had reported, and two days later there were over 60,000. The alarm was widespread. Morgan kept parties scouting for five or ten miles on both sides of his line of march, and the reports of his force were greatly exaggerated, and wild rumors located him at places where he did not go. Louisville sent a million and a half of specie north for safety, and Indianapolis banks did likewise, for it was thought for a time that Morgan was heading for the State capital. But this was no part of his plan. From Vienna they moved east to Lexington, near which they camped most of the night; then on to Vernon, where they found a force of Home Guards out to protect the town. These asked time to remove non-combatants, which was promptly granted; and while they were getting ready to fight, Morgan drew his force off on the road to Dupont and left them. They crossed the Indianapolis and Cincinnati Railroad 16 miles north of Lawrenceburg, burning bridges, tearing up rails, and cutting telegraph wires, as they did all along their route. They reached Harrison on Monday, the 13th, crossed the Whitewater, and burned the bridge after them. As the advance of Hobson's pursuing force came down into the valley, to enter Harrison, they saw the

rear of Morgan's party moving up the hill to the east. Morgan was out of Indiana, and his further pursuit and capture belong to the history of Ohio and of the nation.



Route of Morgan's Raid

In this raid Morgan's men not only "lived on the country," in the military sense, but robbed private citizens of their valuables like ordinary highwaymen. Millers, and owners of manufactories were required to "ransom" them or have them burned—usually at a price of $1,000 or more. Women were not molested, except in the search of

houses for money, in the course of which beds were ripped up, furniture broken, and mirrors thrown down. Stores were plundered promiscuously, and with a wanton spirit that might have been expected from a lot of drunken Halloween roysterers. Gen. Basil Duke freely admits this, as follows: "This disposition for wholesale plunder exceeded anything that any of us had ever seen before. The men seemed actuated by a desire to 'pay off' in the 'enemy's country' all scores that the Federal army had chalked up in the South. The great cause for apprehension, which our situation might have inspired, seemed only to make them reckless. Calico was the staple article of appropriation—each man (who could get one) tied a bolt of it to his saddle, only to throw it away and get a fresh one at the first opportunity. They did not pillage with any sort of method or reason—it seemed to be a mania, senseless and purposeless. One man carried a bird-cage, with three canaries in it, for two days. Another rode with a chafing dish, which looked like a small metallic coffin, on the pommel of his saddle, until an officer forced him to throw it away. Although the weather was intensely warm, another, still, slung seven pairs of skates around his neck, and chuckled over his acquisition. I saw very few artices of real value taken—they pillaged like boys robbing an orchard. I would not have believed that such a passion could have been developed, so ludicrously, among any body of civilized men. At Piketon, Ohio, some days later, one man broke through the guard posted at a store, rushed in (trembling with excitement and avarice), and filled his pockets with horn buttons. They would (with few exceptions) throw away their plunder after a while, like children tired of their toys. * * * Passing through Dupont a little after daylight, a new feature in the practice of appropriation was developed. A large meat packing establishment was in this town, and each man had a ham slung to his saddle. There was no difficulty at any time in supplying men and horses, in either Indiana or Ohio—forage and provisions were to be had in abundance, stop where we would. There is a custom prevailing in those States, which is of admirable assistance to soldiery, and should be encouraged—a practice of baking bread once a week in large quantities. Every house is full of it. The people were still laboring under vast apprehensions regarding us, and it was a rare thing to see an entire family remaining at home. The men met us oftener in their capacity of militia than at their houses, and the 'Copperheads' and 'Vallandinghamers' fought harder than the others. Wherever we passed, bridges and depots, water-tanks, etc., were burned and the railroads torn up, but I knew of but one private dwelling being burned upon the entire raid, and we were fired upon from that one."[27]

[27] Hist. of Morgan's Cavalry, pp. 436-9.

The private dwelling referred to was that of Rev. Peter Glenn, south of Corydon. Glenn attempted to enter the house after it was fired, after being ordered to desist, and was shot and killed. There were about 18 non-combatants killed by the raiders in Indiana, most of them for not obeying orders to halt. The amount of damage done was not so large as might have been expected. In 1867, the General Assembly provided for a commission to pass on claims for damages in the Morgan raid, and the State finally allowed and paid $413,599.48 for damage done and property taken. The State was later reimbursed in part by the United States government. The scare was so widespread, and the damage so much less than feared, that the invasion was largely a matter of jest for years afterwards; and in fact it was probably worth all it cost in rousing the people to the importance of supporting the Union cause, and keeping the war as far away from Indiana as possible. It also convinced the Confederates that there was very little sympathy for them north of the Ohio, as indicated by Gen. Duke, above. This was confirmed on all sides at the time. Gen. Shackelford says of Indiana, in his official report: "The kindness, hospitality, and patriotism of that noble state, as exhibited on the passage of the Federal forces, was sufficient to convince the most consummate traitor of the impossibility of severing this great Union. Ohio seemed to vie with her sister Indiana in facilitating our pursuit after the great Rebel raider. In each of these two great states our troops were fed and furnished with water from the hands of men, women and children; from the palace and hut alike we shared their hospitality." Gen. Hobson said in his report: "And to the citizens of Indiana and Ohio who so generously came to our assistance, and so generously provided for our wants, I return my thanks, and I assure them they will ever be held in grateful remembrance by all the command." Morton issued a proclamation of thanks to the "minute men," in which he stated that Morgan unquestionably intended originally to sack the capital, but had been prevented by the popular resistance. "This wonderful uprising will exert a marked effect throughout the country, exhibiting as it does in the strongest and most favorable light the military spirit and patriotism of our people. * * * For the alacrity with which you have responded to my call and left your harvest fields, your workshops and offices, and took up arms to protect your State and punish the invaders, allow me, on behalf of the State to tender my hearty thanks. Your example will not be lost upon the nation, and you have taught the Rebels a lesson which will not be forgotten."

The Journal joined in the common testimony, on July 15, saying: "Political differences were for the moment forgotten, and feuds that

had long separated friends were lost in the overwhelming patriotism, and men clasped hands and marched shoulder to shoulder as friends again. * * * We thank Morgan for this raid. It has evolved our patriotism; it has given us a marvelous unity; it has organized our state forces and rendered them efficient for any emergency; it has effectually cowed down sympathy with rebels; more than all it has taught the raider, who loves to plunder and lay waste more than he does to fight, that no part of the North is what Grierson found the South to be, a mere empty shell.'' But this did not last. The Journal was soon arguing that Morgan could not possibly have got out of Indiana, if he had not been aided by copperheads, and the Sentinel was demonstrating that Morgan's escape was due to official blundering, and especially holding troops to protect Indianapolis. Perhaps the most interesting testimony in that connection is the report of Gen. Hascall, made some time later, in which he says: ''It soon became evident that Morgan had no serious intention of attacking the capital, but was trying to escape through Ohio. To prevent this Brigadier General Carrington was ordered to proceed with three regiments of minute men and a battery of artillery, by way of Richmond and Hamilton, to intercept Morgan at or near Loveland, north of Cincinnati. He was ordered to proceed at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 13th day of July, and the trains were said to have been in readiness at that time. At nine o'clock at night, however, he had not gone, and General Willcox thereupon suspended him from command, and ordered me to proceed with the troops, which I did, arriving at the point of destination 'just in time to be too late.' The few hours lost in starting from Indianapolis gave the rebel marauder ample time to pass the proposed point of attack without detention, and the last opportunity offered to Indiana troops to inflict chastisement on the fleeing enemy was thus lost.[28]

It was in this connection that George W. Julian entered military life. Julian says: ''Messengers were at once dispatched to all parts of Wayne County conveying the news of the invasion, and the next morning the people came pouring in from all directions, while the greatest excitement prevailed. The town had eighty muskets, belonging to the Home Guard, and I took one of them, which I afterward exchanged for a good French rifle; and having put on the military equipments, and supplied myself with a blanket and canteen, I was ready for marching orders. The volunteers who rallied at Centreville were shipped to Indianapolis, and were about seven hours on the way. I was a member of Company C, and the regiment to which I belonged was the One Hun-

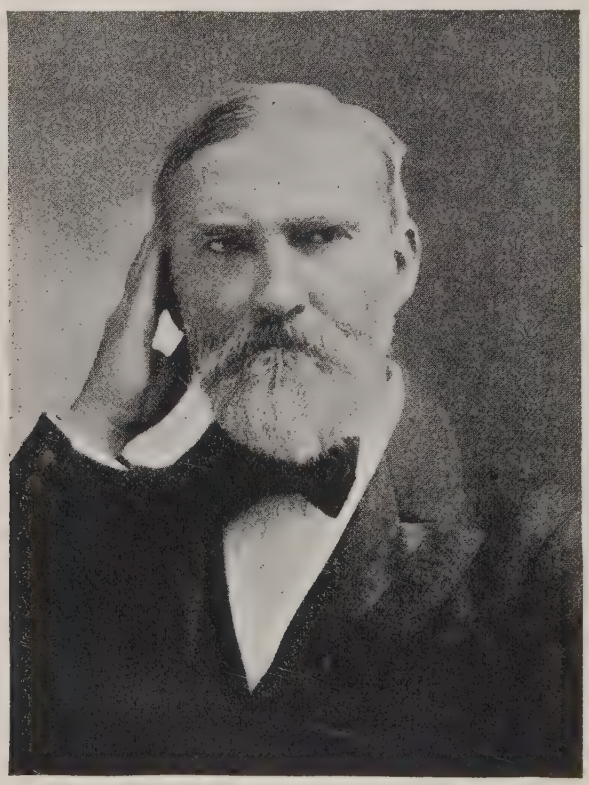
[28] Terrell's Report, Vol. 1, p. 277.

dred and Sixth, and was commanded by Colonel Isaac P. Gray. Of the force which responded to the call of the Governor, thirteen regiments and one battalion were organized specially for the emergency, and sent into the field in different directions, except the One Hundred and Tenth and the One hundred and Eleventh, which remained at Indianapolis. The One Hundred and Sixth was shipped by rail to Cincinnati, and but for a detention of several hours at Indianapolis, caused by the drunkenness of an officer high in command, it might possibly have encountered Morgan near Hamilton, the next morning, on the way South. * * * We were reshipped to Indianapolis by rail, where we were mustered out of service and returned to our homes after a campaign of eight days. This was the sum of my military experience, but it afforded me some glimpses of the life of a soldier, and supplied me with some startling facts respecting the curse of intemperance in our armies.[29]

The civil history of Indiana during the war is not so gratifying as the military history, and the ordinary idea of it has given the State a reputation that is not deserved. As has been noted, in 1861, after Sumter was fired on, Indiana was practically a unit for the suppression of the rebellion, as was specially evidenced by the special session of the legislature which was convened after the war had so begun. It subordinated all considerations of party, and gave Governor Morton even more than he asked. No governor had ever had such power in Indiana as was conferred on him by law at this time. The legislative enthusiasm for the preservation of the Union was simply an illustration of the general feeling. That there were some Southern sympathizers in Indiana is unquestionable, but they were few in number, and no more numerous than the average in the Northern States. Some of them left the State and went South, as was easy on account of the geographical relation. and those who remained were neither active nor influential. And yet. with a people enthusiastic for war, with himself at the head of the war management, with his devotion to the war unquestioned, Morton lost political control of the State in eighteen months. In 1862 the people elected Democratic State officers (excepting the Governor and Lieutenant Governor) and a Democratic legislature. There were two senators to be elected, one for a full term, and one for the unexpired term of Jesse D. Bright. The Democratic members were unanimously for Thomas A. Hendricks for the full term, and practically so for David Turpie for the short term, although Bright was on hand asking a reelection for "vindication." The Republicans undertook to control the

[29] Political Recollections, p. 232.

Democratic nominations, and began bolting to prevent the election of Hendricks and Turpie. Foulke says: "They believed that Hendricks, one of the candidates for the Senate, was not in favor of the war, and would advocate a separate political union of the Northwestern states, as foreshadowed in his speech of January 8, 1862. They did not intend that he should be elected, unless with some pledge of loyalty, or upon



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resolution which would require his support of the war. * * * The withdrawal of the Republican senators, for the purpose of breaking a quorum and preventing the election of Hendricks and Turpie to the Senate of the United States, was a mistake. The Democrats had the undoubted right to elect those senators. While Hendricks had not supported the war, he had not actively opposed it, and his declarations in favor of the union of the Northwest made in the convention of the 8th of January, 1862, were ambiguous. He would be powerless in the Federal

Senate to accomplish any great evil in the face of the Republican majority, and if his conduct became objectionable in the same way that Mr. Bright's had been, he could be removed by the action of that body. There was no need for the Republican senators to assume the extreme position which they did at the outset of the session."[30] Apparently not. Turpie says: "After the election I called at the governor's office. Mr. Morton gave me my commission with his best wishes for my personal success, observing also that the honors of our party had been justly and deservedly awarded. This remark I repeated to Mr. Hendricks, since it was doubtless intended as a compliment to both the senators elect. All these things were very pleasant."[31] What Mr. Hendricks had said was that in case the South achieved its independence, the interests of the Northwest were with it, rather than with New England; which seemed rather obvious at the time, as Governor Morton wrote to Lincoln, on October 27, 1862:

"The fate of the North is trembling in the balance. The result of the late elections admonishes all who understand its import that not an hour is to be lost. The Democratic politicians of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois assume that the rebellion will not be crushed, and that the independence of the rebel Confederacy will, before many months, be practically acknowledged. Starting upon this hypothesis, they ask the question, 'What shall be the destiny of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois? Shall they remain attached to the old government, or shall they secede and form a new one—a Northwestern Confederacy—as a preparatory step to annexation with the South? The latter project is the programme, and has been for the last twelve months. During the recent campaign it was the staple of every Democratic speech—that we had no interests or sympathies in common with the people of the Northern and Eastern states; that New England is fattening at our expense; that the people of New England are cold, selfish, money-making, and, through the medium of tariffs and railroads, are pressing us to the dust; that geographically these states are a part of the Mississippi Valley, and, in their political associations and destiny, can not be separated from the other states of that valley; that socially and commercially their sympathies and interests are with the people of the Southern states rather than with the people of the North and East; that the Mississippi river is the great artery and outlet of all Western commerce; that the people of the Northwest can never consent to be separated politically from the people who control the mouth of that river; that this war has been forced upon the South for the purpose of abolishing slavery, and that

[30] Life of Morton, pp. 214, 219.

[31] Sketches of My Own Times, p. 200.

the South has offered reasonable and proper compromises which, if they had been accepted, would have avoided the war. In some of these arguments there is much truth. Our geographical and social relations are not to be denied; but the most potent appeal is that connected with the free navigation and control of the Mississippi river. The importance of that river to the trade and commerce of the Northwest is so patent as to impress itself with great force upon the most ignorant minds, and requires only to be stated to be at once understood and accepted, and I give it here as my deliberate judgment that, should the misfortune of our arms, or other causes, compel us to the abandonment of this war and the concession of the independence of the rebel states—Ohio, Indiana and Illinois can only be prevented from a new act of secession by a bloody and desolating civil war. The South would have the prestige of success; the commerce of the world would be opened to feed and furnish her armies, and she would contend for every foot of land west of the Alleghenies, and in the struggle would be supported by a powerful party in these states.

"If the states which have already seceded should succeed in their rebellion, our efforts must then be directed to the preservation of what is left; to maintaining in the Union those which are termed loyal, and to retaining the territories of the West. God grant that this contingency may never happen, but it becomes us, as men, to look it boldly in the face. Let us take security against it if possible, especially when by so doing we shall be pursuing the surest mode for crushing out the rebellion in every part, and restoring the Union to its former limits. The plan which I have to suggest is the complete clearing out of all obstacles to the navigation of the Mississippi river and the thorough conquest of the states upon its western bank. Between the state of Missouri and the Gulf of Mexico, on the western bank, are the states of Arkansas and Louisiana. Arkansas has a population of about three hundred and twenty-five thousand white citizens and one hundred and eleven thousand slaves, and a very large percentage of her white population is in the rebel army, and serving east of the Mississippi. Of the fighting population of western Louisiana not less than fifty per cent is in the rebel army, and in service east of the river. The river once in our possession and occupied by our gunboats can never be crossed by a rebel army, and the fighting men now without those states can never get back to their relief. To make their conquest thorough and complete your proclamation should be executed in every county and every township and upon every plantation. All this can be done in less than ninety days with an army of less than one hundred thousand men. Texas would then be entirely isolated from the rebel Confederacy, and would

readily fall into our hands. She has undoubtedly a large Union element in her population, and with her complete separation from the people of the other rebel states, could make but feeble resistance. The remaining rebel states, separated by the river, would be cut off effectually from all the territories and from the states of Mexico. The dangers to be apprehended from French aggressions in Mexico would be avoided. The entire western part of the continent now belonging to the government would be secured to us, and all communication between the rebel states and the states of the Pacific entirely stopped. The work of conquest in Arkansas and Louisiana would be easy and certain, and the presence of our gunboats in the river would effectually prevent any large force from coming from the east to the relief of those states. The complete emancipation which could and should be made of all the slaves in Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas would place the possession of those states on a very different footing from that of any other rebel territory which we have heretofore overrun.

"But another result to be gained by the accomplishment of this plan will be the creation of a guaranty against the further depreciation of the loyalty of the Northwestern states by the assurance that whatever may be the result of the war, the free navigation and control of the Mississippi river will be secured at all events."

Aside from a natural desire to find a foreign explanation for the political reverse in Indiana, there is no reason to suspect the sincerity of Morton in this letter; though the "plan" was a matter of "carrying coals to Newcastle," as the opening of the Mississippi was what Lincoln had been striving for for months. Farragut and Butler had taken New Orleans in April, and Natchez in May; but the gunboats had been unable to reduce the fortifications at Vicksburg, and Grant had been ordered to march on it from Corinth. Possibly Morton was demonstrating his military capacity, for he persistently sought an appointment from Lincoln. Foulke says: "Morton's restless energy was ill content with a merely civil office in time of war. The palpable incompetence of many of the men who were conducting great operations provoked in him an eager desire to take the field in person. His natural gifts qualified him for military leadership. At a very early period he was convinced of the importance of dividing the Confederacy along the line of the Mississippi and of cutting off the territory west of the river from the rest of the seceding states. This was before the country realized the necessity of the immense armies which were afterwards required. Morton proposed to raise and command a force of ten thousand men for this purpose. William R. Holloway, his private secretary, went to Washington to lay the plan before the President. * * * In the summer of 1862,

Morton's desire for a military command was again communicated to the President. A number of leading men from the West urged the consolidation of the troops in that section under Morton's command."[32] Simultaneously with this movement the Journal opened a campaign against General Grant. Sulgrove visited the army after Shiloh, and on April 29, 1862, he wrote, for the Journal: "Of General Grant I

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heard much and little to his credit. The army may know nothing of the real guilt of the late sacrifice and the real cause of the confusion that was left to arrange itself in a storm of bullets and fire, but they believe that Grant is at fault. No respect is felt for him and no confidence felt in him. I heard nobody attempt to exculpate him, and his conduct was the one topic of discussion around camp fires during my stay." This attitude was maintained for months. On November 13,

[32] Life of Morton, pp. 180-1.

1862, the Journal said: "General Grant has been living a good while on whiskey and the reputation he made without any effort of his own at Ft. Donelson, and if he has taken on himself to defy his superiors and flout his equals, he has about exhausted the patience that his fictitious honors entitle him to."

On October 7, 1862, Morton wrote to Lincoln: "In my opinion, if our arms do not make great progress within the next sixty days, our cause will be almost lost. * * * You have now immense armies in the field, and all that they require to achieve victory is that they be led with energy and discretion. The cold professional leader, whose heart is not in the cause, who regards it as only a professional job, and whose rank and importance would be greatly diminished by the conclusion of the war, will not succeed in a contest like this. I would rely with infinitely more confidence upon the man of strong intellect, whose head is inspired by his heart, who, although he be unlearned in military science, believes that our cause is sacred, and that he is fighting for all that is dear to him and his country, rather than upon the polished professional soldier, whose sympathies, if he have any, are most likely on the other side. It is my solemn conviction that we will never succeed until the leadership of our armies is placed in the hands of men who are greatly in earnest, and who are profoundly convinced of the justice of our cause. Let me beg of you, sir, as I am your friend, a friend of the administration, and a friend of our unfortunate and unhappy country, that you will at once take up the consideration of this subject, and act upon the inspiration of your own heart and the dictates of your own judgment. Another three months like the last six, and we are lost—lost." But Lincoln was having trouble enough with "cold professional leaders" to risk any experiments with "men of strong intellect, unlearned in military science," and Morton was not appointed. And it may be doubted whether Lincoln's trials with his generals were much more worry to him than listening to their critics. It is related that after listening to a visitor berate one of them, he said: "Now you are just the man I have been looking for. I want you to give me your advice, and tell me, if you were in my place, and had learned all you've been telling, and didn't believe a word of it, what would you do?"

It will be noted that in Morton's letter of October 27 he ascribes the political reversal chiefly to the lack of success in the war, and to a belief that its object was to free the slaves, and not to preserve the Union. Unquestionably both of these causes had weight. There had been many persons who doubted that the South could be conquered, and there had not been much apparent progress towards it by the fall of 1862. War conditions were not pleasant even to those who were not

actively engaged in it. Prices had almost doubled, and taxes had increased enormously. The negro question was quite as prominent as before the war, and there had been a lurking suspicion from the first that the war was an abolition scheme, and at the beginning of the war nine-tenths of the people of Indiana were utterly opposed to abolition, and almost equally so to the negro. At the special legislative session of 1861, which was so enthusiastically for the war, there were two manifestations of these sentiments. On April 29, Representative Owen introduced a bill making any white person who married a negro or mulatto incompetent as a witness. On May 9, the Committee on Rights and Privileges recommended the indefinite postponement of this bill, on the ground that such a marriage was a nullity, and that "any white person who would debase themselves so low as to intermarry with a mulatto or negro should not be debased any lower by an act of the Legislature." This recommendation was defeated by a vote of 58 to 18, but on May 31, the bill was laid on the table. Both houses had joint resolutions "in relation to neutrality in time of war," and "constitutional obligations" of the states and the United States, and on April 30, the Senate added to its resolutions the declaration "Nor is it the intention of the State of Indiana that any portion of her resources of either men or money shall ever be employed, either directly or indirectly, in any aggression upon the institution of slavery, or any other constitutional right belonging to any of the States."[33] This addition was recommended by the Committee on Federal Relations, and adopted by consent, and yet within two years the same sentiment was treated as disloyal. Two years of war worked a revolution of sentiment that was astounding. The abominated abolitionist was having his day, and Indiana had her representative in the foremost ranks. On January 14, 1862, George W. Julian delivered a speech in Congress in which he urged that slavery was the cause of the rebellion, and its support; and demanded its abolition. His logic was perfect—his invective terrific.

He said: "This black conspiracy against the life of the Republic, which has armed half a million of men in its work of treason, piracy and murder,—this magnificent spectacle of total depravity made easy in real life, is the crowning flower and fruit of our partnership with the sum of all the villanies. All the crimes and horrors of this struggle for national existence cry out against it, and demand its utter political damnation. In the fires of the revolution which it has kindled, it has painted its own character with a pencil dipped in hell. The lives sacrificed in the war it has waged, the agonies of the battle-field, the bodies

[33] Sen. Journal, p. 59.

and limbs mangled and maimed for life, the widows and orphans made to mourn, the moral ravages of war, the waste of property, the burning of bridges, the robbery of forts, arsenals, navy-yards, and mints, the public sanction and practice of piracy, and the imminent peril to which the cause of free government throughout the world is subjected, all write their deep brand upon slavery as a Christless outlaw, and plead with us to smite it in the name of God. * * * I know it was not the purpose of this administration, at first, to abolish slavery, but only to save the Union, and maintain the old order of things. Neither was it the purpose of our fathers, in the beginning of the Revolution, to insist on independence. Before the first battles were fought, a reconciliation could have been secured simply by removing the grievance which led to arms. But events soon prepared the people to demand absolute separation. Similar facts may tell the story of the present struggle. * * * The rebels have demanded a 'reconstruction' on the basis of slavery; let us give them a 'reconstruction' on the basis of freedom. Let us convert the rebel States into conquered provinces, remanding them to the status of mere Territories, and governing them as such in our discretion. * * * As we are freed from all antecedent obligations, we should deal with this remorseless oligarchy as if we were now at the beginning of the nation's life, and about to lay the foundation of empire in these States for ages to come. Our failure to give freedom to four millions of slaves would be a crime only to be measured by that of putting them in chains if they were free. * * * A right to subdue the rebels carries with it a right to employ the means of doing it, and of doing it effectively, and with the least possible cost. * * * The rebels use their slaves in building fortifications; shall we not invite them to our lines, and employ them in the same business? The rebels employ them in raising the provisions, without which their armies must perish; shall we not entice them to join our standard, and thus compel the enemy to reinforce the plantation by weakening the army? The rebels employ them as cooks, nurses, teamsters and scouts; shall we decline such services in order to spare slavery? The rebels organize regiments of black men, who shoot down our loyal white soldiers; shall we sacrifice our sons and brothers for the sake of slavery, refusing to put black men against black men, when the highest interests of both white and black plead for it?

"Sir, when the history of this rebellion shall be written, its saddest pages will record the careful and studious tenderness of the administration toward American slavery. I say this with the sincerest regret. * * * Instead of making slavery the special point of attack, as the weak point of the enemy, the policy of the administration has been that

of perpetual deference to its claims. The government speaks of it with bated breath. It handles it with kid gloves. Very often has it spread its parental wing over it, as the object of its peculiar care. In dealing with the interests of rebels, it singles out as its pet and favorite, as the spared object of its love, the hideous monster that is at once the body, soul, and spirit of the movement we are endeavoring to subdue. While the rebels have trampled the Constitution under their feet, and pursued their purposes like thugs and pirates, the government has lost no opportunity of declaring that the constitutional rights of slavery shall be protected by loyal men. * * * To this strange deference to slavery must be referred the fact that such swarms of disloyal men have been retained in the several departments of the government, and that the spirit and energy of the war have been paralyzed from the beginning. To the same cause must we attribute the recent proclamations of General Sherman and General Dix, and the humiliating services of our armies in the capture and return of fugitive slaves. Again and again have our commanders engaged in this execrable business, in disregard of the Constitution, and in defiance of all precedent. In numerous instances fugitives have been delivered to rebel masters,—an offense compounded of piracy and treason, which should have been punished with death. * * * Sir, our treatment of these fugitives has not only been disgraceful, but infamous. For the rebels, the Constitution has ceased to exist, but were it otherwise, it is neither the right nor the duty of our army to return their slaves. * * * The conduct of the administration toward General Fremont forms a kindred topic of criticism. When he proclaimed freedom to the slaves of rebels in Missouri, it was greeted with almost universal joy throughout the free States. * * * But the President at once modified it, so far as its anti-slavery features went beyond the Confiscation Act of July. * * * The Confiscation Act bribes all the slaves of the South to murder our people, and the President refuses to allow the war power to go beyond it. The effect is, that if the slaves engage in the war at all, they must do so as our enemies, while, if they remain at home on their plantations, in the business of feeding the rebel army, they will have the protection both of the loyal and confederate governments. Sir, is not this a practical espousal of the rebellion by the administration? * * * It is known that General Fremont's proclamation was modified to accommodate the loyal slave-holders of Kentucky, but what right, I ask, had the loyal men of that State to complain if the disloyal men of Missouri forfeited their slaves by treason? If pretended loyal men in Kentucky or elsewhere value slavery above the Union, then they are not loyal, and the attempt to make them so by concessions will be vain.

A conditional Union man is no Union man at all. Loyalty must be absolute. * * * We must cease to regard the rebels as misguided men, whose infatuation is to be deplored, whilst we still hope to bring them to their senses. * * * We must abandon entirely the delusion that rebels and outlaws have any rights under the Constitution, and deal with them as rebels and outlaws. * * * If they had the power

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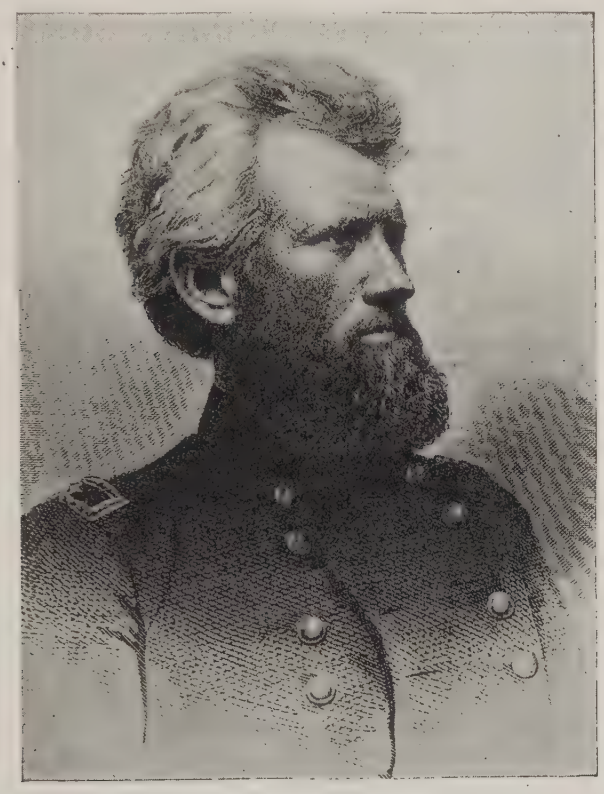
they would exterminate us from the face of the earth. They have turned loose to prey upon the Republic the transmitted vices and diabolisms of two hundred years, and sooner than fail in their struggle they would light up heaven itself with the red glare of the Pit, and convert the earth into a carnival of devils.

"All tenderness to such a foe is treason to our cause, murder to our people, faithlessness to the grandest and holiest trust ever committed to a free people. The policy for which I plead, sooner or later, must be

adopted, if the rebels are to be mastered, and every delay puts in peril the precious interests for which we fight. * * * Let us not mock the Almighty by waiting till we are forced by needless calamities to do what should be done at once, as the dictate alike of humanity and policy; for it may happen, when this rebellion shall have hung crape on one hundred thousand doors in the free States, that a ruined country will taunt us with the victory which might have been ours, and leave us only the poor consolation of bitter and unavailing regrets. Mr. Chairman, the sweeping policy I would have the government adopt toward slavery will be objected to on the ground of its injustice to the loyal slaveholders of the South. To this objection I have several replies to make. In the first place, I would pay to every loyal slave claimant, on due proof of loyalty, the fairly assessed value of his slaves. I would not do this as compensation, for no man should receive pay for robbing another of his earnings, and plundering him of his humanity; but as a means of facilitating a settlement of our troubles, and securing a lasting peace, I would tax the public treasury to this extent. * * * In the next place, I reply that the total extirpation of slavery will be our only security against future trouble and discord. By any sacrifice, and by all possible means, should we now guard against repetition of the scenes through which we have been called to pass. If we will heed the lesson of experience, we cannot go astray. * * * I reply further, that while loyal slaveholders may dislike exceedingly to part with their slaves, and still more to give up their cherished institutions, yet the hardship of their case is not peculiar. This rebellion is placing heavy burdens upon all loyal men. At whatever cost, and at all hazards, it must be put down. This is the principle on which we must act. Accordingly, the State which I in part represent, has not only done her full share in the way of means to carry on the war, but has placed in the field one-twentieth part of her entire population. She will be ready to make still further sacrifices when they shall be demanded. Neither our property nor the lives of our people will be counted too precious for an offering. If loyal slaveholders are as patriotic as loyal non-slaveholders, they will be equally ready to make sacrifices. * * * I reply, finally, that if the war is to be conducted on the policy of fully accommodating the wishes of loyal slaveholders, that policy will be found impracticable, and therefore need not be attempted. * * * I must not conclude, Mr. Chairman, without noticing a further objection to the policy for which I contend. I refer to the alleged danger of this policy, and the disposition of the slaves after they shall be free. * * * Do you tell me that if the slaves are set free they will rise against their former masters, and pillage and lay waste the South? I

answer, that all that, should it happen, would be far less deplorable than a struggle like this, involving the existence of a free nation of thirty millions of people, and the hope of the civilized world. If therefore, our policy is to be determined by the question of consequences, the argument is clearly on the side of universal freedom." [34]

This was very radical doctrine for the time—certainly more radical



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than was publicly advocated by any other public man in Indiana. And yet the country was moving towards it with headlong speed. It was fair notice to the Democrats of Indiana of what might be looked for; and it was followed on September 22, before the elections, by Lincoln's first proclamation that he would emancipate the slaves in all states in rebellion on January 1, 1863. Unless the South submitted, the war was thenceforth a war to free the slaves, as well as to preserve the Union.

[34] Speeches on Political Questions, pp. 161-177.

There were hundreds of men, all over the country, who balked at that proposition, although the sum of public sentiment was far nearer it than it was in 1860. The natural animosity roused by "the slaveholders rebellion" was added to by other causes. The Union soldiers in the South found their chief—almost only—friends among the negroes, and they were writing back home. There were many negro refugees coming into Indiana, whose destitution and helplessness awakened compassion. They were inoffensive, and willing to work, and in the dearth of white labor they were in the nature of a godsend. The laws prohibiting them from coming into the State, and making contracts with them void, were absolutely ignored. The race prejudice, which was formerly greater in the North than in the South, rapidly diminished. But the "war measure" argument was far more potent than any other, and especially with the soldiers. As one put it to me: "I went into the war strongly opposed to abolition, and to arming the negroes; but it gradually dawned on me that a nigger would stop a bullet just as well as I could." The sum of all this was that in the elections of 1862, the political division was largely between those who were reconciled to a war for emancipation and those who were not. The change of sentiment had been large, but it was far from universal. Five years earlier, John Brown had been the subject of very general denunciation, but now "John Brown's Body," with the accompanying sentiment of "Hang Jeff Davis on a sour apple tree," was a very popular song. Moreover, what Kipling calls "the awful Battle Hymn of the Republic" had taken hold of the public mind, and the idea that the Union armies had gone out as agents of the Almighty, to free the slave, and wreak vengeance on the slaveholder, was taking firm root. But there remained very many, who had grown up under the old political tenets, to whom abolitionism was as unconstitutional as it had ever been when both Whigs and Democrats were denouncing it.[35]

Another influence that was very potent was what are known as "arbitrary arrests," though the objection was not so much to the arrests as to the suspension of the write of habeas corpus for the person arrested. The practice of military arrests was begun in 1861, but was at first confined chiefly to states where military operations were in progress. For example, between July and October, 1861, 175 persons were arrested and confined in Fort Lafayette, including the officers of the Maryland legislature, and nine members of its House of Delegates. They were arrested under the authority of the Secretary of War, and the military authorities declined to recognize the writ of habeas corpus. On Sep-

[35] An interesting contemporary presentation of the changing sentiment as to slavery will be found in the Annual Cyclopedia for 1862, Tit. Slaves.

tember 24, 1862, President Lincoln ordered the arrest of persons discouraging enlistments, resisting conscription, or guilty of disloyal practices which afforded aid and comfort to rebels, and suspending the writ of habeas corpus as to such arrested persons. There was a general remonstrance in the Northern states, where the courts were open, and the legality of the action was at once questioned in the courts. There was some difference of opinion, but courts in Pennsylvania, Vermont and Wisconsin held the arrests illegal. The order had been made just before the fall elections, and the elections went against the Republicans all over the country. President Lincoln apparently became satisfied that he had made a mistake, and on November 22 the order was rescinded. There were a number of these arrests in Indiana, and they were bitterly denounced in the campaign. Like all questions that get into politics, they were disposed of by the public on party lines. To the Republicans, any man who was arrested was a guilty traitor. To the Democrats he was merely a Democrat arrested for political purposes. The matter was made the subject of legislative investigation at the next session, and the committee divided on party lines, making majority and minority reports. On the face of the reports, it seems probable that the witnesses divided in the same way.

There is another peculiar manifestation of the intense political feeling of the time in the reports of criminal items in the newspapers. Everything was put on a political basis. The ordinary reports of crimes as crimes dwindled away, but the Journal abounded in reports of Copperhead outrages on Republicans, and the Sentinel in reports of Abolitionist outrages on Democrats. There was the natural increase of lawlessness incident to large gatherings of soldiers where the sale of liquor is not restricted, and vice is not suppressed. Speaking of Indianapolis in October, 1862, Holliday says: "Deserters began to be very numerous and rewards were offered for their arrest, eighty-six from the 51st being missing. Crime had become so prevalent, and disorder of all sorts, that the streets were not safe. A permanent provost guard was established, that patrolled the streets, watched the Union Station and other places. Somewhat later guards were placed on every train when in the station and no soldier could enter unless he had a pass. Annoyances to citizens occurred sometimes and people began to realize what military rule meant."[36] It was quite a common subject for complaint throughout the country that gamblers, confidence men, and other harpies who prey on soldiers gathered wherever they were in numbers. But there was another condition peculiar to the Ohio Valley states. As before men-

[36] Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs., Vol. 4, p. 574.

tioned, the Ohio had for years been a rallying point for the criminal classes, on account of the opportunities it offered both for plunder and for escape. Moreover, being the line between slavery and freedom, there had developed along it on both sides, an element of kidnapers and slave-catchers who knew each other, and worked in harmony for mutual profit, in any kind of lawlessness. On the Kentucky side there were quickly formed bands of guerrillas who plundered without regard to politics, until they were driven out by Indiana troops, as before mentioned. On the Indiana side a like situation was prevented by prompt action. On May 7, Representative C. S. Dobbins presented to the House, at the Special Session of 1861, a letter from C. H. McCarty, of Dover Hill, Martin County, which said: "We have in our county jail two men (Templeton and Vandever) arrested and committed without the privilege of bail, for organizing a band of guerrillas, or robbers, to operate during the present war. Their guilt is clearly proved. They had enlisted about fifteen others. Now you perhaps know the Vandever stock, and Templeton is no better. We need a law to put down such men as have these evil intentions—levying war against the state—it can be nothing else. We must have such a law as will reach their case. We will arrest at least a dozen more. The proof is plain and beyond doubt. Will the legislature give us a law to stop this lawless outrage, and preserve the lives and property of our citizens?"[37] The legislature in addition to ordinary criminal laws, passed a very sweeping treason law, making it a felony, punishable by 2 to 21 years in the penitentiary, and $10,000 fine, for any person to aid or assist the enemy by any direct act, "or by carrying on a traitorous correspondence with them, or shall form or be in any wise concerned in forming any combination or plot or conspiracy for betraying this State, or the United States, or the armed forces of either, into the hands or power of any foreign enemy, or of any organized or pretended government engaged in resisting the laws or authority of the Government of the United States of America, or shall give any intelligence to any such enemies or pretended government or their forces, for that purpose.[38] It will be noted that this statute exactly covers the offenses of the "Knights of the Golden Circle," of later date. It is also apparent that this criminal element, on both sides of the Ohio, furnishes an explanation of the "copperhead" communication of intelligence to the South, commonly charged at the time.

The legislature of 1863 was conducted on a political basis from the first. The Republican minority openly demanded to control the policy of the legislature, on an assumption of superior patriotism, beginning

[37] House Journal, p. 131.

[38] Special Session of 1861, p. 44.

as mentioned, by bolting to prevent the election of Mr. Hendricks to the Senate, questioning his loyalty, which was as offensive a thing as they could have devised. The Democrats regarded the election as a condemnation of the administration for the past two years, on the issues of the campaign, one of which was the charge that Morton had used his control of the militia for political purposes. They proposed to take from him the appointment of militia officers, and put in a board of State officers. The Republicans gave notice that they would bolt to prevent this, and did so, leaving the appropriation bills, and other important legislation unpassed. It was evidently supposed that this situation would force a special session, but Morton refused to call one. It was claimed that the militia bill deprived the Governor of his constitutional prerogatives, but it was not specified in what way. The constitution makes the Governor commander-in-chief of the militia, but expressly provides that the militia "shall be organized. officered, armed, equipped, and trained in such manner as may be provided by law." In earlier years the militia had elected their officers. The law of 1861, in which the Democrats had joined, simply gave Governor Morton greater control over the militia than any previous governor had exercised. An effort was made to control the legislature by means of petitions from soldiers in the field, but attention was called to the fact that these petitions, although coming from widely separated points, were identical in language. The Senate Committee on Federal relations reported a resolution stating that the legislature had been misrepresented to the soldiers; and that they were both desirous of putting down the rebellion and preserving the constitution. It also reported another resolution defining its position. It maintained that the formation of West Virginia was unconstitutional, that the arbitrary arrests were acts of unauthorized tyranny; that the Emancipation Proclamation ought to be withdrawn, and that the destruction of abolitionism was essential to the restoration of the Union; but at the same time it condemned secession as a ruinous heresy, denounced secret organizations, and complimented the gallantry of Indiana troops. Their position was that it was not necessary to violate the constitution in the effort to preserve it. The answer to this was a charge that the avowed loyalty to the constitution was merely sympathy with the rebels who were trying to destroy it.

Indiana now entered on the two most remarkable years in her history. Morton decided to manage the State without regard to the legislature. Mr. Foulke heads his chapter on this period with the words, "I am the State;" and says: "Morton accomplished what has never before been attempted in American history. For two years he

carried on the government of a great state solely by his own personal energy, raising money without taxation on his own responsibility and disbursing it through bureaus organized by himself. The legislature, as we have seen, adjourned without making any appropriations. The state government and the benevolent institutions had to be provided for, and there was no money with which to do it. Morton had to make choice of one of three courses: first, he could call a special session of the legislature, which had just adjourned; second, he could close the state institutions and stop the government; third, it was just possible that by personal effort he could raise the money to carry it on. He had been able to borrow several hundred thousand dollars for a short time, for the purpose of equipping soldiers to oppose the invasion of Kirby Smith, but now a loan must be obtained for two years upon the doubtful contingency that the next legislature would sustain him in this perilous undertaking. Should he fail to get the money he would be discredited; should the loan not be repaid by the next legislature he would be bankrupt in purse and reputation. The responsibility was great, yet he did not hesitate. The other alternatives were fraught with public disaster. To call the legislature together was to invite a repetition of the scenes already enacted. The General Assembly would make no appropriations except at the price of a military bill depriving Morton of all control of the forces of the state. Under no circumstances would he consider this alternative. Better that the state should be left unprovided for; that the criminals, the insane, the blind and the deaf and dumb should be turned out upon the highways than that, under the control of the sympathizers with secession, Indiana should become an ally of the Confederacy.[39]

It was all of that. It was something never attempted in American history, either before or since. It was something that could not have been done in Indiana, except in time of war, when the Governor was in absolute military control. The State officers, who were Democrats, refused to pay money out of the treasury, except in pursuance of appropriations. If a loan was made by the State, the money was required by law to be paid into the treasury, and the constitution provided that "No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in pursuance of appropriations made by law." It was the most tremendous gamble ever tried in any American state. If the Union cause triumphed, his action would probably be condoned. If the war was no more hopeful in 1864 than it was in 1862, and popular sentiment did not change in the meantime, he would be due for both civil and criminal

[39] Life of Morton, pp. 253-4.

liability. What was more, he not only was taking chances himself, but he had to get someone to risk his money in the venture. The State officers took suits to the Supreme Court, and it decided that no appropriations had been made, and that the provision against paying out money without an appropriation was one of the fundamental magna charta principles, designed especially to curb the executive. Morton ignored the decision.[40] In his message of 1865, he says: "Without intending any disrespect to the eminent tribunal by which this case was decided I must be permitted to observe that the history of its origin, progress and conclusion was such as to deprive it of any moral influence, and that the principles upon which the decision was made have been since openly disregarded by the Auditor and Treasurer of State in the payment of large sums of money to the Public Printer." Although Morton's course now involved ignoring the Judicial and Legislative departments, and all of the administrative officers, he found two men to back him financially. In July, 1861, Congress had appropriated two million dollars to be used by the President in arming loyal citizens in states that were threatened with rebellion. Secretary Stanton, on the strength of this, advanced to Morton $90,000 for military operations, and $160,000 to pay the interest on the State debt. The latter was not used for that purpose, as Winslow, Lanier & Co. took over that part of the burden, and advanced in all $640,000 for that purpose. This was due to the personal interest of J. F. Lanier, who says in his autobiographical sketch, prepared for the family:

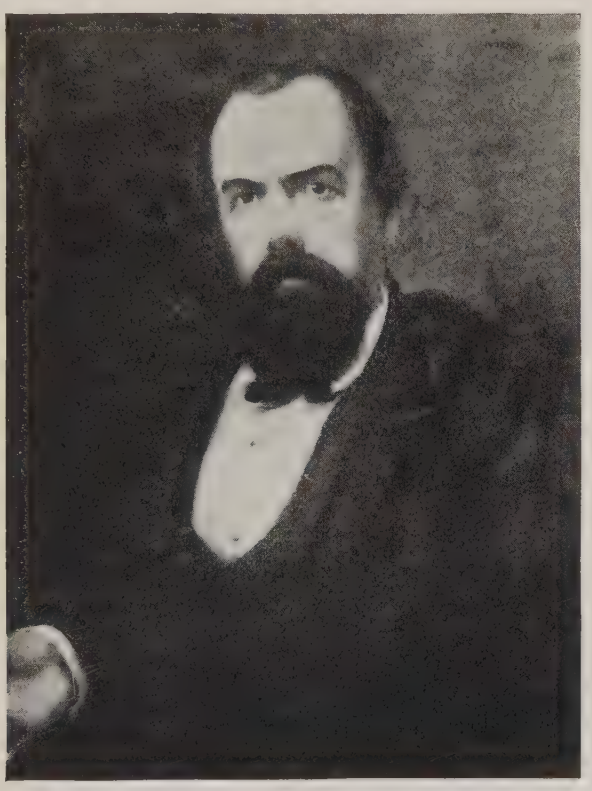
"Governor Morton, most anxious to preserve the honor and credit of the state, applied to me to advance the necessary sums. Unless this could be done he felt that he could not justify, before his own state and the country, the position which his friends in the legislature had taken through his counsel and advice. The application was made at the darkest period of the whole war. I could have no security whatever, and could only rely for reimbursement on the good faith of a legislature to be chosen at a future and distant day, and on the chance of its being made up of more upright and patriotic members than those composing the one then in existence. If the great contest should turn out disastrously to the cause of the Union and of freedom, I could never expect to be repaid a dollar. I felt, however, that on no account must the debt of a great state be discredited, nor the position of its chief magistrate, the ablest and most efficient of all the loyal Governors, and the one who contributed most to our success, be compromised or weakened. No alternative was left to me but to advance the sums required. I would

[40] Ristine, Auditor, vs. The State, 20 Ind. 328; State ex rel. vs. Ristine, 20 Ind., p. 345.

not allow myself to be responsible for the consequences of a refusal of his request. If the credit of the state in such a critical period should be destroyed, that of the other states, and even of the Federal government, might be so impaired as to render it impossible for them to sustain the immense burdens of the war. Another influence of very great weight with me was an ambition to maintain the credit of a state with which I had so long been identified, to which I was indebted for my start in life, and for whose credit in former times I had earnestly labored. The last, perhaps, was the ruling motive."

Such was the effect of Morton's course on a political sympathizer. His political opponents exhausted the English language in their efforts to portray adequately the depravity of his course. And yet from one of those political enemies, comes what is probably the most rational estimate of Morton that has appeared in print. David Turpie was a political contemporary of Morton, but younger. Morton was born at Salisbury, Wayne County, August 4, 1823. His father's name was James Throckmorton, but he preferred to divide it into two parts, and, being a shoemaker, stuck to his last. At the time of Oliver's birth he was keeping a tavern at Salisbury. The boy was christened Oliver Hazard Perry Throck Morton. He was called Perry when a boy, and when he entered the practice of law, on advice of his preceptor, he dropped the Hazard and Throck, and thereafter was Oliver P. Morton. Turpie was born in Hamilton County, Ohio, July 8, 1829. While an infant, his parents removed to Carroll County, Indiana, where he grew up on a farm. In addition to ordinary schooling, he pursued a system of home study, and was able to graduate from Kenyon College after a two years course, in 1848. He read law with Daniel D. Pratt, was admitted to the bar in 1849, elected to the legislature in 1852, appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1854, Circuit Judge in 1856, and again elected to the legislature in 1858. Morton's mother died when he was three years old, and for the next twelve years he lived with two aunts, at Springfield, Ohio. One of them taught school, and Oliver had good rudimentary training, especially in the Bible, as his aunts were strict Presbyterians. At fourteen he had the advantage of a year in Prof. Hoshour's Wayne County Seminary, and then took service with Dr. Swain, who kept a drug store, as well as practicing medicine, expecting to become a doctor. But he had become a voracious reader, and devoted too much time to books to suit the Doctor, who one day undertook personal chastisement, and met a return in kind. That ended the medical education, and Oliver was apprenticed to his brother William, to learn the hatter's trade. After serving for three years and a half, he bought the remaining six months of his time, and went to

Miami University for two years. He did not take a regular course, and did not graduate, but took high rank in mathematics and debating. He also fell in love with Lucinda M. Burbank, quit school in 1845, began reading law with John S. Newman, at Centreville, and got married. In the spring of 1852, he was elected by the legislature to fill an eight-months vacancy on the Circuit bench; and after finishing that



Gov. Oliver P. Morton
(From the painting by James Forbes)

service, he decided that he wanted more instruction in law, and went to the Cincinnati Law School for six months. He and Turpie met as opponents in the joint debate of 1860, and again in 1863, when Morton was Governor, and Turpie elected to the national Senate. In the meantime, Turpie had been making unsuccessful races for Congress against Schuyler Colfax, who was invincible in his district—representing it from 1855 to 1869, when he was elected Vice President. His

opportunity to know Morton was ample, though their relations, as he says, "were adverse and controversial, those of intercourse rather than of intimacy." In later life he wrote of Morton:

"Morton was a lawyer of such superior talents and learning, that when he abandoned the practice to enter upon public life, he left in the bar and circuit to which he belonged a well marked vacancy. * * * The manner of Morton, whether in the Senate or in a popular assembly, was that of a practiced advocate. His speech was an argument proceeding regularly from premise to premise. He told no stories, made no repetitions, sometimes made use of irony or satire, but these must be closely akin to the main subject. * * * He made little attempt to placate opponents or to assuage animosities within his party. It used to be said of him by his Republican opponents that he was very much opposed to slavery except among the ranks of his own followers; their condition was one of abject servitude. Persons that were not docile and tractable under his rule he labored diligently to disparage and suppress. None of these things were necessary to him in the performance of his useful service to the state and the country; they were not at all needful to the maintenance of his ascendancy in the councils of his party; he was easily at the front without them; but he preferred to assert his leadership and to exercise its functions in this manner. Our Democratic success so soon after the close of the war may have been in some measure due to the Republican revolt against this sort of domination. Hendricks was elected governor, McDonald became senator, and our electoral vote was cast for Tilden—all in the lifetime of Morton. * * * The administration of Morton as war governor has been the theme both of unmeasured detraction and panegyric. It deserves neither. As a chief magistrate in the regular discharge of constitutional duty he was no model. As a political leader, placed in a position of uncontrollable power, his course may be susceptible of a somewhat favorable consideration. He opposed the proclamation of martial law in the state, a measure more than once seriously entertained and seconded, yet he himself did many things possible only under that system.

"The true method of estimating his conduct is to regard it, as it actually was for the time being, that of an absolute ruler. In the exercise of this extreme authority he recognized certain limitations; they were not limitations of law or of constitutional right, but simply the suggestions of his own prudence and discretion. In a particular class of cases, he knew that he might go far beyond the ordinary line of legal procedure. Public, or rather popular, opinion not only tolerated but vehemently approved this course. Here he stayed his hand. His

most arbitrary acts were done openly under the plea always made in such cases, of military necessity or of the public safety. The arbitrary acts which he forebore to do, though often urged to their performance, were much worse in character, as they would have been in their consequences, than those he committed.

> 'What's done, we partly may compute
> But know not what's resisted.'

"He was a veritable type of the spirit prevalent in that age, a virile exponent of the aims and purposes of the intense partisan school. This partisan intensity seemed to grow with his years; it did not decline when the causes that had at first engendered it were diminished. His posthumous fame, therefore, may have incurred some injustice, and for the same reason his capacity otherwise is not shown in its due proportions. Like another Oliver, the great ruler of the English Commonwealth in the seventeenth century, whom he in some respects resembled, his political course was not free from inconsistencies, but these were merged and harmonized in one object, the success that attended him. What was merely said of Burke might be emphasized in largest capitals of Morton: he not only gave up, but deliberately surrendered and devoted to party what was meant for mankind. Hence his reputation, though extensive and well established, is great within certain metes and bounds; yet it is such as he chose to make it. His views of our national policy not connected with partisan interests or action were just and comprehensive. During his service in the Senate they were often made known, always strongly stated and vigorously upheld. Since his day they have been little studied or exploited. After his death they lapsed. Many wore his yoke but none his mantle. It is hard to take to pieces, to depict separately, the features or lineaments of such a character. The effect of the whole, upon those who knew him, was so impressive as somewhat to obscure the parts. In regard to these it is easier to say what he was not than what he was. To speak of one particular, avarice had no place in his nature. In a time not free from corruption, prone to the adulation of wealth and rife with the sordid temptations of self-interest, he lived and died no richer than when he first took office. Herein is an exemplar most laudable. This tells of him much more than monuments may show, better things than eulogy can utter.

"Republican partisans desiring to compliment some one of their modern leaders, often liken him to Morton. These persons seem to forget that Morton was a man of great intellectual strength, as well as of the finest executive talents; that during the whole period of the war

for the Union, when we had more than one hundred regiments in the field, and when the civil list was also necessarily much enlarged, and long after this, he had as governor and senator, as far as it concerned this state, the entire control of patronage, federal and local, civil and military. Who now has, or can have, such a following? Circumstances have not since existed to make a leader of any party, moving and acting in such an extensive, almost boundless sphere of opportunity and power. In this, as in many other respects, he stands and will stand for many a day, alone and unapproachable.'' [41]

Inasmuch as he had ignored the decision of the Supreme Court, there was no opportunity to contest Morton's assumption of power until the election of 1864. In 1863 the Union prospects began to improve. The Fourth of July was celebrated by Lee's retreat from Gettysburg, and Pemberton's surrender of Vicksburg. The Mississippi was open at last, except for the works at Port Hudson, which were taken soon after. Lee returned to defensive tactics in the east, and little more was accomplished there; and Lee detached forces that did serious damage in the west. The North received a hard blow at Chickamauga; but Grant was hurried to Chattanooga, and in November Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge were added to his list of victories. This settled the worst difficulty of the war—inefficiency at the top—for on February 27, 1864, Congress passed a bill reviving the office of Lieutenant General, and Grant was appointed to it, and thereby to the command of all the armies in the field. The South was far from conquered, but it was ''on the way.'' But the most effective political justification for Morton in Indiana was furnished by the ''Sons of Liberty.'' This secret organization is usually treated as a revival or successor of the ''Knights of the Golden Circle,'' but no real connection has been shown. The latter was a Southern organization, existing before the war, and having in view an invasion of Mexico. Either it or something similar to it was continued after the beginning of the war.[42] In May, 1862, the United States grand jury, at Indianapolis, reported that the order existed in Indiana; that it had about 15,000 members, and that they were pledged to resist the payment of Federal taxes, and to prevent enlistments. This report was published on August 4, 1862, and apparently had little effect on the election that fall. It was charged that it was a knowledge of this organization which caused Morgan to invade Indiana; but there were no material signs of it during the invasion, and Morgan's evident purpose was to get out as rapidly and unexpectedly as he came in.

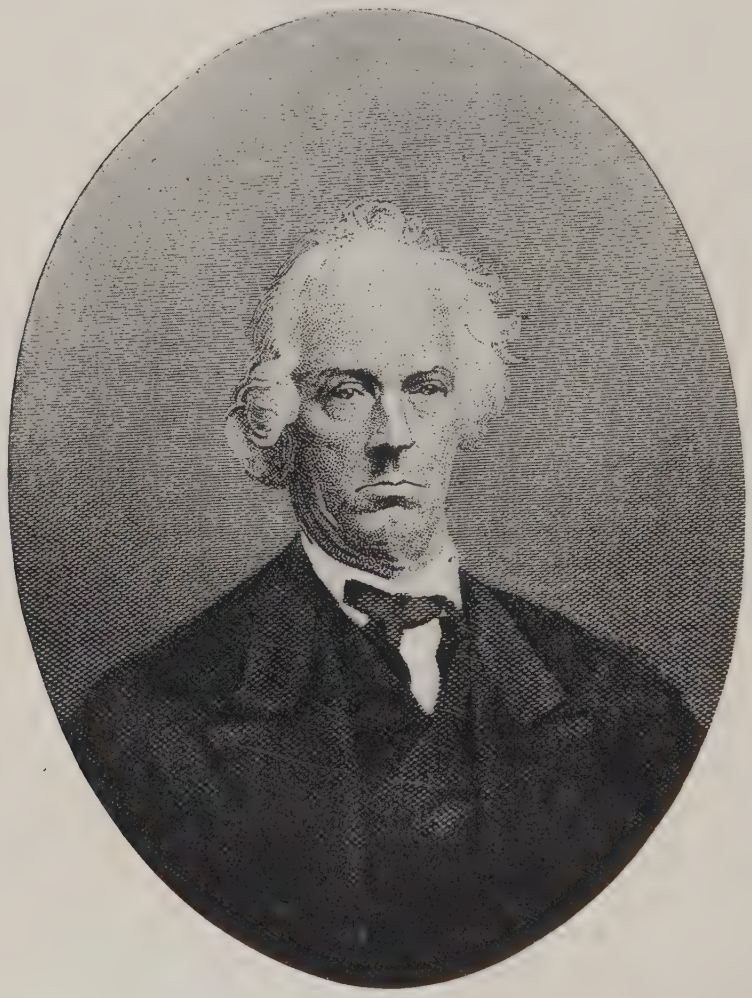
[41] Sketches of My Own Times, pp. 219-26.

[42] A pamphlet of 88 pages making an alleged exposure of it was printed at Indianapolis in 1861.

In August, 1863, P. C. Wright, of New York, came into Indiana, and began at Terre Haute the organization of the Order of American Knights. The persons at the meeting were initiated by Wright; and then a Grand Council was appointed, which met at Indianapolis on September 10th with representatives from other localities where the organization was started.[43] On the face of the ritual the purposes of the order appear to be political, of the extreme states rights school, denying the constitutional right of the United States to coerce a state; and presented in the terrifying forms common to college fraternities, and other secret organizations. Prominent Democrats were asked to join it. Joseph E. McDonald with whom I read law, talked to me very freely about it. He said that both he and Mr. Hendricks were present at the first meeting at Indianapolis, by invitation. After the organizer had made his explanation of the purposes of the order, which were mainly mutual protection against Republican aggressions on individuals, both he and Mr. Hendricks spoke, advising against it. They urged that however proper its purposes might be, a secret society opposed to the administration in time of war, was almost certain to drift into something treasonable; that instead of being a protection it would be a source of danger; that it would be sure to be invaded by government detectives and spies, and anything that one or more members might say in the supposed secrecy of a meeting could be made the basis of a charge of treason against all the members. After speaking, they withdrew, and about half of the meeting followed them, while the others remained and formed the local organization. Wm. M. Harrison, Grand Secretary of the Order, who appeared as a government witness at the trial, testified that the Grand Council instituted a Military Degree, under direction of Wright, and appointed Major Generals, for four districts, under whom subordinate officers were to be appointed and regiments organized; but he never knew of any action towards arming or drilling them.[44] He had charge of the reports of membership, and gave the total in September, 1864, at not to exceed 18,000. On cross-examination he said: "I do not believe that the majority of the first and second degree members ever knew or thought that revolution in Indiana was contemplated.[45] J. J. Bingham, Editor of the Sentinel, who testified for the government, said that he declined to join when invited by Wright, but joined later at the request of Dodd, the Grand Commander of the Order, who represented that it was to be a permanent political educational society, similar to the Masons and

[43] Treason Trials, p. 80.
[44] Treason Trials, p. 88.
[45] Treason Trials, p. 92.

Odd Fellows; and was to found a newspaper and a University at Indianapolis. At the first meeting that he attended he was appointed chairman of a committee on these subjects, and very judiciously advised



Col. William Bowles

that no newspaper be started until they had money enough to run it for a year; and that the university be indefinitely postponed. He said he never knew of any military organization until the exposure.[46]

[46] Treason Trials, pp. 98-9.

Horace Heffren, Deputy Grand Commander of the Order, who was a government witness, said that there were two organizations, "one within the other," the civil organization being purely political, and not a military organization. When asked what proportion of the members belonged to the military organization, he replied, "Only the leaders; they were to control the matter through a Committee of Thirteen, who were to be known only to the Grand Commander and themselves."[47] More remarkable than all of these, although Clement L. Vallandingham was the Supreme Commander of the Order, his son says that he knew nothing of the military part for some time after he accepted the office. The Order of American Knights was changed to the Sons of Liberty in February, 1864, while Vallandingham was in Canada. When first solicited to become the head of the new organization, he refused, being an opponent of secret organizations. The promoters of the Order came back later, with a plea that it was an educational affair, to promulgate the political ideas that he was advocating. He then consented, but did not even read the ritual. He was approached by a Confederate agent with a proposition to assist the South, but declined to consider it until the South was willing to abandon disunion. When informed by one of the officials of the Sons of Liberty that aid to the South was being planned, he waxed indignant, and said: "Not a hand shall be offered to assist the Southern people nor a shot fired in their favor if I can control the Sons of Liberty, until it is distinctly understood that the idea of permanent disunion is entirely given up and completely abandoned. If I hear of any further developments, under existing circumstances, of attempts of members of our order to assist the Southern Government, I will myself inform the Lincoln Administration, and see that the authors of a worse than abortive revolution are promptly punished."[48] Vallandingham was in a peculiarly trying position. His family was divided, part of his nephews being in the Union army, and part in the rebel army, two killed on each side. He was absolutely opposed to disunion, but equally opposed to coercion; and still was wrecking his life in efforts to secure peace on his ideas of constitutional right. But we are not concerned with him, except as connected with the effort to understand what happened in Indiana.

The first that the Indiana Democratic leaders knew of the treasonable plans was on August 4, when Michael C. Kerr, the well known Congressman—Speaker of the House in 1875—came to Indianapolis with a report of the proposed insurrection. A meeting of prominent Democrats was held at the office of Senator McDonald on the 5th.

[47] Treason Trials, p. 125.

[48] Life of Vallandingham, pp. 371-6.

Dodd and Walker were called in, and told that the affair must be stopped; and promised that it should be. It was also decided that Morton should be informed, and as McDonald was his personal friend, he was selected to convey the information. He waited on Morton, and told him what he had learned. Morton informed him that he knew all about it. Kerr had joined the order, understanding it to be entirely political, and was initiated by Heffren, but his complete loyalty was never questioned.

After his death, Senator Morton said of him: "His name will be remembered with pride and with affection in Indiana. He was one of her most highly favored and gifted sons, and it gives me satisfaction to bear testimony to his patriotism. I believe he was a devout lover of his country, and went for that which he believed was for the best. I have always given him credit for his integrity, for his patriotism, and for love of his country, and the strongest testimony which I can bear to the character of Mr. Kerr is to say that he was regarded by men of all parties in Indiana as an honest man, an able man, a patriotic man, and that his death was mourned by all his neighbors, and by all who knew him, without distinction of party."[49]

The first real knowledge of the treasonable proposal came to the authorities through Gen. Rosecrans, from Missouri. He obtained a pretty full exposure of the plot, and communicated it first to Gov. Yates, of Illinois. About May 1, Gen. Carrington, of Indiana, having received information of the matter, sent a request to Capt. Stephen E. Jones, Provost Marshall of Kentucky, for a reliable Kentuckian to watch Dr. Wm. A. Bowles, of French Lick, who was expecting to go to Kentucky to organize lodges of the Sons of Liberty. At that time, Felix Grundy Stidger was in Louisville, seeking employment with the Secret Service Department, and through the recommendation of a friend in the employ of Jones, was sent for to engage in this work. As nothing definite was known about the plans of Bowles, it was agreed that Stidger should go to French Lick and get acquainted with him there. Carrington's letter had been sent by James Prentice, a soldier from a Michigan regiment, who had been detailed for work under Carrington. He instructed Stidger in the signs and "work" of the first, or Neophyte Degree of the Order, which was as far as any of the government detectives had then got. Stidger was a remarkable natural detective. He was born at Taylorsville, Spencer County, Kentucky, August 5, 1836; and had a varied experience as employe in the County Clerk's office, hod-carrier, carpenter and clerk in a general store. In

[49] Woollen's Sketches, p. 340.

October, 1862, McCook's Corps came through Taylorsville, in the pursuit of Bragg, and Gen. Rousseau, acting Assistant Adjutant General of Division, wanted a clerk, whereupon Stidger applied for the position, and enlisted in the Fifteenth Kentucky to take it. In February, 1864, he succeeded, after some rebuffs, in getting out of the service on a medical certificate that he was suffering from "a predisposition to

Felix G. Stidger

consumption, hereditary in its character," and so got his chance to be a detective. On May 7, having purchased a suit of "butternut" clothes and a pair of spectacles, for disguise, he started, and from failure to learn his route, stopped at Salem, Ind. By a lucky chance he met Horace Heffren, with whom he ingratiated himself, and from whom he materially increased his knowledge of the Indiana organization. On the 8th he went on to French Lick, and was received with open arms by Bowles, who seemed to be longing for an opportunity to unbosom

himself. He stayed with Bowles for four days, and then returned to Louisville and submitted a written report to Jones.

After reading the report, Jones told him that "he did not believe a word of it." Stidger offered some additional details, and then asked why his report was doubted. Jones replied that "he did not see, nor could not perceive nor understand how any man could so far ingratiate himself into the confidence of an entire stranger in so short a time, as to obtain the information that I claimed in that report to have obtained of Horace Heffren and Dr. Bowles."[50] Indeed the revelations were enough to stagger anyone of ordinary skepticism. Stidger said that Bowles was particularly desirous to find someone in Kentucky to make him three or four thousand lances, which were described as follows: "The lancers were to be armed with lances, of what length I do not know, but there was to be a hook, somewhat after the fashion of a sickle; the lance to punch with, and a sickle to cut the horse's bridle; there was to be a thrust and a cut, a thrust for the man and a cut for the horses' bridles; he thought the enemy would become confused and distracted, and if a charge was made upon them when they had no means of controlling the horses they would be easily mashed up." It was aptly claimed that this would be "a terrible weapon."[51] It may excite surprise that the ingenious inventor overlooked providing hatchets to chop off the legs of the infantry, but there should remain no wonder that he got his regiment into trouble at Buena Vista. Dodd, who was at the head of the order in Indiana, was equally lucid. Bingham testified that when Dodd revealed his plan for releasing the prisoners at Camp Morton, "I looked at the man in astonishment. I thought it was a wild dream; I could not believe it possible. I studied a moment, and said, 'Mr. Dodd, do you know what you are going to undertake? Do you know the position of military affairs here at this post? Do you think you can accomplish this scheme with any number of unarmed and undisciplined men you can bring here?'" Dodd's plan was to hold "ordinary political meetings," or equivalents, at three points east of Camp Morton. "One meeting would, perhaps, be a Sabbath school meeting; another a political meeting; and the third, perhaps, a political meeting—or something of that kind." Arms were to be brought in wagons, concealed under hay or straw. Someone was to propose a drill, without arms, "to be in the fashion." Then, "At the time of day when the soldiers came on dress parade, at some place east of the camp ground, some one at the camp would throw up a signal, which would be seen from these meeting places; when the signal was seen, those who

[50] Stidger's Treason History, p. 41.

[51] Treason Trials, pp. 115, 128.

understood what they had met there for, would at once seize their arms and march immediately in the direction of Camp Morton. At the time they were thus marching, the fences and buildings of Camp Morton were to be fired. It was understood that the released rebel prisoners would participate in the affair, and that these rebel soldiers could come up in the rear, and that the Federal soldiers, finding themselves surrounded, would be easily overcome. The rebel prisoners would be armed with the soldiers' arms, and the soldiers would be held as prisoners of war. At the time this was going on the work of freeing prisoners and the capturing of these soldiers—a detail of persons was

THE GATE, CAMP MORTON, FROM A WAR-TIME PHOTOGRAPH.

to be sent to take care of the Governor, and secure him; in some way take care of him; and then the arsenals at this place were to be seized, and a better quality of arms procured; those that went with this expedition were to be as fully armed from the arsenal as was necessary. They were also to take such munitions of war as they thought proper with them. They were then to seize the railroad to Jeffersonville, and make use of the cars for the transportation of troops and rebel prisoners; they were then to go on and complete the same work at Jeffersonville and New Albany, and also to coöperate in the capture of Louisville."[52]

The one man who declined to get excited about the plot was Lincoln. "The President's attitude in regard to this organization was one of good-humored contempt rather than anything else." In reply to the

[52] Treason Trials, pp. 101, 148.

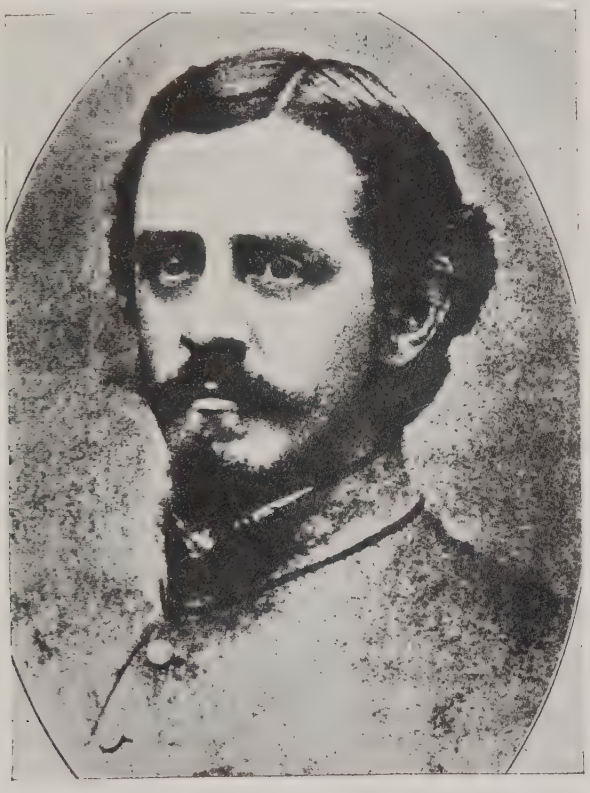
urgent demands of Rosecrans and Yates that he call an officer to Washington to give him the details of the uprising, which they expected to occur on the return of Vallandingham to Ohio, he finally sent a private secretary to St. Louis to investigate and report. He came back with an account of the discoveries of the detectives, and injunctions from Rosecrans for the utmost secrecy. After hearing the report, Lincoln thoughtfully observed that "a secret confided on the one side to half a million Democrats, and on the other to five Governors and their staffs, was hardly worth keeping. He said the Northern section of the conspiracy merited no special attention, being about an equal mixture of puerility and malice." As to the claim that Indiana would furnish 100,000 men for the uprising, he said: "Nothing can make me believe that 100,000 Indiana Democrats are disloyal."[53] Wise old Father Abraham. He had not forgotten the reception to John Morgan. As to the number in Indiana, the leaders, when singing "the Conspirators Chorus," claimed all the way from 40,000 to 100,000; but Wm. M. Harrison, the Grand Secretary of the Order, testified that the number just before the exposure was "not to exceed eighteen thousand"; and the case before the military commission was tried on that basis, the Judge Advocate holding that "these eighteen thousand members of the Order of American Knights, or Sons of Liberty, are all of them parties to this conspiracy, and held responsible for what Dodd and others did."[54] A wealth of imagination is indicated as to the money supplied by the Confederacy. Heffren said that Dr. James B. Wilson, who attended the meeting at the time of the Democratic National Convention, said that the Confederate government had sent $500,000 to be used in the movement; and Wilson said it was announced at Chicago that there were $2,000,000, and that $200,000 was furnished to Indiana, half to Dodd and half to John C. Walker.[55] If they received a tenth of that amount they were working a confidence game on the Confederate emissaries. This appears possible. The man in charge of the Confederate interests at Chicago was Capt. Thos. Henry Hines, the same who invaded Indiana, and later helped Morgan escape from prison. He seems to have been a young dare-devil, who was a good soldier, but not a wily financier. He wrote an account of his experience later for the Southern Bivouac, and tells of one clerical conspirator to whom he furnished $5,000, who returned and claimed that he had been arrested, and the money taken from him, but he had escaped. Hines had a collection of "choice spirits" from the South with him, one of

[53] Nicolay and Hay, Vol. 8, pp. 9-13.

[54] Treason Trials, pp. 87, 167.

[55] Treason Trials, pp. 126, 145.

the most picturesque being "Lt. Col. St. Leger Grenfell, of the English service," who was either a talented liar or a man of remarkable experience. He claimed to have served five years with the French in Algiers, several years with the Moors in Tangiers; four years under Abd-el-Kader, besides going through the Crimean war and the Sepoy Rebellion, and serving with Garabaldi in South America. He took a fancy



Capt. John B. Castleman at Twenty-two

to Morgan, and joined him; he became Morgan's Adjutant General, and made lot of trouble by insisting that all papers should be made out in English fashion. Basil Duke, who had quite a good opinion of him, says: "He was the only gentleman I ever knew who liked to fight with his fists, and he was always cheerful and contented when he could shoot and be shot at.[56] He was arrested when the Union authorities at Chicago made a descent on the conspirators on November 6,

[56] Morgan's Cavalry, p. 180.

two days before the national election, and was convicted, and sentenced to death, but this was commuted to imprisonment in the Dry Tortugas. Hines felt that they had been "bunkoed" in some way, and says, "When the count was taken of the number of Sons of Liberty on whom we could rely, it seemed worse than folly to attempt to use them."

Some valuable light is thrown on this affair by a recent publication by Gen. John Breckenridge Castleman, who was associated with Hines in the activities at Chicago.[57] Castleman is of one of the old Virginia families that settled in Kentucky in an early day. He was born on his father's estate of "Castleton," in Fayette County, Kentucky, June 30, 1841, and enjoyed that ideal childhood of the wealthy in the South, where, as he says: "Every child old enough to ride had his horse and his dog, every boy his gun." He was educated at a neighborhood school, at Fort Hill, with the young Breckenridges, Simralls, and other neighbors, and as a youth was a member of the Lexington Chasseurs. Lexington had two militia companies, the Chasseurs and the Rifles, the latter commanded by John H. Morgan, and the former by Sander D. Bruce. Morgan joined the Confederate army, and most of his company followed him. Bruce joined the Union army, and most of his company did likewise, but Castleman raised a company in Kentucky, and joined Morgan at Chattanooga. He became a Major in the Confederate army; and in the Spanish-American War was Colonel of the First Kentucky Volunteers, and commissioned Brigadier General on June 10, 1899. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that Castleman says he wrote the Southern Bivouac articles which are credited to Hines. He states that when the Northwestern scheme was evolved, Hines was furnished 200 bales of cotton, with which to raise money; and made his way to Canada with $300,000, which was put in the hands of the Confederate Commissioners, headed by Jacob Thompson. He says that $30,000 was given to Ben Wood, of the New York Daily News; and that funds were "liberally supplied" to James A. Barrett, of St. Louis, and to Gen. John C. Walker, of Indiana, but does not state the amounts. He also says that over $40,000 was contributed to the campaign fund of the Democrats in Illinois, in 1864. He says that he, with Hines, Lt. George B. Eastin, and seventy Confederate soldiers, went to Chicago at the time of the Democratic Convention, and stopped at the Richmond House. Here they got in touch with the leaders of the Sons of Liberty, and Castleman says:

"On the night of the 28th of August we called a conference of the recognized leaders and were not altogether surprised to find lack of

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[57] "Active Service," Louisville, 1917; Courier-Journal Job Printing Co.

actual available organization. There was little reason to doubt that a large per cent of the strangers in Chicago belonged to the semi-military Order of the Sons of Liberty. But these were distributed amongst a vast multitude and there was no organization. And besides this it was apparent (and it was not unreasonable) that the commanders were appalled by the actual demand for overt action against armed forces. And when Captain Hines called for 5,000 men to assault Camp Douglas the excuses of the commanders made evident a hesitancy about the sacrifice of life. This aggressive readiness was theoretical. They had not, till now, been brought to face the actualities of probable war. And the responsibilities of the Sons of Liberty had not been understood to be the offer of life. Captain Hines and I were not willing to sacrifice, without numerical support, the little body of comrades that we had brought upon the scene, but concluded to adjourn the commanders' meeting until the following morning. There was still lack of assured organization. We then advised that if we had our little band reinforced by 500 organized and well armed men, we would on that night take Rock Island, where the prison guards numbered seven hundred and the prisoners seven thousand. Captain Hines agreed that if, with five hundred Western men and twenty Confederate soldiers, I would run through on regular train and on schedule time to Rock Island, he would, with fifty Confederate soldiers, control all the wires and railroads out of Chicago, preventing any truthful telegraphic news, or any transportation, and convey to the outside world the breaking up of the National Democratic Convention by assault of the United States troops, while we would release Rock Island and controlling railroads and telegraph wires take possession of the arsenal at Springfield. But the commanders could not be ready for schedule time of the Rock Island train, and we noted that some who had previously attended were not present. The conditions were hopeless, and we knew that we had to leave the crowds attending the convention. The commanders hold out assurances of better organization and positive action at the time of the presidential election in November. We doubt this, but will try further. It is in view of these promises that we are here, Captain Hines at Mattoon and I at Marshall. The vigilant and untiring efforts of Honorable Jacob Thompson have not been rewarded. We convened at Richmond House on the night of 30th ulto. the seventy Confederate soldiers, stated to them that because of lack of coöperation we had failed, and advised them not to follow Captain Hines or me further because of the imminent danger, and offered them transportation to go South. Twenty-two followed us. Twenty-five went South. Twenty-three returned to Canada. We furnished transportation to all,

leaving them to elect their destination. Captain Hines and I, with the fearless little band with us will use a free discretion in performance of what we conceive to be duty, shall respect private interests and will not lose sight of the fact that we act on our own responsibility and at our own risk without involving the Confederate Government."

The above is an extract from Castleman's report of September 7, 1864, to James A. Seddon, Confederate Secretary of War, forwarded through Commissioner Jacob Thompson. It does not state fully the causes for their alarm, which are given by Castleman elsewhere. They had become distrustful of some of their own men, and with cause, for two of them appeared at the trials subsequently as Government witnesses, and one committed suicide; and they found that some of their men had been talking too much. But they did not seem to realize that their allied lunatics from the North were also communicative; and, with an innocence that is very common with conspirators, they did not figure on what "the other fellow" was doing. If they had known that on August 12, Col. B. J. Sweet, commanding at Chicago, had officially reported information as to proceedings at Toronto, adding: "I have the honor respectfully to report in addition to the supposed organization at Toronto, Canada, which was to come here in squads, then combine and attempt to rescue the prisoners at war at Camp Douglas, that there is an armed organization in this city of five thousand men, and that the rescue of our prisoners would be the signal for a general insurrection in Indiana and Illinois," they would have been more perturbed; and still more so if they had known that Government agents were attending their meetings at the Richmond House.[58] The astonishing thing is that they did not take warning from the newspapers, for the exposures had begun early in August, and were quickly followed by the arrests of Judge Bullitt of Kentucky, and others; and by the middle of August the newspapers were full of articles in regard to the conspiracy. The seizure of "Dodd's Sunday-School books"[59] at Indianapolis, was made on August 20; and on the same day the Cincinnati Gazette published a long account of the expose in Indiana. On August 22, an "indignation meeting" was held at the Circle, in Indianapolis, and many details were made public. On August 19, John Y. Beall, the only one of the conspirators who accomplished anything, with twenty Confederate soldiers, seized the "Philo. Parsons," a steamer on Lake Erie, and captured and destroyed "The Island Queen." He

[58] For an interesting statement of the Government's information, see article "The Chicago Conspiracy," in Atlantic Monthly for July, 1865.

[59] The "Sunday School" was a fiction, thrown in for effect. Sulgrove's Hist. of Indianapolis, p. 318.

was to have released the prisoners on Johnson's Island, but his men refused to follow him, and he ran into Sandwich and destroyed the boat—he was later captured in another piratical venture, and executed in New York. All of these things were reported in the Chicago papers, but the Confederate emissaries remained on the job at Chicago until the dispersal, above mentioned, on August 30. Manifestly the only reason why they were not arrested was that the officials were not ready to spring their trap.

Captain George Frank Miller, of Co. A, Fourth Ky. (Confederate) Cavalry, who was a prisoner in Camp Douglas at the time of these proceedings, informs me that they had no knowledge on the inside of any plans for release on the outside, except inklings in the Chicago newspapers; but that they did have a plan of escape of their own. He had been with Morgan's Cavalry, and was captured in June, at Mossy Creek, after the defeat of Morgan at Cynthiana. He was brought to Camp Douglas in July, and was taken into the scheme for escape, in which he believes from 4,000 to 5,000 of the prisoners had joined. At from 6:30 to 7 o'clock in the morning, the guards used to come into the Camp to "call roll," which meant that the prisoners lined up in front of their barracks, and a guard passed down the line and counted them. There was a guard for each barrack and a sergeant for each row of barracks, making 60 men, each armed with a revolver. The plan was to seize these guards, get the revolvers, and rush the gates. After getting out, they proposed to raid the fire-engine houses, livery barns, and other supplies of horses, and make for Missouri, to join Price. On the appointed morning, their spies reported that there were troops, with four batteries posted at the four corners of the camp waiting for them to appear. They had been betrayed by a Texan named Shank, who had been in charge of the express-office of the Camp, and had been detected by the prisoners stealing from packages sent to them, on account of which they had threatened to mob him. He then had a great change of heart; repented his disloyalty; and told all he knew to the authorities to prove his devotion to his country. His pathetic reformation is set forth in the Atlantic Monthly article, above referred to.

After leaving Chicago, Eastin and two others went to Louisville to attempt the destruction of some Government stores; and Castleman with ten men went to St. Louis to destroy steamboats that were carrying supplies to the army. They were supplied with "Greek fire," an alleged explosive compound that was relied on to produce awful results; but when they tried it they found it would not burn; and they left regretting that they had not put their trust in lucifer matches. Castleman then undertook to make his way through Indiana, but the authorities were on

his trail, and he was arrested at Sullivan, on October 1, and taken to Indianapolis for confinement. He was put in the "United States Military Prison," the old post office building, then under command of Col. A. J. Warner, in a cell next to that of Milligan, of the Sons of Liberty, and was kept there until the following May, when he was taken East, and released under the agreement between Gen. Grant and Gen. Lee. It was lucky for him that the war was so nearly over when he was taken, and that he had friends who stood by him. One of these was Hines, who furnished Castleman's mother with a New Testament, with some saws in the binding, which she was allowed to give to him, but he was not able to make effective use of it. More effective was his brother-in-law, Judge Breckenridge, a well known Union man, who obtained a promise from President Lincoln to intervene in case of conviction, and also came to Indianapolis, and employed Porter & McDonald to defend him. Castleman says: "I afterwards saw a good deal of Mr. Porter. He was a most delightful man and manifested for me a genuine and almost an affectionate interest, although he repeatedly accused me of quixotism and urged that my peculiar views obstructed his professional purposes. Subsequently Mr. Porter was governor of Indiana and minister to Italy." After all of their warning, part of the Confederates stayed at Chicago, to assist in the promised uprising on election day, November 9. On the night of November 6, the time being "ripe," the military authorities swooped down on them, and arrested Grenfell, Col. Vincent Marmaduke, and Capt. Cantrill, of Morgan's command, with Brigadier General Walsh of the Sons of Liberty and a number of others. It was published with dramatic effect in the Chicago papers, and telegraphed all over the country. The writer in the Atlantic Monthly, above quoted, aptly says: "But the men of Chicago not only talked, they voted. They went to the polls and voted for the Union; and so told the world what honest Illinois thought of treason." This was the chief practical result of the great conspiracy.

If Morton ever apprehended any danger from the Sons of Liberty he very soon recovered from it. But he realized the value of the organization to himself as a political asset. It furnished a justification for arbitrary government that closed the mouth of every objector. Mr. Foulke says: "It was fortunate that there was at this time at the head of affairs in Indiana a man whose resources were equal to every emergency, whose autocratic will supplied everything that was lacking in a disloyal legislature and a partisan judiciary, a man who could hold as a plaything in his hands a conspiracy that aimed at his own life, and could even coerce it into his service. No one can read the history of the secret organizations in Indiana and not feel that, wide-spread as they

were, there was not an instant in which they were not securely within the grasp of the 'War Governor.' In the narrative of these organizations his name does not often appear. It was ostensibly by others that they were exposed and overthrown, but many of the secret agents employed were his emissaries and those who have examined the reports made to him at each step in the plot can understand how completely these organizations were under his control, how he played with them as a cat with a mouse, how he even permitted them to grow and develop that he might fasten conviction more securely upon them and overthrow them utterly when the time should be ripe for their destruction.'' [60] This was true, and the time was always ripe during a political campaign. His chief agent was Gen. H. B. Carrington, and they had full lists of the members of the Sons of Liberty, which were introduced in evidence in the treason trials under the name of ''Roll of Prisoners''; and these were used whenever available, on the theory that anyone who had joined even the first, or outside degree, was a party to the plot of Dodd and his associates. But the political effect was meagre unless some Democrat of real prominence could be implicated. Early in August, 1864, Carrington went over to Terre Haute, and seized a lot of papers, including a number of rituals of the Order of American Knights, in an office that had been occupied by D. W. Voorhees. These were at once published in the Journal, and also in a campaign pamphlet. Voorhees answered, denying any knowledge of the rituals, and explaining everything that had any savor of impropriety in the letters and papers. The controversy was carried on through the campaign, and was repeatedly revived in later years, in attacks on Voorhees; and yet it is obvious that if he had been connected with the order, it would have been charged direct, as they had the lists of the members. But the most effective campaign literature captured in this raid was a letter from McDonald, which was included in the campaign pamphlet thus:

''Joseph E. McDonald to Dan Voorhees.

Hallucinations and Insanity of Judge Perkins.

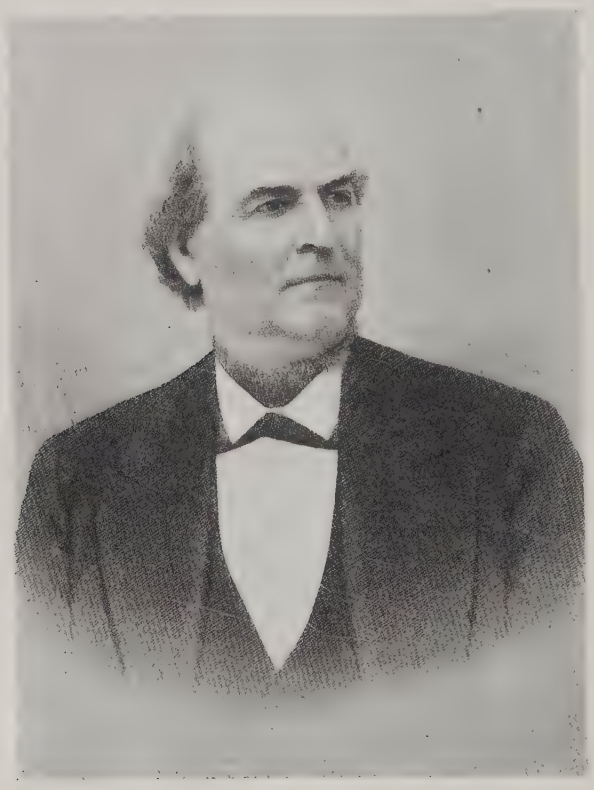
''Indianapolis, November 14, 1863.

''Hon. D. W. Voorhees,—Dear Friend: Your favor per Brown, I received. I did all that could be done for the boy, and that was to have him sent back to his company without being regarded as a deserter, until the President shall modify his proclamation suspending the writ of habeas corpus. If a woman should be sworn into the service, there is

[60] Life of Morton, Vol. 1, pp. 373-4.

no power to discharge her but the War Department, and that never acts in any case where humanity makes the call.

"As to Perkins, you will have learned from our mutual friend Dowling that we have had an interview with the Judge, and found him enjoying a lucid interval, and fully aware of the hallucination under which he has lately been laboring, but I dont see just how he can right



JOSEPH E. MCDONALD

himself. I think he will be permanently cured of his insanity in time, but it may take time.

"Of course it is not necessary for me to say to you that I knew no more of the sentiments of his letter until I saw it in the public papers than you did. If he had sent his letter to me, and not the editor of the Sentinel, it would not have seen the light of day in that shape; but he seemed to think he had discovered the Northwest passage, and he wanted the whole benefit of the discovery; and consequently he had to give this

thing to the public at once. When I see you we will talk at length on these matters, as I want a long talk with you before you go to Washington.

Respectfully Your Friend,

J. E. McDonald.

"McDonald is candidate for Governor; Perkins for Judge."

There is plainly nothing treasonable or suspicious about this letter, and nothing to distinguish its taking from plain larceny, except that it was taken under the form of a military search. No possible excuse can be made for the taking or use of this letter. It was looting for political purposes, plain and simple. The letter was used in that campaign, and for years afterward, whenever Perkins was a candidate. From the fact that Oscar B. Hord, son-in-law of Perkins, later became the law partner of Thomas A. Hendricks, this letter contributed to the breach that finally came between McDonald and Hendricks. As a military man Carrington was a joke—a very poor joke. His failure to obey orders and go in pursuit of John Morgan, has been mentioned. After the war, he was sent out to build Fort Phil Kearney, and let his troops get into an ambuscade which resulted in the fearful massacre at that point. Years after, when he was peddling his own books, I saw him come into McDonald's office and ask him to buy a copy of his "Battles of the Revolution." And McDonald bought it.

In September, 1864, in the midst of the political campaign, Dodd, Bowles, Heffren, Lambdin P. Milligan, Stephen Horsey, and Andrew Humphreys, were brought to trial at Indianapolis, before a Military Commission, and were all convicted. They were all plainly guilty except Humphreys. The evidence showed that he was made a "general" without his knowledge, and when notified, declined to accept. But Stidger testified that Bowles told him later that Humphreys had consented to take command of "the forces in the rear," and on this apparent jest he was sentenced to "confinement within the boundaries of two townships in his own county." Heffren turned State's evidence; Dodd escaped from the third floor of the old post-office building, at Indianapolis, where they were confined during the trial, by sliding down a rope, and made his way to Canada; Bowles, Milligan and Horsey were sentenced to death, but Horsey's sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life. The other two were to be hanged on May 19, but after a great deal of pressure, including urgent insistence from Governor Morton, President Johnson postponed the execution to June 20, to give the Supreme Court of the United States a chance to hear the case. The Supreme Court unanimously held that there was no legal

power to try by military commission in Indiana, and the majority held that Congress had no power to authorize military law under such conditions. The Court said: "This court has judicial knowledge that in Indiana the Federal authority was always unopposed, and its courts always open to hear criminal accusations and redress grievances; and no usage of war could sanction a military trial there for any offence whatever of a citizen in civil life, in nowise connected with the military service. Congress could grant no such power; and to the honor of our national legislature be it said, it has never been provoked by the state of the country even to attempt its exercise. One of the plainest constitutional provisions was, therefore, infringed when Milligan was tried by a court not ordained and established by Congress, and not composed of judges appointed during good behavior. * * * It will be borne in mind that this is not a question of the power to proclaim martial law, when war exists in a community and the courts and civil authorities are overthrown. Nor is it a question what rule a military commander, at the head of his army, can impose on states in rebellion to cripple their resources and quell the insurrection. * * * If armies were collected in Indiana, they were to be employed in another locality, where the laws were obstructed and the national authority disputed. On her soil there was no hostile foot; if once invaded, that invasion was at an end, and with it all pretext for martial law. Martial law cannot arise from a threatened invasion. The necessity must be actual and present; the invasion real, such as effectually closes the courts and deposes the civil administration. It is difficult to see how the safety of the country required martial law in Indiana. If any of her citizens were plotting treason, the power of arrest could secure them, until the government was prepared for their trial, when the courts were open and ready to try them. It was as easy to protect witnesses before a civil as a military tribunal; and as there could be no wish to convict, except on sufficient legal evidence, surely an ordained and established court was better able to judge of this than a military tribunal composed of gentlemen not trained to the profession of the law."[61] Humphreys sued the members of the Commission for false imprisonment, in the Sullivan Circuit Court. The defendants asked a removal to the Federal Court, which was refused, and on default judgment was rendered for $25,000 damages. This was reversed by the Supreme Court, and the case ordered to the Federal Court.[62] In the U. S. District Court, the case was finally dismissed at defendants' costs on Nov. 5, 1869.

[61] Ex parte Milligan, 4 Wall., p. 2.

[62] McCormick et al. v. Humphreys, 27 Ind., p. 144.

The decision of the U. S. Supreme Court was not filed for some time after the election, although the order for the release of the men was made in June. It is doubtful if it would have had any material effect on the election if made earlier, although it was on these lines that the Democrats were attacking the administration, and the opinion is a plain condemnation of military usurpation of all kinds. The devotion of the average American to the constitution is usually manifested when it favors what he wants to do, and while a great many Democrats objected seriously to military arrests and military trials, there were very few Republicans who were worrying about them. Those who did supported the third party movement for Fremont, until he withdrew, and then went to Lincoln, as the less of two evils. Up to the time of the Democratic National Convention, on August 29, the Republican prospects were not encouraging. Lincoln and all his close friends were very despondent.[63] But the Democrats were walking into an open pit. According to the testimony of Dr. James B. Wilson, who attended the Sons of Liberty meeting at Chicago, at that time, part of them wanted to nominate a separate ticket, but Vallandingham took the position that they should support McClellan if they could get a satisfactory platform. He drafted the famous second plank of the platform, as follows:

"That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity or war-power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired—justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to the ultimate convention of the states, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the federal union of the states."

At the time of its adoption, the Union cause was certainly in a depressing state. Grant had given up his effort to get through the Wilderness, with its appalling loss of life. Sherman was making some progress towards Atlanta, but was not there. Mobile was blockaded, but was still reached by blockade runners. But before the ink was well dried on the Democratic declaration, things began to change as if they had been waiting for that one incentive. On September 3, Lincoln issued proclamations of national thanks for the captures of Atlanta and

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[63] Nicolay and Hay, Vol. 9, p. 250.

State House, April 30, 1865
(Where Lincoln's Body Lay in State)

Mobile. On September 19, Sheridan defeated Early at Opequon Creek, and on September 22 at Fisher's Hill. On October 19, Sheridan made his famous ride from Winchester to Cedar Creek, turned defeat to victory, and cleared the Shenandoah Valley. These Union victories turned back the tide of depression in the North, and changed the Republicans to an aggressive, jubilant host. More than any other one agency, they contributed to the election of Lincoln in 1864. In Indiana the contest for Governor was between Morton and McDonald, who made a joint canvass of the state. Opinions differ as to the merits of the debate, but not as to the high plane on which it was conducted. Mr. Foulke says: "The relations between Morton and McDonald through this campaign, as at every other time, were cordial. Neither of them ever failed in personal courtesy toward his antagonist. After Morton had been elected he procured a portrait of McDonald and hung it in his office where it remained while he was Governor. When they became colleagues many years afterwards in the United States Senate, they were still warm friends, and they so remained until Morton's death. Indeed had it not been for these excellent personal relations there could have been no joint campaign at all in 1864. The bitterest feelings had been aroused between the two parties. Great numbers of men upon both sides came armed to the meetings. At South Bend, the determination shown in the faces of many in the great audience foreboded evil. As they sat side by side upon the platform, Morton said to McDonald: 'I am told a great many of your friends have come here armed.' McDonald answered: 'I have no doubt three-fourths of that audience are armed, but you and I can control these meetings, and so long as we do not lose our heads there will be no trouble.' Morton answered that there was no danger in that quarter, and the debate went on without disturbance."[64] In my opinion McDonald had the best of the argument as to State issues; but Morton was shrewd enough to force the fighting on national lines; and on the question, if the war was a failure, what other remedy he would propose, McDonald was necessarily weak from the start; and his position grew worse with every Union victory. The one great issue of the campaign was between a war simply for the restoration of the Union, and a war for the restoration of the Union with the emancipation of the slaves. The Democratic slogan was "the constitution as it is." But the constitution was always subject to one thing superior to itself, in the minds of the American people, and that was the inalienable right of the people to alter their form of government. In the election of 1864, the people voted that slavery should go. The South understood that fully. The

[64] Life of Morton, Vol. 1, p. 355.

majorities were not overwhelming, but they were enough, and they were practically universal. In Indiana the vote was 150,238 for Lincoln, and 130,233 for McClellan.

The legislature elected in Indiana was Republican, and gave full indorsement to Morton's administration for the past two years. It made provision for the payment of the debts he had contracted on public account, and provided for the future. The audit of his accounts demonstrated that the large funds which he had administered had been faithfully applied to proper public purposes, and there remained no basis for the slightest question of his integrity in financial matters. The State agency for the colonization of negroes was abolished, on the very practical ground that it had cost $8,000, and had only sent one negro to Liberia; but a bill to admit the testimony of negroes in courts failed. The dominant feature of the session was the support of pushing the war to a successful close. The legislature also adopted the 13th amendment to the Constitution of the United States, abolishing slavery. The war was practically ended when the legislature adjourned. Lee surrendered on April 9. But a far worse calamity awaited the South. On the 14th Lincoln fell by the hand of the assassin, and the South lost a friend, in the true sense of the word, who could and would have done more for it in its defeat than any other man. At the same time, the horrible crime awakened a spirit of bitter resentment in the North, which showed little discrimination in its results. It would have been a happy chance for the Southern people if Edwin Booth had shot himself, instead of the President. No man was ever more universally and sincerely mourned by the American people. At Indianapolis, a public meeting was called by Governor Morton, at the state house square, at noon of the 15th, and Hendricks, McDonald and ex-Governor Wright were invited to speak. The solemnity of the occasion was marred by hoodlums who publicly insulted Mr. Hendricks. This was deplored by everyone who had any sense of decency and propriety, and the ill-bred subsided. On Sunday, April 30, the remains of the President lay in state in the capitol, and from 9 to 11 a. m. of the rainy, gloomy day were viewed by thousands of silent mourners from all parts of the State. The remaining events of the war, in Indiana, were the return and public reception of the Indiana troops—the comparatively few of them who remained—who were all given warm welcomes. The long struggle was over, and there were none who were not glad that it was over. The people were thoroughly tired of war, and ready for the pursuits of peace. The war itself had been a business education to many of the soldiers, in the making of roads and bridges, excavation, and other lines

of work that fell to the armies; and this added to the business prosperity and enterprise that followed. A material change had taken place in the social conditions of the State, and it entered on a new era of its progress.

CHAPTER XII

AFTER THE WAR

Among the earlier regiments to return to Indiana was the Sixty-Ninth Infantry. It had gone back to Mobile from Selma, and had been left there when the rest of the troops were ordered to the Rio Grande, preparatory to expelling the French from Mexico, in case they had to be expelled. The Sixty-Ninth went into camp out at the end of Dauphin Way, next to the residence of R. Bumford Owens, proprietor of the Mobile Register; and proceeded to make a second conquest of Mobile. Col. Oran Perry gave very strict orders to the men as to their deportment, and especially that they were not to enter private premises under any circumstances. The Mobilians, who were expecting to be abused and plundered by the "Yankees," did not know what to make of such scandalously decent treatment. A day or two after their arrival, a colored "mammy" came running over from the Owens house, and asked if they had a doctor that would come and treat a sick child. Dr. Montieth, the regimental surgeon, went at once, and found a very sick little girl, whom he succeeded in bringing back to health after two or three days. Then Owens came over to see Col. Perry, and said: "I notice your cook is carrying water about three blocks, and I would be glad to have you use my well; just knock a paling off the fence, and come right in and help yourselves." Col. Perry explained that he appreciated the invitation, but he had ordered his men to keep out of private premises, and he could not disobey his own orders. Owens went away protesting, and the next day he knocked a paling off the fence himself, and invited the cook to come in and get water. Col. Perry ignored this breach; and in a day or two Owens came back. "I violated your orders, sir," he said, "but I want to explain that a man's house is his castle, sir, and I have a right to invite anyone I choose to my premises." By this time, the town people had begun coming out to see the regiment parade in the evening, and were warm in their applause, especially the ex-Confederate soldiers. The little girl who had been sick had come over to visit, and had become a camp pet. She was particularly devoted to Col. Perry, and used to hang to his coat-tail during parade in a way that threatened the dignity of the occasion, but discipline triumphed.

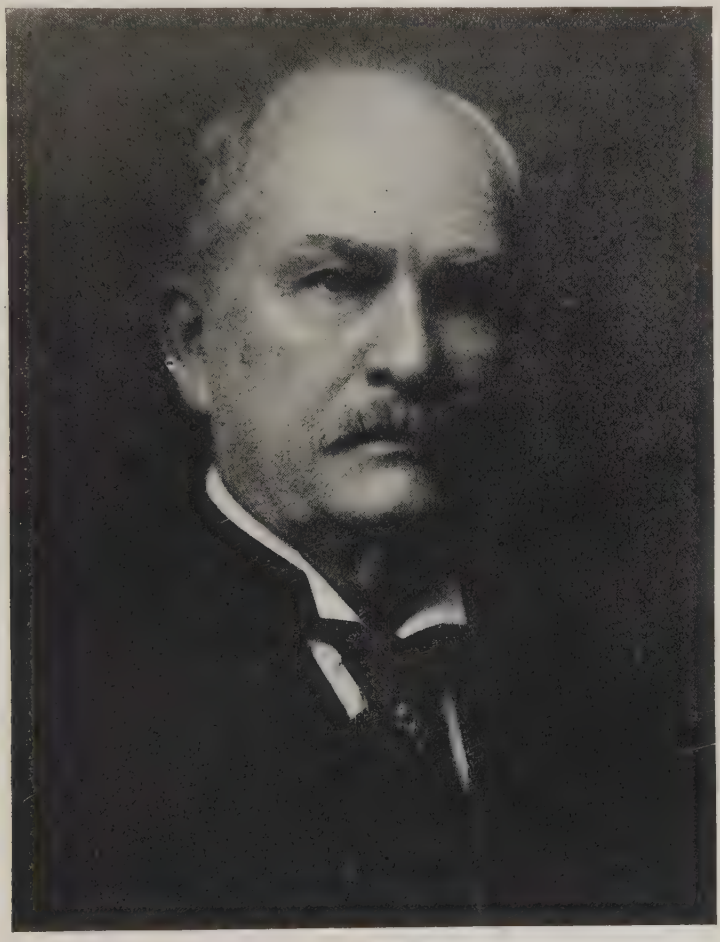
Owens had suspended the publication of the Register on the capitulation of the city, and he decided to resume. He announced his purpose at a supper, to which he invited a number of Union and ex-Confederate officers, informing them that the country was starting on a new era, and that he proposed to advocate everybody's joining in and making it a great era for the whole country. There was entire unanimity in the sentiment. The Confederates realized fully that the old issues had been settled by the arbitrament of arms, and that the settlement was final. All that was left for them was to accept the conditions and go back to earning a living. They made no complaint. As one stout-built colonel insisted: "It was a fair fight—and we lost." And so Mobile started on the work of reconstruction in its own way, with hope and cheer. When the Sixty-Ninth left, it brought along as "son of the regiment" a rebel orphan urchin, whose father and two brothers had been killed at Shiloh, and who attracted the friendship of the boys when he came to the camp to black boots, sell papers, and do odd jobs. He is now well known in Ohio and Indiana as John Henry Newman, teacher and platform-orator, and an honored comrade in the Sixty-Ninth.

On July 18, 1865, the returning remnants of the Sixty-Ninth were given a public reception at Indianapolis, at which Gov. Morton made an address of welcome. Col. Perry was from Morton's old home. He was a son of Judge James Perry, and was born at Liberty, Union County, February 1, 1838; but his family removed to Richmond in 1844. Oran volunteered at the beginning of the war in the Sixteenth Indiana, and at the close of his one year's service, went back as Adjutant of the Sixty-Ninth. He was wounded and captured at Richmond, Kentucky, but exchanged. He was then promoted to Lieutenant Colonel on petition of his superior officers, and served through the war, being again severely wounded at Fort Blakely. Col. Perry says: "After the speaking, I shook hands with Morton, and he asked me to call before I left town. I told him I certainly would pay my respects; and accordingly went to his rooms in the State House, and was ushered in by his secretary, Will Holloway. After greeting me, Morton asked if I had given any thought to the reconstruction of the Southern states, and I told him no. He then asked if I had given any thought to negro suffrage, and I said: 'Why, no. I'm no politician. I am only a boy —have never voted but once—and have been doing what I could to put down the rebellion.' He then asked me what was my opinion about it. 'Why,' said I. 'I know that most of the plantation negroes in the South are not fit to vote. I have no objection to their color, but they are too ignorant; they are little more intelligent than animals. All

of the boys I have talked to feel that way. They want them to be free, but negro suffrage is a pretty tough proposition.' He then asked me if I would be in favor of letting the rebels vote, and I said, 'Yes, I would. They are the only men in the South capable of leading out—the men of education and intelligence. They are thoroughly whipped, and are through with secession. I have talked to many of them; and they are sick of war, and want to get home, settle down, and come back into the Union.'' I gave him an illustration of their good faith. Two or three weeks before we left Mobile, all the troops were ordered to the Rio Grande, to join Sheridan's army and drive the French out of Mexico. At that time Mobile was overrun with late rebels. Our camps swarmed with them, and we were dividing rations with them. Whenever our officers would listen, their officers and men would unanimously volunteer to go to Mexico, and help also drive out the French. We were all struck with their sincerity. I made a number of acquaintances at the time, and some friendships that lasted through life, with men who became good citizens. I still believe it would have been the best course.

''I had relatives in Louisiana who were original Union men. My uncle, Robert Perry, was a prominent planter, and his son-in-law, O'Brien, who was a member of the legislature that voted for secession, made the last speech against it, and voted against it; but when the State went out they all went with it. My cousin Robert, later Judge of the Appellate Court of Louisiana, was an officer of the Eighth Louisiana, and had been captured in the Wilderness, and confined at Johnson's Island. He told me that the prisoners there organized a debating society, to pass away the time, and among other things, discussed what they should do after the war, which they saw was hopeless for the South. He told me they all agreed that the only thing was to accept the situation, and help build up the country. As I was leaving, Morton joked with me, and said, 'You said you had not been thinking about these things, but you see that you have, and did not know it.' The next day I met Bob Conover (Col. Robert Conover, of the Sixteenth Indiana) over by the Bates House, and he asked, 'Did Morton send for you, and ask you what you thought about the negroes voting?' I said yes, and told him what I had said. He said that Morton had also sent for him, and he told him the same thing, and that several others had told him the same thing; and that several others had told him that Morton had sent for them, and they had given him the same opinion. That was the first I knew of his talking to others. While I was talking to Morton he didn't say anything, except to ask a question now and then. He just sat back and listened. It was his

way. They called him a boss, but I never saw anything of that kind about him. But he had a most remarkable faculty of drawing men out, and making them talk. I have seen him draw out fellows that had no idea of talking, until he pumped them dry. Of course, when he made



Col. Oran Perry

up his mind he went at things with a sledge hammer. He made a speech over at Richmond soon after we came back, in which he advocated the ideas we held in regard to negro suffrage. He took the other side later on; but I think he was driven to it by party pressure."[1]

[1] Interview, Dec. 4, 1917.

Morton was not looking for ideas on negro suffrage. He had them already; but he had a problem on his hands. The murder of Lincoln had completely upset political calculations. Julian describes the situation thus: "Johnson was inaugurated at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 15th, and was at once surrounded by radical and conservative politicians, who were alike anxious about the situation. I spent most of the afternoon in a political caucus, held for the purpose of considering the necessity for a new cabinet and a line of policy less conciliatory than that of Mr. Lincoln; and while everybody was shocked at his murder, the feeling was nearly universal that the accession of Johnson to the Presidency would prove a godsend to the country. Aside from Mr. Lincoln's known policy of tenderness to the Rebels, which now so jarred upon the feelings of the hour, his well-known views on the subject of Reconstruction were as distasteful as possible to radical Republicans. In his last public utterance, only three days before his death, he had declared his adherence to the plan of reconstruction announced by him in December, 1863, which in the following year so stirred the ire of Wade and Winter Davis as an attempt of the Executive to usurp the powers of Congress. According to this plan the work of reconstruction in the rebel States was to be inaugurated and carried on by those only who were qualified to vote under the Constitution and laws of these States as they existed prior to the Rebellion. Of course the negroes of the South could have no voice in framing the institutions under which they were to live, and the question of negro suffrage would thus have been settled by the President, if he had lived and been able to maintain this policy, while no doubt was felt that this calamity had now been averted and the way opened for the radical policy which afterwards involved the impeachment of Johnson, but finally prevailed. * * *

"On the following day, in pursuance of a previous engagement, the Committee on the Conduct of the War met the President at his quarters in the Treasury Department. He received us with decided cordiality, and Mr. Wade said to him: 'Johnson, we have faith in you. By the gods, there will be no trouble now in running the government!' The President thanked him, and went on to define his well-remembered policy at that time. 'I hold,' said he, 'that robbery is a crime; rape is a crime; murder is a crime; treason is a crime, and crime must be punished. Treason must be made infamous, and traitors must be impoverished.' We were all cheered and encouraged by this brave talk, and while we were rejoiced that the leading conservatives of the country were not in Washington, we felt that the presence and influence of the committee, of which Johnson had been a member, would aid the Ad-

ministration in getting on the right track. We met him again the next day and found the symptoms of a vigorous policy still favorable, and although I had some misgivings, the general feeling was of unbounded confidence in his sincerity and firmness, and that he would act upon the advice of General Butler by inaugurating a policy of his own, instead of administering on the political estate of his predecessor.'' [2]

But ''the leading conservatives'' also realized the importance of their ''presence and influence'' on the President; and Julian says the President's ''demeanor, at first, seemed modest and commendable, but his egotism soon began to assert itself, while his passion for stump-speaking was pampered by the delegations which began to pour into the city from various States and flatter him by formal addresses, to which he replied in length.'' Morton was among the throng of advisors, and on April 21, descended on Johnson with ''a delegation of citizens from Indiana,'' and posted him on the law and the duty of the hour. He maintained that the rebel States had never been out of the Union; that treason was a personal offense that must be personally punished; and that ''there is in every rebel State a loyal element of greater or less strength, and to its hands should be confided the power and duty of reorganizing the State government, giving to it military protection until such time as it can, by convention or otherwise, so regulate the right of suffrage that this right will be intrusted only to safe and loyal hands.'' Johnson replied in the same strain, and declared that he ''might well have adopted Governor Morton's speech as his own.'' [3] Julian was one of this delegation, and says, ''Governor Morton headed the movement, which I now found had a decidedly political significance.'' He did not approve of this Morton-Johnson theory. He says: ''According to this doctrine a rebellious State becomes independent. If the people could rightfully be overpowered by the national authority, that very fact would at once re-clothe them in all their rights, just as if they had never rebelled. In framing their new governments Congress would have no right to prescribe any conditions, or to govern them in any way pending the work of State reconstruction, since this would be to recognize the States as Territories, and violate the principle of State rights. The Governor's theory of reconstruction, in fact made our war for the Union flagrantly unconstitutional. The crime of treason being 'individual,' and only to 'be treated individually,' we had no right to hold prisoners of war, seize property and capture and confiscate vessels without a regular indictment and

[2] Political Recollections, pp. 255-7.

[3] Foulke's Life of Morton, pp. 440-2.

trial; and this being so, every Rebel in arms was in full legal possession of his political rights, and no power could prevent him from exercising them except through judicial conviction of treason in the district in which the overt act was committed. Singularly enough, he seemed entirely unaware of the well-settled principle which made our war for the Union a territorial conflict, like that of a war with Mexico or England; that the Rebels, while still liable to be hung or otherwise dealt with for treason, had taken upon themselves the further character of public enemies; and that being now conquered they were conquered enemies, having simply the rights of a conquered people. The Governor further informed the President that if the revolted districts should be dealt with as mere Territories, or conquered provinces, the nation would be obliged to pay the debts contracted by them prior to the war. These remarkable utterances, which he repudiated in less than a year afterward, were emphatically endorsed by the President, who entered upon the same theme at a dismal length, freely indulging in his habit of bad English and incoherence of thought; I was disgusted, and sorry that the confidence of so many of my radical friends had been entirely misplaced."[4]

This brought on war in Indiana. Julian says that the radicals in Congress held a caucus on May 12, at the National Hotel, to consider "measures for saving the new Administration from the conservative control which then threatened it;" but that they were divided, Wade and Sumner insisting that the President was in favor of negro suffrage, and was "in no danger." Julian did not believe it. He came home and opened a negro-suffrage campaign in his district. He says: "The Republicans were everywhere divided on the question, while the current of opinion was strongly against the introduction of the issue as premature. The politicians all opposed it on the plea that it would divide the Republicans and restore the Democrats to power, and that we must wait for the growth of a public opinion that would justify its agitation. Governor Morton opposed the policy with inexpressible bitterness, declaring, with an oath, that 'negro suffrage must be put down,' while every possible effort was made to array the soldiers against it. His hostility to the suffrage wing of his party seemed to be quite as relentless as to the Rebels, while the great body of the Republicans of the district deferred strongly to his views. In the beginning of the canvass I even found a considerable portion of my old anti-slavery friends unprepared to follow me; but feeling perfectly sure that I was right and that I could revolutionize the general opinion, I entered upon the work and

[4] Political Recollections, pp. 261-2.

prosecuted it with all my might for nearly four months. My task was an arduous one, but I found the people steadily yielding up their prejudices, and ready to lay hold of the truth when fairly and dispassionately presented, while the soldiers were among the first to accept my teachings. The tide was at length so evidently turning in my favor that on the 28th of September Governor Morton was induced to make his elaborate speech at Richmond, denouncing the whole theory of Republican reconstruction as subsequently carried out, and opposing the policy of negro suffrage by arguments which he seemed to regard as overwhelming. He made a dismal picture of the ignorance and degradation of the plantation negroes of the South, and scouted the policy of arming them with political power."[5]

To understand the controversy between these two men—and it should be understood because it was the chief factor in shaping Indiana politics for several years—it is necessary to keep in mind always that Morton and Julian hated each other cordially, and they were both talented haters. Julian says the trouble began in 1851, when he was a candidate for reelection to Congress, having been elected two years earlier as a Free Soiler, by Democratic votes. He says: "I would undoubtedly have been reelected but for very vigorous outside interference. Wm. J. Brown (Democratic Representative from the Indianapolis district), who had intrigued with the leading Free Soilers for the Speakership in 1849, as I have already shown, and favored the passage of the Wilmot proviso in order to 'stick it at old Zach,' was now the editor of the 'Sentinel,' the State organ of the Democracy, which was sufficiently orthodox on the slavery question to pass muster in South Carolina. It was this organ which afterward insisted that my abolitionism entitled me to at least five years service at hard labor in the penitentiary. Mr. Brown's dread of this fearful heresy seemed as intense as it was unbounded, and he resolved, at all hazards, to avert any further alliance with it by Democrats in any portion of the State. By very hard work and the most unscrupulous expedients he succeeded in enlisting a few ambitious local magnates of his party in the district, who were fully in sympathy with his spirit and aims, and of whom Oliver P. Morton was the chief; and by thus drawing away from the Democracy from two to three hundred proslavery malcontents and turning them over to my Whig competitor, my defeat was accomplished. * * * I never obtained his forgiveness for my success in that contest (1849), and his unfriendliness was afterward aggravated by his failure as a Republican leader to supplant me in the district, and it

[5] Political Recollections, pp. 263-4.

continued to the end. * * * During the war, earnest efforts were made by his friends and mine looking to a reconciliation, and the restoration of that harmony in the party which good men on both sides greatly coveted; but all such efforts necessarily failed. If I had been willing to subordinate my political convictions and sense of duty to his ambition, peace could at once have been restored; but as this was impossible, I was

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obliged to accept the warfare which continued and increased, and which I always regretted and deplored."[6]

Julian gave no marked evidence of deploring the warfare while it was in progress, and he had a chance of winning. He was the one man in Indiana who had successfully defied Morton, although this entailed a continuous fight in his district against Morton's followers. The Journal said he had "quarreled with every prominent public man in his dis-

[6] Political Recollections, pp. 117, 270.

triet,'' naming ''Rariden, Smith, Parker, Kilgore, Meredith, Newman, Morton, Holloway, Colgrove, Elliott, Grose, Wilson, Murphy, Yaryan, Siddell, Bennett, and Trusler,'' which means that these gentlemen were to be included in the Morton following. One of the most important of these was David P. Holloway. He was born in Warren County, Ohio, December 6, 1809, of Quaker parentage; his parents moving to Richmond in 1821, where David learned the printer's trade, and in 1833 became one of the proprietors of the Palladium, of which he was the editor for more than forty years. He was the father of Col. W. R. Holloway, who had been Morton's private secretary, and in 1865 was editor and proprietor of the Journal, and who was also Morton's brother-in-law. Coincident with Morton's Richmond speech, a number of editorial attacks on Julian appeared in the Journal, which show that the speech was intended as an attack on Julian, by attacking the doctrines he was preaching in his campaign; and the speech was published in pamphlet form, and widely circulated. The speech itself was one of the ablest Morton ever made. Indeed, if he had stuck to the principles then advocated, it would have given him a stronger claim to statesmanship with future, and dispassionate generations, than any other he ever made except at the beginning of the war. The Republican party did not follow it, and Morton had to abandon it, or abandon the Republican party; but if the party had followed it, it would have escaped the blot of the radical Reconstruction legislation. But Julian knew that in politics the appeal to resentment and hatred is vastly more effective than an appeal to forgiveness and generosity, and he accepted Morton's challenge with alacrity. On November 15, David W. Chambers, of Henry County, offered a resolution that the use of the hall of the House of Representatives be allowed to Hon. George W. Julian, on the evening of the 17th, ''to speak upon the political topics of the day.'' Alfred Kilgore, of Delaware—a son of Judge David Kilgore, and later U. S. District Attorney—moved to amend by adding: ''And that Mr. Julian be, and is hereby respectfully requested, to express his views with regard to the reconstruction policy of President Johnson, with such precision and certainty that his expressions may not be susceptible of more than one construction as to meaning, and certain as to approval or disapproval.'' The amendment and the resolution were adopted. The Morton speech had been printed in the Journal, and was considered unanswerable by his followers. The position of the President was known. Morton had ascertained the sentiment of the soldiers. His position seemed to be impregnable; and Julian was coming to attack him on his own ground. The situation was fully understood, and the hall of the House was crowded to hear him.

Julian began by denying that he had made any attacks on Gov. Morton or President Johnson, or had otherwise been trying to disorganize the party, as his enemies had been reporting. In regard to his "instructions" as to his speech, he was not certain that he knew what President Johnson's policy was, but if he was in favor of leaving reconstruction to Congress where it belonged, he was in favor of it; however, he found that some of the vilest and meanest Copperheads indorsed Johnson's policy, and he thought there must be some misunderstanding about it. He had some views of his own, which he would advance, and they could judge whether he was in accord with the President. He called attention to the fact that Lincoln's Emancipation did not abolish slavery, but merely freed the slaves in certain districts; and that the Thirteenth Amendment had not yet been ratified by three-fourths of the States. He said: "There has been no moment, in my judgment, since the beginning of this war, so full of peril to the nation as the present. I may refer to the testimony of Governor Brownlow, who says that the only difference between the rebels of to-day and of 1861 is that a good many of them are under the ground. They are still unconverted, unregenerate, and the thorough reconstruction of government and society in the States recently in revolt can never be accomplished by half-way measures or a temporizing policy. In my judgment, our first and immediate duty is the adequate punishment of the rebel leaders; the adequate punishment of the villains who plunged the Republic into war. In Indiana when men committed murder or piracy we indicted, convicted and hanged them. If Jeff Davis were indicted to-night, this would be the charge: 'He has murdered three hundred thousand of our soldiers; he has mangled and maimed for life three hundred thousand more; he has duplicated these atrocities upon his own half of the Union, and upon his own miserable followers. He has organized great conspiracies here in the North and Northwest, to lay in rapine and blood the towns, and villages, and cities, and plantations of the whole loyal portion of the land. He has sought to introduce into the United States, and to nationalize on this Continent, pestilence, in the form of yellow fever; an enterprise which, had it succeeded, would have startled Heaven itself with the agony and sorrow it would have lavished upon the land. He has put to death, by the slow torture of starvation in rebel prisons, sixty thousands of our sons and brothers. He has been a party to the assassination of our martyred President. He has poisoned our wells; planted infernal machines in the track of his armies; murdered our wounded soldiers; boiled the dead bodies of our boys in cauldrons, and sawed up their bones into jewelry to decorate the God-forsaken bodies of his rebel followers. He has hatched into life whole broods of vil-

lainies that are enough, it seems to me, to make the devil himself turn pale at the spectacle. He has done everything that a devil incarnate could do to let loose "the whole contagion of hell," and convert the earth into one grand carnival of demons. * * *

"I don't ask vengeance. Davis has committed treason, and the Constitution demands his punishment. In the name of half a million soldiers who have gone up to the throne of God as witnesses against 'the deep damnation of their taking off'—in the name of your living soldiers —in the name of the Republic, whose life has been put in deadly peril—in the name of the great future, whose fate to-day hangs in the balance, depending on the example you make of treason, I demand the execution of Jeff Davis. And inasmuch as the gallows is the symbol of infamy throughout the civilized world I would give him the gallows, which is far too good for his neck. Not for all the honors and offices of this government would I spare him, if in my power. I should expect the ghosts of half a million soldiers would haunt my poor recreant life to the grave. And I would not stop with Davis. Why should I? There is General Lee, as hungry for the gallows as Davis. He is running at large up and down the hills and valleys of Old Virginia, as if nothing at all had happened; and lately I have heard that he has been offered the presidency of a college; going to turn missionary and school-master, I suppose, to 'teach the young idea how to shoot.' At the same time, as we are informed, he is to write a history of the rebellion. Gentlemen, I would not have him write that history. I would have it written by a loyal man, and I would have him put in a chapter giving an account of the hanging of Lee as a traitor. * * * Nor would I stop with Lee. I would hang liberally, while I had my hand in. I would make the gallows respectable in these latter days, by dedicating it to Christian uses. I would dispose of a score or two of the most conspicuous of the rebel leaders, not for vengeance, but to satisfy public justice, and make expensive the enterprise of treason for all time to come. * * * But suppose you were to hang or exile all these leaders,—for if you don't hang all of them you should put them out of the way,—your work, then, is only just begun. You ought, in the next place, to take their large landed estates and parcel them out among our soldiers and seamen, and the poor people of the South, black and white, as a basis of real democracy and genuine civilization. Why, yonder is Bob Johnson, of Arkansas, an arch rebel leader, who owns forty thousand acres of rich land; enough to make four hundred farms for so many industrious loyal men. I would give the land to them, and not leave enough to bury his carcass in. And yonder is Jake Thompson, one of Jimmy Buchanan's beloved, and beautiful, and blessed disciples; the man who stole our

Indian bonds, and who is so mean that I could never find words to describe him. He owns forty thousand acres or more, and I would take it and divide it out in the way mentioned. The leading rebels in the South are the great landlords of that country. One-half to three-fourths of all the cultivated land belongs to them, and if you would take it, as you have the right to do, by confiscation, you would not disturb the rights of the great body of the people in the South, for they never owned the land. I had the honor to propose, in a bill I introduced into the last Congress, this identical thing. It has passed one House by a large majority, but has failed thus far in the other. If you don't do something of that kind, you will have in the rebel States a system of serfdom over the poor almost as much to be deplored as slavery itself. Rich Yankees will go down there,—and I don't want to abuse the Yankees, for they have made this country what it is; but there are Yankees who believe that the almighty dollar is the only living and true God, and it is said some of them would wade into the mouth of hell after a bale of cotton. * * * There are men who would go down and buy up these estates, and establish a system of wages-slavery, of serfdom over the poor, that would be as intolerable as the old system of servitude. * * * No, you want no order of nobility there save that of the laboring masses. Instead of large estates, widely scattered settlements, wasteful agriculture, popular ignorance, social degradation, the decline of manufactures, contempt for honest labor, and a pampered oligarchy, you want small farms, thrifty tillage, free schools, social independence, flourishing manufactures and the arts, respect for honest labor, and equality of political rights. You can lay hold of these blessings, on the one hand, or these corresponding curses, on the other, just as you please. * * *

"But suppose you have hung or exiled the leaders of the rebellion, and disposed of their great landed estates in the way indicated; your work is then only half done. Without something else, you will fail after all to reap the full rewards of your sufferings and sacrifices. In order to complete your work of reconstruction, you must put the ballot into the hands of the loyal men of the south. * * * Let me say to you, too, by way of quieting your nerves, that I won't preach in favor of black suffrage to-night, nor white suffrage. All I want is loyal suffrage, without regard to color. * * * The fact is, I have got to be a Conservative lately. I wish simply to present some of the old conservative doctrines of the founders and framers of the Republic—men whose memories you all revere, and whose counsels you will be glad to accept if you are loyal; and everybody is loyal now, or ought to be. During the war of the Revolution, that primitive era of the nation's

life, that golden age of public virtue and private, as we are accustomed to regard it, negroes voted in all the States or colonies of the Union, except South Carolina—poor, sin-smitten, Heaven-forsaken spot, that might have been sunk in the sea forty years ago without material detriment, and without, in my opinion disturbing Divine Providence in his manner of governing the world. * * * Washington, and Jefferson, and Jay, and Hancock, and Hamilton, every year went up to the polls and deposited their ballots where the negroes did theirs, and I never heard that they were defiled, or that the Union was particularly endangered. * * * And afterward they voted under Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson. In five of the New England States, and in New York, they have been voting ever since. In Pennsylvania they continued to vote until 1838; in Maryland and Virginia they voted until 1832 or 1833; in New Jersey until 1839 or 1840; and in North Carolina and Tennessee until 1835. Some of my old North Carolina friends here will remember that George E. Badger was elected to Congress by negro votes; John Bell, of Tennessee, also; and old Cave Johnson, on one occasion finding that he was about to lose his election, emancipated about fifteen or twenty of his own slaves, and they went up to the polls and elected him to Congress. Now I have thought that as the negroes are now all free down there, we might extend this Democratic precedent a little further. Even Andrew Jackson, old Hickory himself,—who was a good Democrat in his day, though he would not pass muster now.—the old hero who praised the negroes for fighting so well under him at New Orleans, and who ever afterward enjoyed their gratitude and respect,—when a young man, called on the negroes to help elect the legislature which afterwards gave him a seat in the Senate of the United States; and I think if old Jackson could do so naughty a thing as this it would not disgrace a Copperhead to have a few negroes vote for him, if they were so crazy as to vote on that side. * * *

"But I would give the ballot to the negro for another reason. We called upon him to help us, and he has helped us. We tried with all our might to save the Union, and to save slavery with it. We had got into our heads that the stars of our flag were for the whites, and the stripes for the blacks. * * * When the question became one of salvation or damnation to the white man; when the Union was about to perish in the red sea of war, into which our guilt and folly had tumbled it, we called on these wronged people to help us. They fought side by side with our white soldiers, fighting so well that our generals praised them for their bravery and endurance. You remember that Father Abraham in his message told you that without the help of the negro population the

Union would have perished. * * * In traveling over the country I frequently hear some slimy, sneaking Copperhead saying 'Damn the nigger,' when not more than two years ago that same Copperhead might have been seen perambulating the country, hunting up a negro to stand between him and the bullets of the rebels, and save his cowardly carcass from harm. * * * The Copperhead hunted his black substitute, found him, hired him to go; he went, fought like a hero, rushed into every ugly gap of death his commander told him to enter, and now, on his safe return, the Copperhead looks down upon him and says 'Damn the nigger—go back to your old master, I am done with you.' Is this a specimen of your magnanimity and manhood? My conservative friends say to me, 'Is it not strange that the soldiers are against negro suffrage in the South. Gentlemen, I know of no question of negro suffrage connected with our national politics, except as between the loyal negro, and the white rebels of the South. Now, I ask you, have you a soldier among you who hates the loyal negro who fought for his country more than he hates the white rebels who fought against it? or who, if the ballot is to be given to the one or the other, would give it to the white rebel in preference? or who, if the ballot is to be given to the white rebel, would not checkmate him by giving it to the loyal negro at his side? Have you any civilian among you who would espouse the cause of the white rebel in the cases I have supposed? If you answer these questions in the negative, then you are with me on the question of negro suffrage. Gentlemen, when, two or three years ago, the government decided that the negro was fit to carry a gun to shoot rebels down, it thereby pledged itself irrevocably to give him the ballot to vote rebels down, when it should become necessary. And the nation never can go behind that act. * * * Negro suffrage in the South is a chapter in the history of this contest as sure to come as was the arming of the negro, and you who oppose it would do well to stand out of the way, for it will sweep over you as remorselessly as would the tides of the sea. * * *

"But I would give the negro the ballot for another reason. Before the war broke out, the South, on the basis of its negro population, had eighteen members of Congress. Now they will have twelve additional members, or thirty in all, based upon a population that is dumb. * * * Are you safe under the operation of a provision so iniquitous as this? It not only disfranchises the negro, but it disfranchises you. * * * If you tolerate this principle, if you don't give the negro the ballot, another consequence will come, and that is the repudiation of your debt. * * * If you hold their noses to the grindstone, as you ought to do, every dollar of their rebel debt is gone, and you will compel them to help pay our debt. They will hate that confoundedly, and will agonize

day and night to find some way of escape; and they will not be slow in finding it. * * * They hunger and thirst for an opportunity to join hands with their old allies at the North; and these allies, who only a year ago got up secret orders to murder you and usurp your State government—most of you know them—are ready to join hands with their old masters. A small sum of money will buy Copperheads in Congress enough to give back to the South her ancient domination in the Union; and then they will repudiate our debt, and saddle upon your shoulders their debt, rendering us all the most pitiful vagabonds that were ever turned loose upon the world. Now, you white capitalists, who don't love the negro, but do love money, whether you are willing that this state of things shall come about or not, it will come, unless you provide against it. You can save the country from this financial maelstrom simply by dealing justly with the negro. * * * I would give the negro the ballot for another reason, and that is, that every rebel in the South, and every Copperhead in the North is opposed to negro suffrage. If there were no other argument than this I would be in favor of negro enfranchisement. When you know a man to be in sympathy with, and doing the works of the devil, have you any doubt as to whether or not you are on the Lord's side in fighting him? And when you hear the rebels of the South and Copperheads of the North denouncing negro suffrage, can't you swear you are right in favoring it, without the least fear of a mistake in your oath? * * *

"It is said that the negroes are unfit to vote—that they are too ignorant; and I have heard it said that they need a probation of ten or twenty years to prepare them for the ballot; that they must have time to acquire property, knowledge of political rights and duties, and then it will do to give them the ballot. I don't understand that argument. * * * You might as well talk about preparing a man to see by punching out his eyes; or preparing him for war by cutting off his feet and hands; or preparing the lamb for security by committing it to the jaws of the wolf. If you want to prepare the negro for suffrage take off his chains, and give him equal advantages with white men in fighting the battle of life. Don't charge him with unfitness, until you have given him equal opportunities with others. Gentlemen, who made them unfit? I think it was the rebels. * * * Are you going to be very nice or fastidious in selecting a man to vote down a rebel? Must you have a perfect gentleman and scholar for this work? I think the negro just the man. I would not have a better, if I could. Of all men he is the most fit. The rebel, I know, won't like it. * * * He is the architect of his own fortune; let him enjoy it. It is ordained by Providence that retribution shall follow wrong doing. Are you going to rush between the rebel and

the consequences of his infernal deeds? Let him reap as he has sown. For one, I have too much to do to vex myself about how he will fare under negro ballots. I am sure he will get along as well as he deserves, and I prefer to leave the whole matter with the negro, as the tables are at last turned in his favor. But what is fitness to vote? It is a relative term. Nobody is perfectly fit to vote. I have never seen a man that was. * * * He would have to be an angel or a god. * * * We are all more or less unfit to vote, and to discharge all our duties. * * * Show me a man whose heart is right, and he will do to trust all the time. The negro's heart has been right all through the war; true as the needle to the pole. He never betrayed a trust; always knew the difference between a gray coat and a blue one; always knew the difference between treason and loyalty; and that is more than Jeff Davis has found out to this day, with all his knowledge. It is true, the negroes cannot read or write much; perhaps not one in forty or fifty of the field hands can read or write. The same, if not more, is true of the 'white trash.' When you talk about disfranchising the negro because he can't read or write, you ought to apply your philosophy elsewhere. You have half a million white men in the Union marching up to the ballot-box every year who cannot write their own names. I believe that one-ninth of the adult people in Indiana can neither read nor write. You don't propose to disfranchise them. The best educated country in the world is Prussia; everybody there is educated; and yet in Prussia where you would suppose education had made free institutions, nobody votes, and the government is despotic. Education is not freedom. It does not, necessarily, fit any man in the world to vote. * * * My friends, the true way to fit men for voting is to put the ballot into their hands. * * * Suppose you want to teach your boy how to swim, and you won't let him go into the water for fear of drowning; he must stand on the land and go through the motions. How long, on a reasonable calculation, would it take to teach him to swim?

"But I am told that the negroes will vote as their masters want them to. Do you believe it? * * * They didn't fight with their old masters. * * * Why, every South Carolinian would be preaching negro suffrage with me to-night, if he thought the negroes would vote as he wanted them to. * * * But it is said that if we give the negroes the ballot in the South, we will have to give it to those in Indiana. * * * If you secure equal rights and equal advantages to the negro, in the reconstruction of the South, under this inducement to our colored people to return to their sunny home, the question of negro suffrage might never come in Indiana. If it should come, I will be in favor of taking it up and dealing with it upon its merits. * * *

But this question belongs to you, gentlemen of the Legislature, and Congress cannot touch it. Let me beg of you not to confound together very different questions. * * * Let us settle this great national question, and then we shall be better prepared for minor ones. My conservative friends are grieved because I do not demand immediate negro suffrage in Indiana as my 'one idea.' I am always glad to please these friends, and I am naturally amiable, but I must beg leave in this case to decline acceding to their wishes. Gentlemen, another objection I have heard to negro suffrage is that they will hold all the offices in the South; that the whites there will leave, and we shall no longer migrate there. * * * I cannot, however, feel alarmed. * * * I have already referred to the policy of negro voting in nearly all of the States for some thirty or forty years of our history, and I believe it never led to negro office-holding. Even in Massachusetts I remember no case of the sort. * * * Nor has negro voting ever led to social equality or miscegenation, to my knowledge. If my Democratic friends, however, feel in danger of marrying negro women, I am in favor of a law for their protection. * * * I agree, gentlemen, that the question (of suffrage) belongs to the States, subject to the reserved right and duty of the United States to guarantee Republican governments to the States. * * * As I have already said, these rebel States are outside of their constitutional orbit, and they can never get back into it without the consent of Congress. And right here is where the matter of suffrage comes under your jurisdiction. Carolina, for example, asks admission. * * * I remember a clause of the Constitution which says, 'The United States shall guarantee to every State a republican form of government.' What is a republican form of government, is a political question exclusively for Congress to decide. Well, I look at her Constitution, and find that it disfranchises two thirds of her people, and the only loyal ones in her border, and gives the ballot to one third, and they rebels, who ought to have been hung or exiled before to-day. Gentlemen, I would decide, without hesitation, that her Constitution was not republican in form or in fact; and I would slam the door in her face. I would have Congress put a territorial government over her, and President Johnson to appoint a chief justice, a governor, a marshal, etc., and in local politics, in electing justices, constables, etc., I would set the people to voting. * * * I trust that by this time even my friend Kilgore understands my position. * * * The way is perfectly open to you, unobstructed by any constitutional difficulty, any obstacle in any form, to do exactly what may seem right in your eyes. You can hold the rebels in the strong grasp of war till the end and purpose of the war, which is a lasting peace, shall

be made sure. * * * Shall we deal with conquered traitors and public enemies as equal sovereigns with ourselves, and insult justice and mock God by pettifogging their cause? Gentlemen, I repeat it, the rebels are in our power, and if we foolishly surrender it we shall be the most recreant people on earth. The glorious fruits of our victory are within our grasp. We have only to reach forth our hands to possess them. Let me plead with you to do your duty.[7]

The Journal did not report this speech. In its local columns it said: "The burden of his address was the wonderful properties of negro suffrage as a National cure-all. The member of the Burnt District thinks 'the country will go straight to damnation' without the colored ballot. He is welcome to his opinions." Editorially it had a column attack on Julian, with no reference to the speech. It was, in fact, the explosion of a mine in the Morton camp. Julian says of it: "Every possible effort was made by the Johnsonized Republicans to prevent me from having an audience, but they failed utterly; and I analyzed the positions of Governor Morton in a speech of two hours, which was reported for the Cincinnati Gazette, and subsequently published in a large pamphlet edition. The political rage and exasperation which now prevailed in the ranks of the Anti-Suffrage faction can be more readily imagined than described. Their organ, the Indianapolis Journal, poured out upon me an incredible deliverance of vituperation and venom for scattering my heresies outside of my Congressional district, declaring that I had 'the temper of a hedgehog, the adhesiveness of a barnacle, the vanity of a peacock, the vindictiveness of a Corsican, the hypocrisy of Aminadab Sleek, and the duplicity of the devil. I rather enjoyed these paroxysms of malignity, which broke out all over the State among the Governor's conservative satellites, since my only offense was fidelity to my political opinions, the soundness of which I was finding fully justified by events; for the friends of the Governor, in a few short months, gathered together and cremated all the copies of his famous speech which could be found. But the disowned document was printed as a campaign tract by the Democrats for a dozen successive years afterward, and circulated largely in several of the Northern States, while the Governor himself, by a sudden and splendid somersault, became the champion and exemplar of the very heresies which had so furiously kindled his ire against me."[8]

And yet, it was not wholly a season of joy for Julian. The Journal printed its analysis of his character, quoted above, on November 22, and

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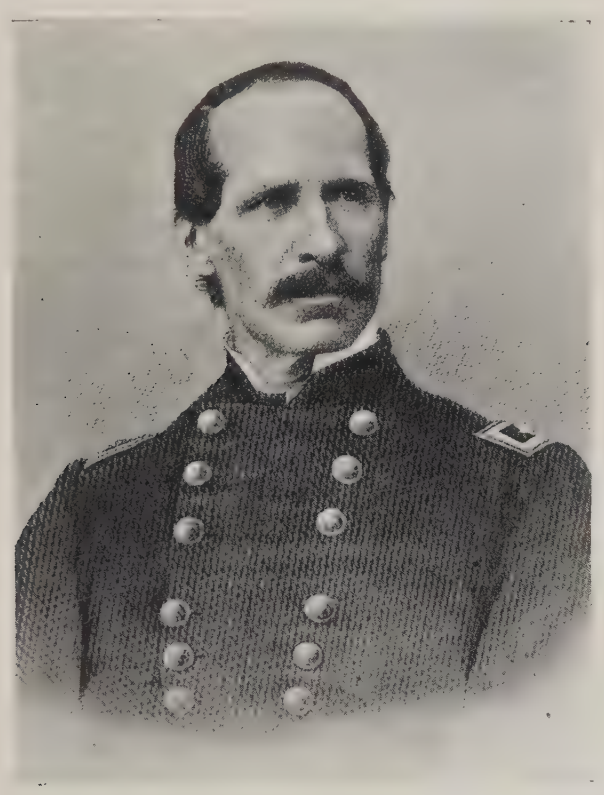
[7] Speeches on Political Questions, p. 262.

[8] Political Recollections, p. 268.

a return in kind appeared in the True Republican, published by Julian's brother Jacob Julian, at Richmond, to which Col. Holloway replied on November 25 with a signed editorial, resenting the "abuse of our family," charging that George W. Julian was the author, and denouncing him as "a cowardly blackguard, a malignant liar, and a dirty poltroon." On November 29, the Journal found greater consolation in an account of the



GEN. SOL. MEREDITH

horse-whipping of Julian at Richmond, by Gen. Sol Meredith, on account of reflections on his loyalty. In fact, November, 1865, was a red letter month in Republican chronology in Indiana. On the night of October 10, Morton had suffered a stroke of paralysis. His physicians ordered absolute rest; and he determined to go to Paris, and try the "moxa" treatment of Prof. Brown-Sequard. On September 13 he had issued a call for the legislature to meet in special session on November 13. He was able to deliver his message in person, on the 14th; and on the

17th he turned the State government over to Lieutenant Governor Baker, and started for Washington. He was accredited by the President for a special mission to inspect military affairs in Europe, and also for a secret mission to Louis Napoleon, to advise that gentleman to get his troops out of Mexico promptly. He performed these services satisfactorily, had the painful moxa treatment, and got back to New York, somewhat improved, on March 7, 1866; passed a month in the East getting in touch with the political situation; and was back in Indianapolis on April 12. He had learned that the radicals were going to have their own way, and Julian's policies were going to be adopted. He made an effort to pull the President into line, and then turned his attention to his own affairs. A Senator was to be elected in Indiana, and the Senator would be either a Democrat or a Radical. He was a candidate. On June 20, he delivered his "Masonic Hall speech," in which he even distanced Julian in his appeal to hatred, though he kept clear of the suffrage question. His climax was this: "Every unregenerate rebel lately in arms against his government calls himself a Democrat. Every bounty jumper, every deserter, every sneak who ran away from the draft calls himself a Democrat. Bowles, Milligan, Walker, Dodd, Horsey and Humphreys call themselves Democrats. Every 'Son of Liberty' who conspired to murder, burn, rob arsenals and release rebel prisoners calls himself a Democrat. John Morgan, Champ Ferguson, Wirtz Payne and Booth proclaimed themselves Democrats. Every man who labored for the rebellion in the field, who murdered Union prisoners by cruelty and starvation, who conspired to bring about civil war in the loyal states, who invented dangerous compounds to burn steamboats and Northern cities, who contrived hellish schemes to introduce into Northern cities the wasting pestilence of yellow fever, calls himself a Democrat. Every dishonest contractor who has been convicted of defrauding the government, every dishonest paymaster or disbursing officer who has been convicted of squandering the public money at the gaming table or in gold gambling operations, every officer in the army who was dismissed for cowardice or disloyalty, calls himself a Democrat. Every wolf in sheep's clothing, who pretends to preach the gospel but proclaims the righteousness of man-selling and slavery; every one who shoots down negroes in the streets, burns negro school-houses and meeting-houses, and murders women and children by the light of their own flaming dwellings, calls himself a Democrat; every New York rioter in 1863 who burned up little children in colored asylums, who robbed, ravished and murdered indiscriminately in the midst of a blazing city for three days and nights, called himself a Democrat. In short, the Democratic party may be described as a common sewer and loathsome re-

ceptacle, into which is emptied every element of treason North and South, and every element of inhumanity and barbarism which has dishonored the age."

His biographer says of this speech: "Morton was an intense and bitter partisan, to whom the success of the Democracy meant the loss of all that had been won. He had grouped together every disloyal act, and in a masterly statement, had flung the record, not simply at the guilty men, but at the party which had tolerated their leadership or companionship. It was the speech to win. The Republicans had been divided and lukewarm, the Democrats united and aggressive. Under such conditions the way to success was to awaken old memories, to draw the party lines as closely as possible, to make the fight bitter and irreconcilable, to drive every disaffected Republican back into the ranks by hatred of a common enemy.[9] The campaign was cleverly worked out on these lines. On July 4, a public presentation of the battle-flags to the State was made, Morton receiving them and replying in a set political speech, in which he told the soldiers that the issue was, "whether they shall shamefully and blindly surrender at the ballot-box the great prizes which they have conquered on the field." There was no mention of Democrats, in the Journal, during the campaign—only "Copperhead speeches" and "Copperhead meetings." On the morning of September 10, the day on which President Johnson arrived in Indianapolis when "swinging round the circle," the Journal said: "If Andrew Johnson were today expected to visit this city as President of the United States, the whole people of this city and State would turn out and welcome him irrespective of party, to testify their respect for their Chief Magistrate. But he comes here as a partizan to harangue the people for the benefit of the Copperheads and to build up a party almost composed exclusively of men who were disloyal to the Government during the terrible civil war, and who still are in sympathy with the enemies of the Republic. * * * No loyal man can participate in the ceremonies without being insulted by the man who has basely betrayed them after 'being elevated to the second place in the gift of the people by their votes'." The reception in the evening was broken up by a mob which would not allow the President and others to speak; and an attack was made on the procession, resulting in a riot in which one man was killed and five wounded, including the Journal reporter. The parader who fired the fatal shot was arrested and tried for murder, but acquitted on a plea of self-defense. In its report of the affair, the Journal said: "We knew beforehand that the popular mind was set strongly against Andrew Johnson, but did

[9] Life of Morton, Vol. 1, p. 476.

not anticipate so deplorable an affair.'' There was also reason to deplore in the fact that the police and other peace officers of the city and county were under Republican control.

The election in October resulted in a Republican majority of a little less than 15,000—a decrease of some 5,000 from 1864—but enough to give a substantial Republican majority in both houses of the legislature, and eight of the eleven Congressmen. As Morton had taken personal supervision of the legislative electors,[10] he was elected to the Senate without material opposition. In his message to the legislature he came out openly, for the first time, in favor of negro suffrage, on Julian's most effective ground—that it was essential to the welfare of the Republican party. He said: ''The proposition to introduce at once to the ballot-box half a million men, who but yesterday were slaves, the great mass of whom are profoundly ignorant, and all impressed with that character which slavery impresses upon its victims, is repugnant to the feelings of a large part of our people, and would be justified only by the necessity resulting from inability to maintain loyal Republican state governments in any other way. But the necessity for loyal Republican state governments that shall protect men of all races, classes and opinions, and shall render allegiance and support to the government of the United States, must override every other consideration of prejudice or policy.'' Having thus moved over into Julian's nest, as in 1854, the next step, as then, was to institute vigorous measures for throwing Julian out. To this the legislature gave attention by a Congressional reapportionment act which replaced a large portion of Julian's Republican constituents by Democrats.[11] As Julian had told the tale of his first ravishment in his Raysville speech, of July 4, 1857, he preserved the details of the second in his Dublin speech of October 25, 1868, and again in his Recollections. He says: ''Nearly all of my old opponents in the district and State were now Johnsonized, except Gov. Morton, whose temporary desertion the year before was atoned for by a prudent and timely repentance. He was not, however, thoroughly reconstructed, for in the Philadelphia Loyal Convention which met in September of this year to consider the critical state of the country, he used his influence with the delegates from the South to prevent their espousal of Negro Suffrage, and begged Theodore Tilton to prevail on Frederick Douglass to take the first train of cars for home, in order to save the Republican party from detriment. He was still under the shadow of his early Democratic training; and he and his satellites, vividly remembering my campaign for Negro Suffrage the year before, and finding me thoroughly in-

[10] Life of Morton, p. 484.

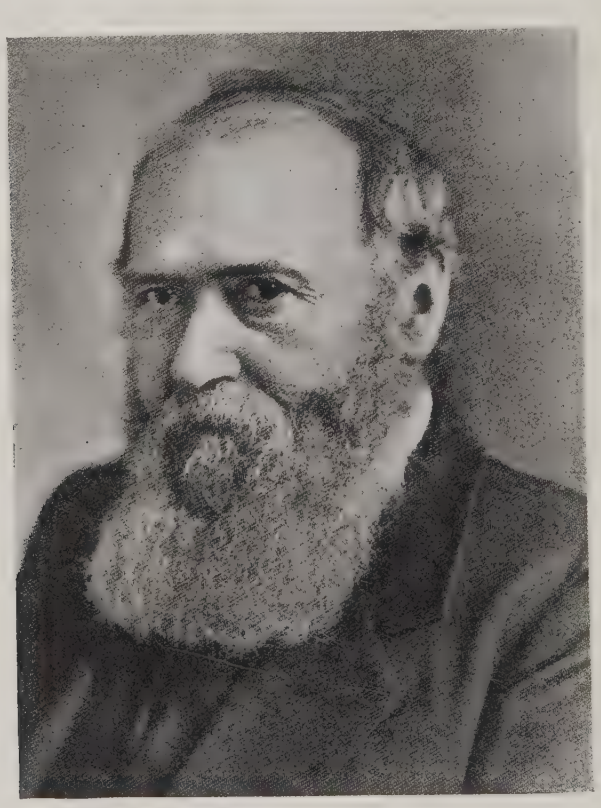
[11] Acts, 1867, p. 108.

trenched in my Congressional district, hit upon a new project for my political discomfiture. This was the re-districting of the State at the ensuing session of the Indiana Legislature, which they succeeded in accomplishing by disguising their real purpose. There was neither reason nor excuse for such a scheme at this time, apart from my political fortunes, and by the most shameless gerrymandering in three counties of my district, which gave me a majority of 5,000 were taken from me, and four others added in which I was personally but little acquainted, and which gave an aggregate Democratic majority of about 1,500. This was preliminary to the next Congressional race, and the success of the enterprise remained to be tested; but it furnishes a curious illustration of the state of Indiana Republicanism at that time. * * * In my new Congressional district I was unanimously renominated by the Republicans, and entered at once upon the canvass, though scarcely well enough to leave my bed. The issue was doubtful, and my old-time enemies put forth their whole power against me at the election. They were determined, this time, to win, and to make sure of this embarked in a desperate and shameless scheme of ballot-stuffing in the city of Richmond which was afterward fully exposed; but in spite of this enterprise of 'Ku Klux Republicans,' I was elected by a small majority. The result, however, foreshadowed the close of my congressional labors, which followed two years later, just as the XV Constitutional Amendment had made voters of the colored men of the State; but it was only made possible by my failing health which had unfitted me for active leadership." [12]

When Morton was elected to the Senate, the office of Governor passed to Lieutenant Governor Baker, who was eminently fitted for it. He was a sound lawyer, not showy but thoroughly honest and conscientious, putting public duty above politics, and of marked capacity. Conrad Baker was born in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, February 12, 1817. He graduated at the Pennsylvania College, at Gettysburg; read law with the celebrated Thad Stevens; was admitted to the bar in 1839; and after two years practice at Gettysburg, removed to Evansville, where he had a leading place for a quarter of a century. He was a representative in 1845, and Judge of the Common Pleas in 1852. In 1856, without even consulting him, the Republicans put him on their State ticket for Lieutenant Governor, with Morton, and they went to defeat together. In 1861, he volunteered as Colonel of the First Cavalry, Twenty-Eighth Indiana, and served for three years, part of the time as a brigade commander, when he was made Provost Marshal at Indianapolis. In 1864 he was again nominated for Lieutenant Governor without solicitation.

[12] Political Recollections, pp. 302, 320. See also Speeches on Political Questions, pp. 468-472.

Bar meeting resolutions, as a rule are not more reliable than other obituaries, but after Governor Baker's death on April 28, 1885, the bar memorial very truly said of him: "Indiana has never had a wiser and better administration of its affairs than while he was its governor. He gave to the administration of them a dignity and elevation of character which had its source in himself. In the field and at the head of his



Hon. Conrad Baker

regiment he displayed a tranquil courage and calm fortitude which never deserted him under any of the vicissitudes of war. A striking illustration of these qualities is afforded by an act of his while he was Provost Marshal at Indianapolis. An unruly and belligerent mob of soldiers was threatening with destruction the office of a newspaper which had incurred their hostility. He went among them alone and at great personal risk, and stopped the assault as soon as it began. It was at a time when the Union sentiment was intense and proscriptive, and his

interference in behalf of a newspaper that had become the object of its passionate fury was simply heroic. His sense of justice could not be subjugated by popular clamor, and it was broad enough to include those who were regarded by his associates and comrades as the enemies of his country. The patriotism which made him a soldier actuated him as a citizen, and it never degenerated into mere partisanship."

In 1868, Baker was nominated by the Republicans for Governor, the Democrats nominating Thomas A. Hendricks, and the two made a joint canvass, holding meetings in each of the eleven Congressional districts. The two were personal friends, and their debate was marked by perfect courtesy. The election was very close, the Republican majority in the State being only 961. The Democrats claimed that even this was the result of fraud,[13] but Mr. Hendricks made no contest, and Governor Baker continued his excellent service for four years. In 1872, Mr. Hendricks was renominated, the Republicans nominating Gen. Thomas M. Browne. This was the year of the Liberal Republican revolt against Grant's administration, and the result in Indiana was an illustration of personal prejudice in politics. As an October State, Indiana was a field of intensive fighting, with all the bitterness of the war issues that Senator Morton, who was a candidate for re-election, could inject into the campaign. Hendricks carried the State by a majority of 1,148, but the only other Democratic State officer elected was Milton B. Hopkins, the candidate for Superintendent of Public Instruction; and the Republicans carried the legislature, and returned Morton. The election of Hendricks was unquestionably due to the reported intemperate habits of his opponent, which turned the temperance vote against him, and the temperance vote was becoming powerful again in Indiana. In November, Grant carried the State by a majority of 22,294 over Greeley. This was due to the refusal of old-time Democrats to vote for a man who had for years held them up to public scorn in language that was extreme, even in the picturesque style of newspaper writing of that day. Even Voorhees refused at first to accept so bitter a prescription, but he thought better of it on reflection, and accepted the inevitable. There was, however, a substantial Republican defection in Indiana, and it was made permanent by the abuse heaped on the Liberals during the campaign, making a valuable accession to the Democratic party, not only in numbers but also in its effect of nullifying the old war issues. When Mr. Hendricks took Gov. Baker's place in office, Gov. Baker replaced him at the bar, and the firm of Hendricks, Hord & Hendricks became Baker, Hord & Hendricks, and so continued until Governor Baker's death.

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[13] Holcombe's Life of Hendricks, p. 301.

The campaign of 1872 ended Julian's connection with the Republican party. Julian says: "In February, I was strongly urged to become a candidate for Congressman at large under the new Congressional apportionment; and although failing health unfitted me for active politics, to which I had no wish to return, I really wanted the compliment of the nomination. The long-continued and wanton opposition which had been waged against me in my own party led me to covet it, and in the hope that General Grant's nomination might yet be averted I allowed my friends to urge my claims, and to believe I would accept the honor if tendered which I meant to do should this hope be realized. I saw that I could secure it. My standing in my own party was better than ever before. The 'Indianapolis Journal,' for the first time, espoused my cause, along with other leading Republican papers in different sections of the State. The impolicy and injustice of the warfare which had long been carried on against me in Indiana were so generally felt by all fair-minded Republicans that Senator Morton himself, though personally quite as hostile as ever, was constrained to call off his forces, and favor a policy of conciliation. It was evident that my nomination was assured if I remained in the field; but as time wore on I saw that the re-nomination of General Grant had become absolutely inevitable; and as I could not support him I could not honorably accept a position which would commit me in his favor. The convention was held on the 22d of February, and on the day before I sent a telegram peremptorily refusing to stand as a candidate; and I soon afterward committed myself to the Liberal Republican movement. I could not aid in the re-election of Grant without sinning against decency and my own self-respect. I deplored the fact, but there was no other alternative. If it had been morally possible, I would have supported him gladly. I had no personal grievances to complain of, and most sincerely regretted the necessity which compelled my withdrawal from political associations in which I had labored many long years, and through seasons of great national danger."[14]

The regular Republicans claimed that he had been a candidate for Congressman at large until he found that he could not get the nomination; produced letters showing that he had taken an active interest in the matter; and said that he acknowledged it in a speech at Muncie, during the campaign.[15] There is no room for question that the Morton following were glad to have him go. After the October election, the Journal, editorially, said it had no doubt that many of the smaller

[14] Political Recollections, p. 334.

[15] Journal, Oct. 31; Nov. 1; Nov. 7, 1872.

Liberals in Indiana had been led astray, and it was willing to re-admit them to the Republican ranks, "But to Julian and Cravens, Allen and Hudson, Judges Scott and Drummond, Finch and Holliday, we would state that the Republican canvass is a large one but we prefer that you keep on the outside.[16] In political circles, the belief was that Morton had led Julian on to think that he could be nominated, until he had committed himself, and that Julian found that he was being deceived just in time to let go. However that may be, it is manifest that Julian, like many of the other Abolitionists, after the slavery question was out of the way, naturally found a new foe in industrial serfdom. As he put it: "We have entered upon a new dispensation. The withdrawal of the slavery question from the strife of political parties has changed the face of our politics as completely as did its introduction. * * * The tyranny of industrial domination, which borrows its life from the alliance of concentrated capital with labor-saving machinery, must be overthrown. Commercial feudalism, wielding its power through the machinery of great corporations which are practically endowed with life offices and the right of hereditary succession and control the makers and expounders of our laws, must be subordinated to the will of the people. The system of agricultural serfdom called Land Monopoly, which is now putting on new forms of danger in the rapid multiplication of great estates and the purchase of vast bodies of lands by foreign capitalists, must be resisted as a still more formidable foe of democratic Government. The legalized robbery now carried on in the name of Protection to American labor must be overthrown. The system of spoils and plunder must also be destroyed, in order that freedom itself may be rescued from the perilous activities quickened into life by its own spirit, and the conduct of public affairs inspired by the great moralities which dignify private life. These are the problems which appeal to the present generation, and especially to the honorable ambition of young men now entering upon public life.[17] With a devotion to these principles on national lines, he found himself very much at home in the Democratic party until his death, on July 7, 1899.

In getting rid of Julian, the Indiana Republicans went out of the frying pan into the fire. The man who made the chief fight against Julian in his district, where his influence was most feared, was William Baxter, then a candidate for the legislature. Baxter was an Englishman, of Quaker parentage, born at Appletreewick, Yorkshire, February 11, 1824. He had to go to work in a woolen mill at thirteen, but he

[16] Journal, Oct. 14, 1872.

[17] Political Recollections, p. 372.

was a youth of enterprise, and got into the tea business, incidentally reading some law, until 1848, when he came to the United States, and for about eight months sold English-made worsteds by sample. He then entered the employ of a large Philadelphia dry-goods house, in which he became a partner. In 1864 he retired, with a competence, and located on a farm across the Whitewater from Richmond—now included in

WILLIAM BAXTER

West Richmond. Here he soon attained celebrity as an advocate of temperance, and this made him peculiarly available as a Republican candidate in 1872, for one of the chief arguments of the Democrats was the intemperance of Grant. Baxter demonstrated to his own satisfaction, and to that of his constituents, that Grant was a model of temperance, and by so doing contributed very largely to Republican success. His own devotion to temperance was as intense as Julian's devotion to Abolition. He had begun making temperance speeches at the age of

sixteen, and never got over the habit. He was the first man who came to the support of the Women's Temperance Union in Indiana. Anyone who heard him speak, in those days, will remember his impressive description of the siege of Lucknow, in the Sepoy Rebellion, and how one of the despairing garrison heard the music of the bag-pipes, and electrified his comrades by the glad shout, "The Campbells are coming"; and his application of it to the existing situation, and the fact that "The women are coming." The men were coming also; and when Baxter got into the legislature, there was so strong a temperance sentiment that he succeeded in securing the passage of a stringent temperance law—or at least what was then so considered, though it would not be regarded as a very unreasonable regulation law at the present time.

The distinctive feature of "The Baxter Bill" was that it did away with State license entirely, and provided for a "permit" to sell intoxicating liquors on petition of a majority of the voters, reserving, however, the power in cities and towns to require a license fee. After getting a permit, the saloon-keeper had to give a bond for the sum of $3,000 to obey the law, and to compensate for any damages that might result from selling liquor to an intoxicated person, to which exemplary damages might be added. Anybody could succor a helplessly intoxicated person, and recover his expense from the man who sold him the liquor. These were the features of the law that were most obnoxious to the liquor men, but what made it objectionable to drinkers was the early closing hours, the sale being prohibited between 9 p. m. and 6 a. m. This was particularly resented by the Germans, who, like the Liberal Republicans, now that the slavery question was disposed of, were ready for the defense of any other kind of "liberty" in which they were interested. The ensuing Republican reverse was charged principally to this measure; but there was another element in the change, and one that grew more effective in the course of the next few years, and that was the panic of 1873, and the hard times resulting from that and the act for the resumption of specie payments in 1875. It would have saved millions of dollars to the country if Congress had heeded the cry, "The way to resume is to resume"; and had provided for an immediate resumption of a specie basis, and the redemption of the greenbacks at their market value, with an adjustment of private debts at the same rate. This was the course taken by France after the Napoleonic wars, and France basked in prosperity, while the other European countries, which undertook to bring their paper currency back to par, went through years of depression and bankruptcy. The objection to this course, that it would be partial repudiation, was theoretical only, because the holders of the bills had taken them at market value and were ready to pay them out on

the same basis. The important consideration which was overlooked, or neglected, was that the greenback was the measure of value in actual use, and the volume of greenbacks was insignificant as compared with the volume of debt and commodities to be measured by greenbacks. It meant a constant increase in the burden of existing debt, and a constant fall in the money value of all commodities. Legitimate business cannot be successfully transacted on a constantly falling market.

Indiana was hard hit. The years following the war had been very prosperous, culminating in "boom times" in the early seventies. Business men were confident and aggressive. Boards of trade were actively urging progress. The first State exposition was held, in conjunction with the State Fair, in September, 1873. Energetic steps were being taken for an Indiana coal road. The thunderbolt came from a clear sky. Bankruptcies, which had not averaged over 100 a year, in Indiana, increased to 294 in 1876, 405 in 1877, and 835 in the first eight months of 1878. The private mortgage debt of the State increased over $60,000,000 from June 1, 1872, to June 1, 1879. The foreclosures by thirteen foreign insurance companies alone, in the federal court, in 1878, amounted to $703,971.80. Plainly there was something wrong, when such results could come in a State with a fertile soil, great natural resources, and an industrious people. The masses rightly put the source of the trouble in the currency, and popular remedies were largely based on the financial absurdity of an irredeemable fiat currency. "Greenbackism" made large inroads in the Republican ranks, and those of the Democrats were largely tinctured with it, but politically the responsibility for the financial trouble was put on the party in power—as it always is. So with the Baxter Bill, which was not wholly a party measure, as 11 Democrats voted for it in the House, and six in the Senate; and Governor Hendricks signed it. Governor Hendricks did not discuss the subject in his inaugural address; but Governor Baker took strong temperance ground in his message, saying: "The intelligent legislator can not close his eyes to the fact that the intemperate use of intoxicating liquors is fearfully prevalent, and that it is the fruitful source of pauperism and crime, of social disorder and wretchedness. * * * As Mr. Lincoln said of slavery, so say I of tippling houses, namely: If they are not wrong, then nothing is wrong. * * * The legislation of the State should, on this subject, keep pace with public opinion, and it would be better to have the law a little in advance of public opinion than to have it lag far behind. * * * You are fresh from the ranks of the people, assembled from all parts of the State, and are much better acquainted with public opinion than I am, and should, in my judgment, legislate for the restraint and diminution of public tippling houses to

the highest point that the existing state of public opinion will sustain, so that (as Mr. Lincoln on another occasion said of slavery) the public mind may confidently rest in the belief that they are in process of ultimate extinction."

The bill,[18] though commonly known as the Baxter Bill, was introduced in the House by Nathan T. Butts, representative from Randolph County, and chairman of the Committee on Temperance. He was a native of Randolph County, born in 1838, and had experienced the hard lot of an orphan boy, bound as an apprentice to a cruel master, but had worked his way to local prominence by personal strength of character. He was a licensed Methodist preacher, and an active temperance worker. Both he and Baxter had brought bills for introduction, which, with a number of other bills that had been introduced, were referred to a sub-committee, of which he and Baxter were members, and these two drafted a new bill, embodying various features, but chiefly on the lines of Baxter's bill. It was then submitted to Governor Baker and other lawyers, including Benjamin Harrison, Judge Mellett, of Henry County, and Barbour & Jacobs, and as finally revised was introduced and passed without material change. It was submitted to Governor Hendricks for approval on February 25, and some doubt was expressed as to what he would do. On the morning of February 27, the streets of Indianapolis were covered with a glare of ice, and as Governor Hendricks started down town, he fell on the steps of his house striking his head, and incurring injuries that for a time were feared to be serious. As soon as the doctor had attended to his injuries, he sent for the bill and signed it. At the Democratic State Convention of July 15, 1874, which took a stand against the bill, he stated, as Chairman, that he had signed the bill, although he did not agree with its provisions, because it represented the deliberate judgment and will of the Legislature, and was not unconstitutional. Personally, he favored the license system, and was of the opinion that the next Legislature would repeal or modify it, as it had not met public favor. A test case had been taken to the Supreme Court, which sustained the law.[19] The Democrats declared expressly against the Baxter Bill, and in favor of a license system, and defeated the Republicans by a plurality of 17,252. The Greenback party appeared in the field this year with a vote of 16,233, drawn from both of the old parties, but principally from the Republicans. The elections in Indiana for the next ten years were largely dependent on this third party vote, which dropped to 9,533 in 1876, and rose to 38,448 in 1878. This was

[18] House Bill, 327.

[19] Groesch vs. the State, 42 Ind. p. 547.

its high point, and it declined gradually thereafter, until its remnants were merged with the Populists in 1890. The Democrats now had an inning, carrying the State by 5,515 in 1876, and by 13,736 in 1878.

Adversity had made the Democrats fairly harmonious. Their four recognized leaders from 1860 to 1885 were Hendricks, McDonald, Voorhees and Turpie, who were wholly unlike, except that they were all Democrats and all born in Ohio. Hendricks was born near Zanesville, September 7, 1819. His family removed to Indiana in 1832, and he graduated at Hanover in 1841. He was admitted to the bar in 1843; elected representative in 1848, senator in 1849, member of the Constitutional Convention in 1850. He was Commissioner of the Land Office from 1855 to 1859, United States Senator from 1863 to 1869, and Governor in 1872, being the first Democratic governor in any of the Northern states after the war. McDonald was born in Butler County, August 29, 1819, and came to Indiana in 1826 with his widowed mother, a woman of superior intellect, whose maiden name was Eleanor Piatt—of the New Jersey Huguenot family. Joseph was apprenticed to a saddler, learned the trade, and worked at it for a time; but he wanted something better. He entered Wabash College after his marriage, graduated, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1843. He was elected Prosecuting Attorney 1843-7, Congressman 1849-51, Attorney General 1856-60. Voorhees was born in Butler County, June 12, 1827. He came to Indiana and graduated at Asbury in 1849, was admitted to the bar in 1851, was the U. S. District Attorney from 1858 to 1861, and was elected to Congress 1861-5 and 1869-73. Turpie, as before mentioned, was born in Hamilton County, July 8, 1829, and graduated at Kenyon College, Ohio. All of them were men of high character. Turpie says: "Hendricks and McDonald were both politicians and statesmen of the highest type and character, men of unquestioned personal integrity and honor. They vied with each other in their common support of the organization and constitutional principles of the party of their choice. They were not merely active and prominent in the sunshine of popular favor—in the darkest days of misfortune and disaster they cleaved to their political faith with unshaken courage and fidelity. Both had in their time a great deal of the world's notice, yet more of its abuse and calumny. Conscious of their own rectitude they literally lived down the contumely and proscription of their partisan opponents."[20] He might have said the same of himself and Voorhees.

And yet, as said, these men were essentially different. Voorhees was by far the most impulsive of the four, and, like most men who make

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[20] Sketches of My Own Times, p. 238.

a specialty of oratory, had the tendency to give more attention to the sound of what he said than to its possible applications. His impassioned speeches, especially during Civil war times, left impressions that forced him to the defensive at various times in later life. Hendricks was not only cautious, but also conservative by nature and conviction. In chatting with him one evening after the Journal had called him a "trimmer," he told me that in his opinion Lord Halifax, to whom the epithet "trimmer" was first applied, had the correct idea of statesmanship in a republic. The great body of the people are not extremists, and are not satisfied with extreme measures. Most great measures of legislation are matters of compromise for this reason. This is unquestionably true in general, as is recognized by most men who succeed in politics. Julian says that Schuyler Colfax claimed that when in doubt he inquired how Julian and Wm. McKee Dunn—a notable conservative—stood, and then took a middle ground, feeling perfectly sure that he would be right.[21] But it is equally true that in time of stress, as during the Civil War, it is the extremist who attains popular favor—if he is on the right extreme. Personally, Mr. Hendricks was most affable and conciliatory. The only word that will describe his bearing is "courtly." He would have attracted favorable notice in any court on earth by his distinguished presence, and yet he won the favor of the humblest citizen who approached him. I had a higher regard, personally, for McDonald than for any of the others—possibly because I knew him better. He was certainly the most amiable of the four. Everyone that knew him liked him. He was the only one of the four that had a really keen sense of humor. He loved a good story as well as Mr. Lincoln, with whom, by the way, he was on most friendly terms. He was an omnivorous reader, especially fond of good fiction, and in his library I made my acquaintance with several of the rarer works of English and American humor. Speaking of fiction, he always reminded me of "John Halifax, Gentleman," in his character, to which were added later suggestions of "Peter Stirling." There was a fine vein of altruism in his make-up that never allowed the sacrifice of the interests of others for his own advantage. He was so just, so sturdy, so self-poised, that one was moved to say: "Here is a man." I was with him for some time on the day before his death. His ailment did not confine him to his bed, but he knew its fatal character. At his request, his doctor had frankly explained his condition to him, and had told him that he was trying the last medicine in which there was any hope—that its efficacy would be known within twenty-four hours. He was noting the development of his symptoms as

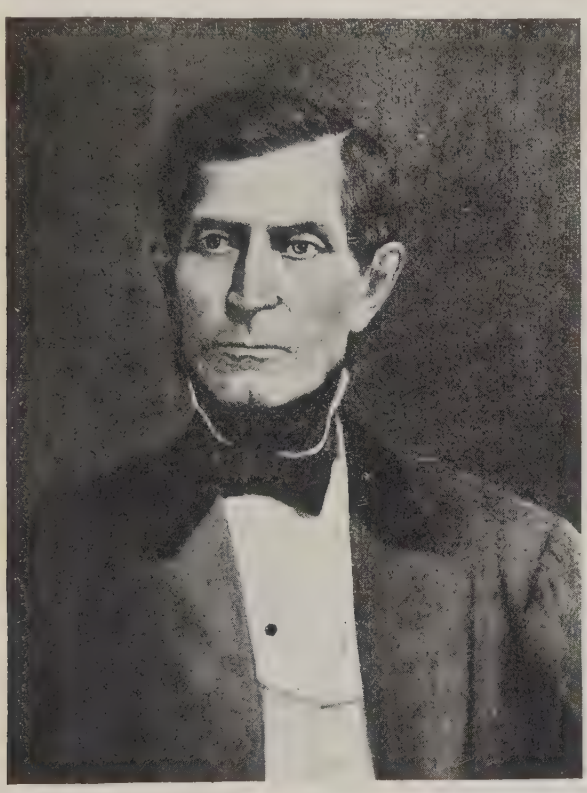
[21] Personal Recollections, p. 243.

calmly as Socrates watched the effects of the hemlock. He had received the sacraments of the church. He had an abiding faith in the existence of an all-wise and all-just God; and with his own devotion to justice, and his own kindly and merciful nature, he was not afraid to appear before the Great Judge.

McDonald was a great lawyer, but he was not a "case-lawyer." His arguments were always based on fundamental principles, and their logical application, and, naturally, they were not always successful. There was one illustration, of this that was a source of much amusement to him, as well as to others. He had filed a demurrer to a complaint brought by "old Joe Roberts," a local "curb stone lawyer," and well-known character in Indianapolis, and argued it orally, demonstrating to the Court that the plaintiff had not stated any legal cause of action. When he finished, Roberts arose and said: "May it please the Court, Senator McDonald has made a very able argument, but evidently he has not read the 36th Indiana," and thereupon he pulled that volume from under his coat, and read a complaint which he had copied word for word, and which had been held good by the Supreme Court. Ever after that, "you evidently have not read the 36th Indiana" was the answer to an unconvincing argument, in McDonald & Butler's office. I think McDonald enjoyed an argument, on principles, on almost any subject—at least, he was very tolerant in that line with me, and never showed any impatience with my persistence in differing with him except on one occasion, when I was trying to convince him that a stable double-standard of gold and silver was a feasible proposition. The others, especially Voorhees and Turpie, did not view youthful presumption so leniently. I once acquired the impression that Turpie might have some valuable information concerning Indian names, and had an interview with him on the subject. He was interested, having given considerable attention to the subject; but I soon found that he was loaded with the errors common to the frontier. In the course of the conversation, he dilated on the word "Wabash," which he said meant "white clouds," and referred to the mists and fogs on the river. Thoughtlessly I attempted to explain to him the real significance of the word, until I saw by his look of astonishment and indignation that I had ventured in where discreet angels would have asked for rain tickets; and I changed the subject as quickly as possible.

The Legislature elected in 1874 was Democratic, but was quite strong in Greenback sentiment. McDonald was the preëminent candidate for United States Senator, but his friends were alarmed on account of his well-known "hard money" views, especially as Voorhees had catered largely to the Greenback sentiment. One intimate friend ventured to

approach him with the suggestion that it would be advisable to make some sort of concession to the paper money idea. When he had stated his proposal, McDonald calmly replied: "Colonel, I would not alter a word in my record on the financial question to be made Senator for life." The Legislature had so much confidence in him that it elected him without regard for his financial views. Voorhees had his turn on the death



Gov. James D. Williams

of Senator Morton, in 1877, when Gov. Williams appointed him for the vacancy—for which he was also elected by the next Legislature, and re-elected in 1855 and 1891, serving continuously from November 6, 1877, to March 3, 1897. He died in Washington just after the close of his last term, on April 9, 1897. Governor James Douglas Williams, who was elected in 1876, was also a native of Ohio, born in Pickaway County, January 16, 1808. His family removed to Knox County, Indiana, in 1818. He grew up on the farm, and continued in agricultural

life, being the first farmer elected to the office of Governor in Indiana. When he was twenty years old his father died, and on him, as the oldest of six children, the care of the family devolved. He had little schooling, but was of strong mind, and absorbed education. Governor Baker well said of him: "He was not a learned man, but not an uneducated man. I mean by that, he was a man who knew how to think. He had learnd the art of thinking, but had he been an educated man he would have been a good lawyer. He had a discriminating mind. He was one of the best parliamentarians I ever knew, hardly ever making a mistake." His neighbors soon realized his merit, and in 1839, elected him Justice of the Peace, in which office he gave public satisfaction, resigning in 1843 to go to the Legislature. He was a representative also in the Legislatures of 1847, 1851, 1856 and 1868; senator in 1858, 1862 and 1870; and Congressman from March 4, 1875, to December 1, 1876, when he resigned, after his election as Governor. He was the author of the Indiana law giving widows estates of deceased husbands, not exceeding three hundred dollars, without administration; the law dividing the sinking fund among the counties; and was a leader in the establishment of the State Board of Agriculture, of which he was a member for sixteen years, and four years president. He always wore a suit of blue jeans, possibly with an eye to its political beauty, and was commonly known as "Blue Jeans Williams."

In the campaign of 1876, the Republicans made the mistake of trying to ridicule him as an ignorant clod-hopper, in an agricultural State where he had been at the top in agricultural affairs for years. Still more unfortunately for themselves, they nominated against him Godlove S. Orth, who had been in Congress for several terms, and was then U. S. Minister to Austria. Charges were made against him of implication in certain Venezuela frauds, and although he was later exonerated, this forced his withdrawal from the ticket a few weeks before the election, Gen. Benjamin Harrison being put in his place. The campaign was also notable in Indiana because Mr. Hendricks was the Democratic candidate for Vice President. In 1872, Mr. Greeley died before the electoral votes were counted, and in the division of the 63 Democratic votes in the Electoral College, 42 were given to Hendricks, 18 to B. Gratz Brown, 2 to Charles J. Jenkins, of Georgia, and 1 to Judge David Davis. As all these votes were from the South, and Hendricks was the first Governor elected in the North, after the war, by the Democratic party, he became a formidable candidate for the Presidency, and would have been nominated in 1876, but for the phenomenal rise of Governor Tilden, of New York. In the election, Indiana went Democratic by 5,515, and for the first time since the war the Democrats had a majority of the popular

vote of the nation, even on the Returning Board figures. Governor Williams died in office, November 20, 1880, and was succeeded by Lieutenant Governor Isaac Pusey Gray. The Democrats elected the State Senate in 1876, but thanks to an ingenious gerrymander in 1872, the Republicans had a majority in the House. This was a blessing to the State in one way. The State House had been disgracefully dilapidated for years, but neither political party, on account of the close margin in the State, dared to take the responsibility of building a new one. The political division gave the opportunity to proceed with one party as responsible as the other for the expenditure.

The law of March 14, 1877, provided for the appointment by the Governor "of four commissioners, two from each of the leading political parties of the State," who, with the Governor, should be a Commission to erect a new State House. The Governor appointed Gen. John Love and Gen. Thomas A. Morris, of Indianapolis, Isaac D. G. Nelson, of Fort Wayne, and William R. McKeen, of Terre Haute; and the Commission organized, and advertised for plans. Twenty-four plans were submitted, and the commission, assisted by experts, selected that of Edwin May, with some modifications. Disappointed architects brought suit in the Marion Circuit Court to prevent the expenditure of over $2,000,000, the amount fixed by the law, for the building, and for incidental expenses. It was taken to the Supreme Court which decided that the incidentals were not to be included. Charges of fraud in the award were also made, but a legislative investigating committee found that there was no basis for them. The building was completed in 1888, at a cost of $1,980,969.18 for construction, with $210,890.24 for incidentals, including quarters for the State officers, while the building was in progress. The building was most substantially built, but like all public buildings in the United States, was designed for looks more than for use. As a result, it is already outgrown, and the architecturally beautiful corridors are partitioned off with unsightly wooden partitions, to furnish room for the public uses of the building. An effort was made to secure a new building for the State Library and State Museum, as a memorial of the centennial of the State, in 1916, but the legislature was afraid to provide for it, and finally, on the urgent request of Governor Ralston, submitted the question to a vote of the people. The question of a Constitutional Convention was submitted at the same time. The liquor interests fought the convention, from fear of prohibition, nominally on the ground that a convention would cost $500,000. As the cost of the proposed new building was $2,000,000, they also fought that, and both propositions were gloriously defeated.

The same legislature of 1877, not being able to devote any attention

State House

to political legislation, also undertook to patch up the Constitution, which was almost as much in need of repair as the State House. This was principally due to the efforts of an organization of citizens of both parties, in which the chief factor was William H. English. What he especially desired was a provision limiting municipal debt to two per cent of the taxable property of the municipality. This wise provision met the approval of all large tax-payers, and was accompanied by a proposal to substitute it for Article 13, which contained the obsolete prohibition of negro immigration, as also a proposal to eliminate the word "white" in connection with suffrage; one to require the registration of voters; one to permit the regulation of fees and salaries of county officers on the basis of population; one to substitute the words "such other courts" for "such inferior courts," so as to allow the formation of nisi prius courts of equal rank with the Circuit Courts; and one to change the State elections from October to November. These amendments were submitted to the people, in due course, at the township elections on the first Monday in April, 1880, and received a majority of about 17,000 of the votes cast,—the vote on the election amendment being 169,483 for and 152,251 against. A test case was at once made, and on June 18, the Supreme Court decided that the amendments were not adopted, two of the five judges dissenting. The decision came to the public under extraordinary circumstances. Judge Worden came into the Supreme Court Library room, where James H. Rice, Secretary of the Democratic State Central Committee was talking with Fred Hiner, the Librarian, and said: "Well, Jim, I guess you had better telegraph to the boys that we overthrew the amendments this morning by a vote of three to two. They will be glad to know about it." There was no doubt as to his meaning. The Democratic National Convention was on the eve of meeting at Cincinnati, and the Indiana delegation had gone to that city. A reporter for the News was in the room, and heard the conversation. He printed it, and "Telegraph it to the boys" became famous. The Journal, the next morning, said: "It is a partisan decision for partisan purposes. The principal object was to make Indiana an October state this year. The Democratic managers believed that would inure to the interest of their party, and especially of Mr. Hendricks, and hence the conspiracy. Under this decision they will go to Cincinnati and represent that Indiana is an October state, and that the nomination of Mr. Hendricks is necessary to carry it." [22]

In reality the decision was right, so far as the question of adoption is concerned. The Constitution expressly requires a vote of a majority

[22] Journal, June 19; News, June 18, 1880.

of the electors of the State to adopt an amendment, and the number of votes actually cast at the election was 380,471; the number by the official enumeration of 1877 was 451,028; and the number cast at the election for Governor in 1876 was 434,006. It is preposterous to say that 169,483 votes was a majority of the electors of the State, under such a record. And the Court very rationally said: "The principle of plurality contended for by the counsel for the appellee frequently develops sufficiently glaring disproportions between the number of electors of a constituency and the number of votes cast sufficient to elect. But the ratification of a constitutional amendment affects the rights of millions of people who are not electors and who cannot vote, and for an indefinite time, until the amendment shall be abrogated by the same power that made it. In such case the constitution requires the majority of all the electors to ratify the amendment. The principle of plurality, which might ratify a constitutional amendment binding the rights of two millions of people, for an indefinite period, by a vote of two electors against the vote of one, when the whole number of votes cast were but three, is not only unconstitutional, but it is dangerous to human rights and repugnant to the sense of mankind."[23] But, on the other hand, the Court hopelessly hamstrung itself, not only by Judge Worden's announcement, but by the fact that the decision was rendered within twenty-four hours after the argument, and by the act of the Court in stating that the amendments were still pending, and might be resubmitted at a special election, at which the Court need not take judicial notice of any more voters in the State than actually voted. As to this last proposition, Judge Scott said, in his dissenting opinion: "The opinion of the majority of the Court proceeds on the theory that, if the amendment had been submitted on a day there was no general election, the number of votes cast for and against such amendment would constitute the number of electors of the State; and if it had received a majority of the votes thus cast, it would have been ratified in accordance with section 1 of article 16 of the constitution. I am unable to see any force in this distinction." Naturally. There is no force to see. It is merely a legal fiction.

But this plan was followed. The amendments were resubmitted, by act of the legislature, at a special election, on March 14, 1881, and at that election only 172,900 votes were cast, the largest on any amendment being 128,730 for, and 38,435 against. The result was proclaimed, and the amendments became part of the Constitution, by a ratification vote 40,000 less than that which had not been sufficient to adopt them in 1880—by a vote of not over 30 per cent of the electors of the State.

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[23] State vs. Swift, 63 Ind. 505.

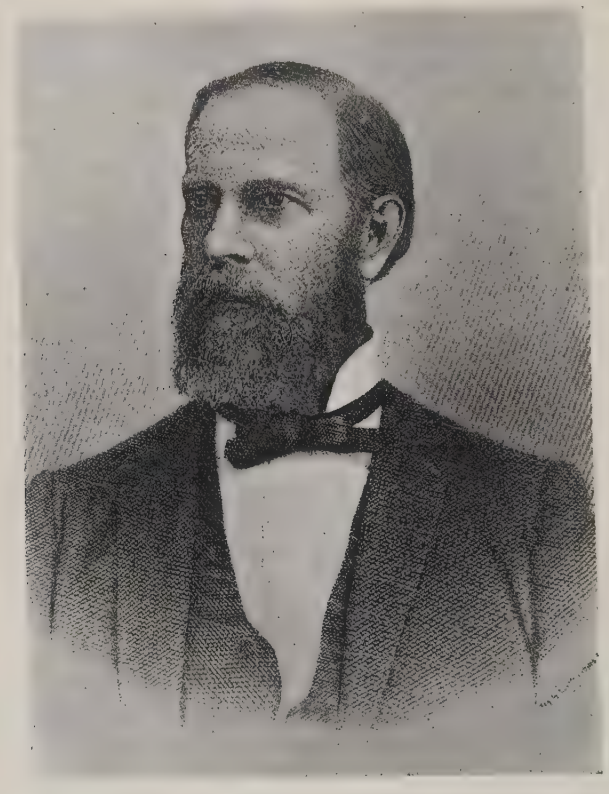
This followed the only precedent in the State, the vote in 1873 on the Wabash and Erie amendment. On account of an alleged movement to have the State pay the Wabash and Erie Canal bonds, for which the bondholders had taken the Canal as security, Governor Baker had recommended a constitutional amendment [24] prohibiting such action, and it was duly submitted to the people on February 18, 1873. There were 158,400 votes for the amendment, and 1,030 against; and it was proclaimed adopted, although at the election for Governor, four months earlier, there were 377,700 votes cast, and the official enumeration of 1871 showed 378,871. The Supreme Court disposed of this precedent, in the Swift case, by saying that it was res adjudicata. This has become the established law of the State.[25] In view of the widely professed respect for the stability of the Constitution, this theory presents a field that humorists have neglected, with an utter disregard of the lessons of "conservation of resources" that are now so common. But practically the amendments thus far adopted have been desirable; and it is perhaps better to have some plausible form for evading the provisions of the Constitution in accordance with legal decisions than simply to ignore them, as was done for years with the article prohibiting the immigration of negroes.

The decision of the Supreme Court in the Swift case had no political effect except to bring reproach on the judges and the Democratic party. Smarting under the settlement of 1876, Democrats very generally desired to renominate "the old ticket," but Tilden refused to run again, and Hendricks refused to run for Vice President. The Indiana delegation, with McDonald at its head, was instructed for Hendricks for President, and nothing else. Tilden desired the nomination of Randall, of Pennsylvania, but the tariff reform Democrats would not consider that. Hendricks was not considered "available," because the mass of the party were specially desirous of getting away from "the bloody shirt" issue, and the slogan of "vote as you shot"; and while there was no reason to assail the loyalty of Mr. Hendricks, his friendship to the South in the reconstruction period was open. It was really creditable to him, but it was unpopular at the time, and politicians knew it. There was a strong movement to nominate McDonald, and it was generally believed that he would have been nominated if the friends of Mr. Hendricks had given the movement support. They not only declined, but charged that the movement had been worked up by Richard J. Bright, who was on hand following up the old time family enmity to

[24] Journal, Dec. 7, 1872.

[25] In re Denny, 156 Ind. 104.

Hendricks. On the other hand, Oscar B. Hord, who was the personal representative of Hendricks on the delegation, had old scores to settle with McDonald on account of the Perkins letter, which Gen. Carrington purloined and published. Between them, they made things so unpleasant for McDonald that the Indiana delegation adopted formal resolutions to the effect that the delegation was for Hendricks only, and



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that McDonald was not to be considered, which resolutions were signed by the entire delegation, McDonald at the head, and published. The Convention finally decided to get rid of the war issue by nominating Gen. Hancock, and to satisfy Indiana as far as possible by nominating Wm. H. English for Vice President. It also placated the tariff reformers by declaring for a tariff "for revenue only," without much thought as to just what it meant.

The tariff issue had little effect, however, in Indiana, except as it may have influenced contributions to campaign funds. Both parties

used large amounts of money, and the Democrats claimed that the Republicans used most. It is easy to account for the result without regard to either of these considerations. Indiana was more interested in the money question than in any other economic subject. The people had suffered enormously from hard times, and many attributed it to the financial legislation. In 1878, the Greenback vote in Indiana reached 39,448, and the leaders of the party got the idea that their organization would supplant the Democratic party. Democratic leaders became apprehensive of the same thing. In 1878 the two parties had coalesced at various points, and with success. Now the Greenbackers demanded too much, and a divorce ensued. In 1878, in the Indianapolis district, the Democrats had indorsed Rev. Gilbert De la Matyr, the Greenback nominee, and he had been elected. In 1880 they turned their backs on him, and nominated Cass Byfield, a staunch Democrat. For Governor they nominated Franklin Landers, who had represented the Indianapolis district in 1875-6, and who was enthusiastic in his championship of the greenback. It was supposed that he would carry the Greenback strength, but the Greenbackers regarded it as an attempt to steal their party, and the Republicans who had joined them, very generally went back to their old party, and most of the 12,986 who remained that year were original Democrats. The result was a Republican plurality of 6,641. This was the last campaign in Indiana in which the candidates for Governor held joint debates. The Republicans had nominated Albert G. Porter, a lawyer and a trained debater, and he had the best of the joint canvass, as might naturally be expected. The personal equation, nevertheless, was of little force, as Landers was a man of good natural ability.

Porter made a very good Governor. He was an extremely cautious and conservative man, and therefore a safe executive under ordinary conditions. But his party encountered trouble. Temperance sentiment was again prominent. The "Blue Ribbon" movement had been strong in Indiana; and when the Republican legislature of 1881 met, it was confronted by a petition said to have been signed by more than 200,000 persons, asking for the submission of a prohibition amendment to the Constitution. The legislature took the necessary action of adopting a submission resolution, which under the Constitution, lay over to the next legislature for adoption by it before submission to the people. The Democrats took issue on this, and elected the next legislature, carrying the State by 10,924 plurality. This disposed of the prohibition amendment, and also gave a legislature politically hostile to the Governor. As our wise forefathers had provided that, "All officers whose appointment is not otherwise provided for in this Constitution, shall be chosen in such

manner as now is, or hereafter may be prescribed by law''; that all officers ''may be impeached, or removed from office in such manner as may be prescribed by law''; and that any law may be passed over the Governor's veto by a majority of the legislature; the legislature proceeded to vacate a number of offices, take the appointing power away from the Governor, and vest it in Democratic officers. It also introduced a new feature in political rape. The control of the police force of Indianapolis had become of political importance, and on a plea of needed reform, a Metropolitan Police bill was adopted, with control lodged in a board appointed by Democratic State officers. The Republicans made a great outcry over this rude assault on local self-government; but when they got control again they not only continued it, but extended it to other cities. It remained for years as a political and social nuisance, the appointing power being shifted to and from the Governor as the exigencies of the case demanded. The course of the legislature of 1883 might have made serious trouble with a Governor more belligerent, or less learned in the law, than Porter, but he was never a man to hunt trouble. In fact he was nominated largely on that account, his competitor, Gen. A. D. Streight, a very positive and forceful man, having incurred the hostility of the party leaders. Albert Gallatin Porter was born at Lawrenceburg, Indiana, April 20, 1824. His father, a Pennsylvanian, was a member of Ball's regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers in the War of 1812, and was wounded at the battle of the Mississinewa. After the war he located at Lawrenceburg, where he married a daughter of Thomas Tousey, who lived across the river in Kentucky. After the death of Thomas Tousey, the family moved over to his farm. Albert wanted an education, and went to Hanover until he ran out of funds. Then his uncle, Omer Tousey, came to his assistance, but insisted on Methodist training; so Albert went to Asbury, where he graduated in 1843. He studied law, and in 1846 located at Indianapolis.

In 1853 he was appointed Reporter of the Supreme Court, on recommendation of the Supreme Judges. Under the old Constitution the cases had been reported by Judge Blackford, and most creditably reported, but our wise forefathers evidently ''had it in'' for Blackford, and provided in the Constitution of 1851 that the General Assembly should provide for the publication of the reports, ''but no Judge shall be allowed to report such decisions.'' Provision was made by law for the election of a Reporter, and Horace E. Carter was elected to the office, but died in 1853. Judge Blackford was extremely careful in his reports, not only as to matter, but also as to spelling and punctuation. He was accustomed to hang a copy of the proofs in the Law Library, and request attorneys to call his attention to any errors they might find

in them. One day Porter found an error, and called Blackford's attention to it; and thereafter he was Blackford's ideal of a Reporter—and if anybody knew a good Reporter, Blackford did. He secured the indorsement of the Bench for Porter, and Governor Wright appointed him. He was elected to the office in 1854 by a large majority. Not-

Gov. Albert G. Porter
(From the portrait by Steele)

withstanding this, he went over to the Republicans in 1856, on the slavery question, and was elected to the legislature in that year. In 1858 he was elected to Congress on the Republican ticket. The party leaders wanted him to run for Governor in 1876, but he declined; and in 1877 was made First Comptroller of the Treasury by John Sherman, resigning this office after his nomination for Governor in 1880. President Garfield offered him a Cabinet position, but he declined on the ground that he owed it to the people of Indiana to serve his term as

Governor. He declined to run for Governor in 1888, but took an active part in the campaign, and was appointed Minister to Italy by President Harrison, retiring from public life at the close of his term. He died at Indianapolis, May 3, 1897.

Porter's successor as Governor, Isaac Pusey Gray, had the reverse experience, having left the Republican party to become a Democrat. He was born October 18, 1828, in Chester County, Pennsylvania; and his parents, who belonged to the Society of Friends, later removed to Ohio, where Isaac grew to manhood, receiving a common-school education. He studied law, but for financial reasons engaged in mercantile business at New Madison, Ohio. In 1855 he removed to Union City, Randolph County, Indiana, where he was a successful merchant for several years, and then entered the practice of law. When the Civil War came on he had military aspirations; and his military career is well summed up in the Latin sentence Veni, vidi, vivi. He was commissioned Colonel of the Fourth Cavalry—Seventy-Seventh Indiana Volunteers—on September 4, 1862. On account of the threatening condition of affairs in Kentucky, four companies of the regiment, under Major John A. Platter, were sent to Henderson, Kentucky, and the remainder to Louisville. Gray resigned on February 11, 1863, before the regiment got into action. He resumed military life during the Morgan raid, being commissioned Colonel of the 106th Regiment of "Minute Men," on July 12, 1863; and was mustered out on July 17, 1863. He was next commissioned Captain of the Union City Guards, of the Randolph Battallion of the Indiana Legion, and resigned on November 16, 1863. In 1866 he was selected by the Morton faction as a candidate against Julian in the April primaries, but Julian was renominated by 915 majority. In 1868 he was elected to the State Senate, where he achieved fame that is recorded thus: "He served in the State Senate, 1868-72, being chosen by his colleagues as president, pro tempore, and while filling this office, the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States was ratified by the state through his intervention. Indiana was the last state to vote upon the amendment and her vote was necessary to insure success. The State Senate was a Republican body, but the Democrats, who were violently opposed to the amendment, could defeat legislation by bolting and breaking a quorum. When the amendment came up for a vote, the Democrats began dropping out one by one. President Gray left his chair, as presiding officer, went to the door, locked it, put the key in his pocket and coolly went back to his chair. The minority surged against the door, but it would not open. 'Who dares lock senators in?' one of them demanded of the chair. 'I do,' President Gray replied. 'The key is in my pocket. We have a right to break up unwarranted interference with

the business of this assembly.' He then directed the secretary to proceed with the roll call, in spite of the indignant protests of the Democrats. They then crowded the lobby, but the chair pointed them out, and directed the secretary to record them as present but not voting. In this way he counted a quorum and a majority for the amendment.[26]

This is not quite all of the truth. On March 4, on account of the proposed amendment and other threatened political legislation, all of the Democratic members of the legislature resigned. Governor Baker called for a new election on March 23, and a special session of the legislature. The Democrats who had resigned were all reelected, and the Senate stood 23 Democrats and 27 Republicans. An agreement was made to maintain the two-thirds of the membership required by the Constitution as to necessary legislation, and that no political legislation should be considered before May 11. Thirteen of the Democrats then resigned, leaving a bare quorum of 37 members. The Lieutenant Governor, Will Cumback, was unwilling to carry out the program which the Republican leaders had agreed on, and on May 12 Gray was elected president pro tem. The Democrats got wind of the scheme, and two more of them resigned, but were present in the Senate on the 13th. When their names were called they stated that they had resigned, and were not members; but they were counted on the plea that the Senate had not been officially notified of their resignations. The journals were "doctored" to cover the transaction, the doors closed, and the public excluded. Neither the journals nor the Brevier Reports, which were furnished to the daily papers for publication, even show that Gray was in the chair. Nobody ever pretended that the Fifteenth Amendment was legally ratified by Indiana, but it was so returned, and counted on the theory that you "can not go behind the returns." The case was cited as a precedent by Speaker Reed for counting a quorum in the National House in later years. Gray did not reap the fruits of his work until 1892. He left the Republicans in 1871, and was a delegate to the Liberal Republican Convention in 1872—the Republicans claiming that he had left them because he was not given the nomination for Congress after Randolph County had been taken out of Julian's district by the gerrymander of 1867. In 1876 he was nominated for Lieutenant Governor by the Democrats, as a recognition of the Liberal Republicans, and was elected; and on the death of Governor Williams, on November 20, 1880, became Governor. The legislature of 1881 was to elect a successor to Senator McDonald, whose term expired that year, and the majority being Republican, Gen. Harrison was elected. It was supposed that the

[26] National Cyclopedia of Biography, Vol. 13, p. 273.

complimentary minority Democratic vote would be given to McDonald, whose service had been entirely satisfactory, and he did not even come home from Washington to look after the matter; but Gray quietly secured the support of a majority of the Democratic members in the caucus, and got the complimentary vote, for which McDonald's friends never forgave him, as the action was a palpable reflection on McDonald. In 1884, as a harmony arrangement, he was nominated for Governor, and the Democratic State Convention instructed for McDonald for President. But Grover Cleveland had loomed up as the wearer of the mantle of Tilden, and was nominated; while Hendricks, who headed the Indiana delegation, was nominated for Vice President. The Democrats again carried the State, the vote being Cleveland, 244,990; Blaine, 238,463; Butler, Labor, 8,293; and St. John, Prohibition, 3,028.

Governor Gray believed in making hay while the sun shines, and lost none of the advantages that his office gave to prepare the way for his election to the national Senate, on the expiration of Senator Harrison's term, in 1887, and this led to one of the most extraordinary complications that has ever afflicted the State. In July, 1886, Lieutenant Governor M. D. Manson accepted an appointment as collector of internal revenue, for the seventh Indiana district, and thereby vacated his office of Lieutenant Governor. The Constitution provides that the Lieutenant Governor "shall hold his office during four years"; and also contains these provisions in Article 5:

Sec. 9. The official term of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor shall commence on the second Monday of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-three; and on the same day every fourth year thereafter.

Sec. 10. In case of the removal of the Governor from office, or of his death, resignation or inability to discharge the duties of the office, the same shall devolve on the Lieutenant Governor; and the General Assembly shall, by law, provide for the case of removal from office, death, resignation, or inability both of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, declaring what officer shall then act as Governor; and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a Governor elected.

Sec. 11. Whenever the Lieutenant Governor shall act as Governor, or shall be unable to attend as President of the Senate, the Senate shall elect one of its own members as President for the occasion.

The legislature had never made the provision called for, and, in consequence there was nothing but the Constitution itself to determine who should succeed the Lieutenant Governor, or act as Governor in case of the death of both. Gray saw that this situation would be fatal to

his election to the Senate, and secured an opinion from the Attorney General, Francis Hord, that a Lieutenant Governor should be elected in 1886, to fill the vacancy. Both parties acted on this opinion, and made nomination, the Republicans nominating Robert S. Robertson, and the Democrats John C. Nelson; but the Republicans carried the State, which left Gray in worse position than before. The Republicans claimed that the result was due to the Democratic gerrymander of 1885, but the returns indicate that it was due to national influences. The vote was Robertson, 231,922; Nelson, 228,598; Edward S. Pope, National, 4,646; Jesse M. Gale, Prohibition, 9,185. This was a drop from the election of 1884 of 16,542 in the Democratic vote, against a drop of 5,826 in the Republican vote. The change in third party votes was not large, the National vote dropping 3,692, and the Prohibition vote increasing 5,217. Democrats who had wanted offices, and they were numerous, blamed their disappointment to Mr. Cleveland's civil service principles; old soldiers were indignant over his pension vetoes; and silver and greenback men were incensed by his success in securing the repeal of the Bland-Allison act for the coinage of silver dollars. The result also endangered the election of a senator by the Democrats, as the Republicans had carried the House by a small margin, and were proposing to unseat several Democrats. If they had the presiding officer in the Senate, their advantage would be largely increased. In this emergency, Alonzo Green Smith came to the front with the proposition that the election for Lieutenant Governor was unconstitutional and void; that he had been elected President pro tem. of the Senate on April 13, 1885, and as such was entitled to preside over that body. Although this position called for a repudiation of the action taken by all of the political parties, on the opinion of the Attorney General, the Democrats adopted it, and Smith showed his confidence in it by bringing an action for an injunction to prevent the Secretary of State from certifying the election returns to the House of Representatives. The Republicans contested the case, but kept away from the question of the legality of the election, basing their defense on the lack of jurisdiction of the courts to enjoin a ministerial act of an officer which was commanded by law. This view was adopted by the Supreme Court, which handed down a decision on January 4, 1887, not only ruling against the jurisdiction of the courts, but declining to give any opinion on the legality of the election.[27] This caused an explosion.

The Sentinel, the Democratic State organ, was at this time controlled by W. J. Craig, a very enthusiastic Democrat, and deeply im-

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[27] Smith vs. Myers, 109 Ind. p. 1.

pressed with the party responsibility of conducting a party organ. He instructed his editorial writer, Gus Matthews, to prepare an editorial condemning the Supreme Court, which consisted of four Democratic and one Republican judge, for cowardice. The editorial was written, beginning with the words, "The members of the Supreme Court of Indiana are afraid of their shadows," pointing out their duty to the public to declare the law in a case involving serious public questions, and denouncing them for "taking advantage of a technicality to escape the responsibility of a decision upon the only vital issue." Craig read it over, wrote the words, "Damn their cowardly souls" at the beginning, and put it in the paper. This caused a revulsion of sentiment that cast a reflection on the Democratic position, and which has given color to the affair ever since, although the Supreme Court adopted the principles of the editorial within two months. There were 31 Democrats and 19 Republicans in the Senate, and the Democrats proceeded to organize, with Smith as President, excluding Robertson, who was recognized as Lieutenant Governor by the House. To fortify their position, the Senate adopted a resolution on January 6, reciting the vacancy in the office of Lieutenant Governor, and the election of Smith in 1885, and, therefore, "Resolved, that the Hon. Alonzo G. Smith is hereby recognized and elected as President of the Senate of Indiana." The Republican senators, who declined to take part in the organization of the Senate, were counted as present and not voting. Smith next showed his willingness to submit the question to judicial decision, by bringing an action in the Marion Circuit Court, on January 12, to enjoin Robertson from attempting to interfere in the exercise of his office. Robertson appeared in person, and by counsel, and asked a dismissal of the case on the ground that the case should have been brought in the county in which he resided. The case was heard by Alexander C. Ayres, a judge of unquestioned probity and ability, who held that the Court had jurisdiction; that the election was illegal, as the Constitution plainly contemplated but one election in four years, and granted the injunction. The case was at once taken to the Supreme Court, which held against the jurisdiction, but Judges Mitchell and Howk dissented from this on the ground that Robertson had been summoned in Marion County, and had appeared.[28] But all of the judges gave their opinions as to the legal merits of the question, Judges Elliott and Niblack affirming that, "The Senate has the unquestioned right to determine who is entitled to act as its presiding officer," and all agreeing that the question was one for legislative decision, and not for the Courts.

[28] Robertson vs. The State ex rel. 109 Ind. p. 79.

The House Republicans had gone on with their program, counting the vote, in the absence of the Senate, on January 10, and declaring Robertson elected. On January 14, they unseated Cornelius Meagher, and gave his place to Henry Clay Dickinson. The Senate promptly retaliated on January 17, by expelling Senator Wm. N. McDonald, on

Isaac P. Gray

a charge of bribery in his election, and seating Frank Branaman in his place. After the decision by Judge Ayres, it became apparent that there was no political capital to be made by arbitrary refusal to recognize judicial opinion, and the members of the legislature got together in a compromise agreement for the election of a United States Senator which recognized Smith, for the occasion.[29] The only real contest was in the Democratic caucus. Gray had publicly withdrawn from the race,

[29] Senate Journal, p. 201.

announcing that he would have stayed in if there had been a Lieutenant Governor to succeed him. He threw his strength in the caucus to Judge Niblack, of the Supreme Court, whose vote was practically equal to that for McDonald, neither being able to secure a majority. The McDonald strength was then thrown to David Turpie, who was nominated and elected. In 1892, Gray became a candidate for Vice President—the first time an Indiana man had offered himself for second place; but it was evident that Cleveland would be renominated, and it was second place or none. In the National Democratic Convention the Indiana delegation made a deal with W. C. Whitney, who was managing for Cleveland, that Gray should be nominated for Vice President, in consideration of a solid vote of Indiana for Cleveland, and it appeared to be a certainty. But a newspaper man got wind of the arrangement, and sent it out by wire, causing its publication in Indiana, and at once there followed a stream of telegrams to Whitney from Germans and Irishmen, assuring him that the nomination of Gray would cost at least 50,000 votes in Indiana, on account of his Knownothing record. At the same time the Convention and hotels were flooded with a circular giving the record of Gray's part in the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, with extracts from various speeches bitterly denouncing Democrats which he had made during the Reconstruction period. In consequence, after Indiana had given her vote for Cleveland, Whitney informed the delegation that he "could not deliver the goods," and Adlai Stevenson received the nomination. There was some manifestation of warmth in the Indiana delegation, but they accepted the inevitable, and the State went Democratic, largely on local issues, which will be mentioned later. Gray was placated by an appointment as Minister to Mexico, and died while in that office, on February 14, 1895.

In 1892, there came also a sequel to the controversy over the gerrymander of 1885, which is likewise suggestive of "the irony of fate." In 1891, the Democrats had passed a new apportionment act, and Benjamin S. Parker brought an action to test its constitutionality; not because it was worrying him especially, he being a poet and of happy disposition, but he had been elected Clerk of Henry County, and the Republican managers thought they could help their cause by having the apportionment laws of 1891 and 1885 held unconstitutional and falling back on the law of 1879, and this was what the complaint asked. But when the Supreme Court tackled the question, it found itself in very deep water, as is manifest from the dissenting and concurring opinion.[30] Aside from the question of jurisdiction over a discretionary legislative

[30] Parker vs. State ex rel. 133 Ind. p. 178.

power, the Court was confronted by the evident fact that if the inequalities complained of made the act unconstitutional, there had never been a valid apportionment act passed. As Judge Elliott stated it: "If the system which the relator avers is in conflict with the Constitution, is to be smitten to death by the courts, it must be at the suit of one who assails all the legislative acts founded on that system, for it cannot be done at the suit of a party who demands that one of the acts resting on that system be upheld and the others destroyed. * * * The act of 1879 is, according to his own theory, as full of evil as those he assaults, so that if one goes down so must all, and with the fall of the act of 1879 ends the relators case. * * * It is indispensably necessary to designate a valid law, either in the statutes or the Constitution, under which legislators can be chosen, for it is inconceivable that no law exists providing for legislative elections. If * * * the court assumes to enter the field covering the acts of 1885 and 1891, it must, as a matter of judicial knowledge, take notice of all the statutes upon the subject, and fix upon a valid one, or else declare that no such act exists, and travel back to the apportionment made by our present Constitution." The Court escaped from the dilemma by holding that the acts of 1891 and 1879 were both unconstitutional, but the question as to the act of 1885 was not so fully presented as to require any ruling on it. Consequently the election of 1892 was held under the gerrymander of 1885. In 1893, the legislature passed another apportionment law, and in 1895, the political complexion of the legislature having changed, this law was repealed on the ground of its unfairness. The act of 1895 was attacked in the courts, and the Supreme Court held that both the acts of 1893 and 1895 were unconstitutional, and that as the act of 1885 was the only one that had not been assailed, the election must be held under it. In other words, the gerrymander of 1885 is the only apportionment act of Indiana that has not been held unconstitutional, except the act of 1897, which likewise was never attacked.[31]

There is nothing that has made more trouble in Indiana than the gerrymander, and the cause of it is the absurd effort of the Constitution to provide for numerical representation, which is conceded to be a mathematical impossibility. It being admitted that some divergence from exact numerical representation is unavoidable, the question of the amount of divergence becomes one of legislative discretion. That discretion is invariably exercised by the political majority in the legislature taking every advantage it possibly can. The only differences has been in the point of it being a Democratic or a Republican gerrymander.

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[31] Denny vs. State ex rel. 144 Ind. 503; Brooks vs. State ex rel. 162 Ind. p. 568.

When the question goes to the courts, there is merely a substitution of judicial discretion for legislative discretion. And while men of all parties have raved about "disfranchisement" by various gerrymanders, practically no attention has been paid to the disfranchisement of political minorities. For example, under the apportionment law of 1915, Marion County has ten representatives. If the Democrats cast 31,000 votes, and the Republicans cast 30,000, the Democrats elect all of them, and the 30,000 Republicans are just as fully disfranchised as if they lived in a county that had no representation, so far as politics is concerned, and that is what most of them are interested in. In the entire period from 1850 to 1900, the only public man who ever made a rational and statesmanlike comment on this was Thomas A. Hendricks. In his inaugural address, in 1873, he made an earnest plea for steps to secure honest elections, and added: "In this connection I wish to call attention to the subject of representative reform, which, during the last ten years, has been advocated by some of the best minds, both in Europe and in this country, and is now undergoing the test of experience. I desire to make this the more emphatic, because in this State it seems yet to be regarded as right and proper, for the majority to deny to the minority even that representation, which an apportionment based upon population, and contiguity of counties would give. Representative reform rests upon the proposition that minorities of constituencies should have a representation as nearly in proportion to numbers as may be practicable. All the citizens contribute to the burdens of government, and should yield obedience to the laws, and it is just, equal and fair, that all should be represented. One of the ablest of English statesmen, in the debate in the House of Lords, on the reform bill of 1867, suggested this illustration; suppose a representative district has ten thousand voters, and six thousand are of one side in politics and four thousand of the other, would that district not be better represented if both the six thousand and the four thousand were represented, than if the votes of either be wholly rejected, and without influence or power? He added: 'I can well understand men who are extremely intolerant and exclusive in politics, objecting to give any voice to those whose political views are distasteful to them, but I can not understand such an objection being urged by those who are in favor of having public opinion fairly represented.' The advantages of this reform are obvious. Political asperities would be modified; local satisfaction would be produced; the temptation to corruption and bribery at elections would be greatly removed; and security and permanency would be given to the influence and power of the minority, thus securing a check upon the majority, should it become arrogant or unscrupulous, so that legislation would pro-

ceed more for the people and less for party.''[32] He might have added that the standard of representation would be raised, if under such a system the office went to those of each party having the highest number of votes, because, as a rule, the best men on any ticket run ahead of the average, and men who are really objectionable nearly always run below the average. And for the rational purposes of legislation, ability and character are of vastly more importance than party affiliation. It would at any rate do away with what is commonly known in American politics as ''the yellow dog'' being elected merely because he is able to secure a nomination.

[32] House Journal, 1873, p. 80.

CHAPTER XIII

AN ERA OF REFORM

The year 1888 marked an epoch in the history of Indiana. It was the first year in which an Indiana man had been a candidate for President. He had the misfortune to be born at North Bend, Ohio; but that is just across the line from Indiana; and his father, John Scott Harrison, was born at Vincennes, October 4, 1804; his grandfather was Governor of Indiana Territory; and he had lived in Indiana since 1854, so that the benign influences of the Hoosier State had a very good opportunity to work on him. He was born August 20, 1833, and passed his childhood on his father's farm, getting his rudimentary education at a log school house in the neighborhood. After two years at Farmers College, at College Hill, near Cincinnati, he entered Miami University, from which he graduated in 1852. He at once entered on the study of law, and was admitted to the bar in 1853. In the same year he married Caroline, daughter of Rev. J. W. Scott, and in the year following located at Indianapolis. Here he soon attained standing, and in 1860, was elected Reporter of the Supreme Court. Soon after, he had a political debate with Thomas A. Hendricks, which gave him a State reputation as a speaker. He entered the United States service as second lieutenant, in July, 1862, and assisted in organizing the Seventieth Indiana, of which he was made Colonel in August. He gave satisfactory service in Kentucky and Tennessee; led a desperate charge at Resaca, on May 15, 1864, in which one-third of his command were killed or wounded; commanded a brigade at Kenesaw Mountain, and Peachtree Creek, and on January 23, 1865, was brevetted Brigadier General "for ability and manifest energy and gallantry in command of brigade." He was reelected Reporter in 1864; was the unsuccessful Republican candidate for Governor in 1876; member of the Mississippi River Commission in 1878; and United States Senator 1881-7. He was easily the most prominent man in his party during this period, in Indiana, and had the enthusiastic support of the Indiana Republicans for the Presidential nomination in 1888. Blaine was named as a candidate, but withdrew, and threw his support to Harrison, who was nominated. The campaign

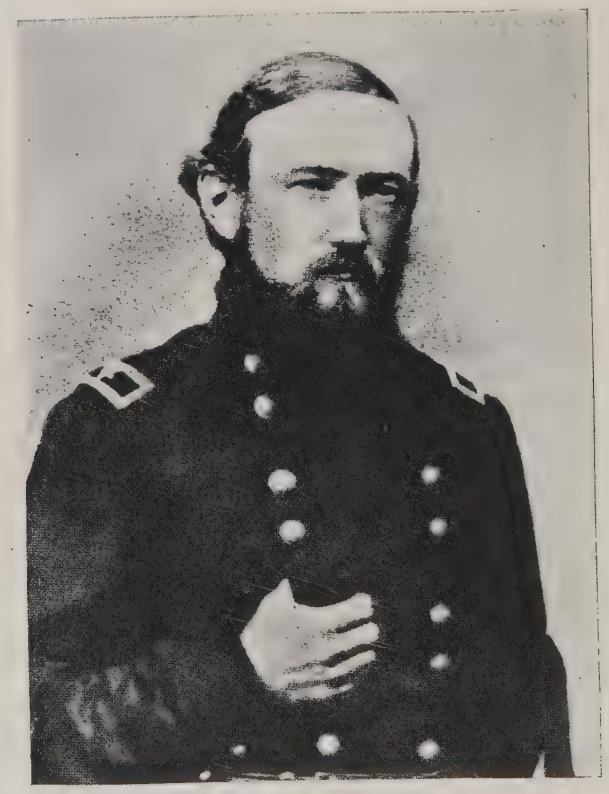
in Indiana was hotly contested. The Republicans appealed vigorously to "State pride," but no such provincial argument availed in Indiana, where politics was a passion as strong as religion. The Democrats replied that State pride had not been manifested when Hendricks was a candidate for Vice President, and so they went at it, hammer and tongs. The principal issue discussed in the campaign was the tariff. Blaine had made a desperate effort to revive the "bloody shirt" issue in 1884, and had failed; and that was the last material attempt to revive the animosities of the Civil war. In 1883, a Republican Tariff Commission had recommended reductions in the tariff averaging twenty per cent, and had reported it to Congress without securing any action. In 1884, the Morrison horizontal reduction bill was defeated in the House, by protectionist Democrats, led by Randall, of Pennsylvania, who united with the Republicans. In July, 1888, the tariff reformers succeeded in getting the Mills bill through the House; but the Senate had not acted on it, and the tariff beneficiaries made the fight of their lives to discredit it by a popular victory.

It is not probable, however, that many votes were changed by the discussion. Prof. James A. Woodburn very truly says: "In appealing to the voters for support, the party leaders relied more than ever upon the perfection of the party organization; upon the activity of party agents who were anticipating party appointments and perquisites; upon appeals to party traditions, prejudices and habits; and still on the old soldier fear of restoring the old Democracy of the South. Large moneyed and corporate interests and professional politicians and office-holders were, in this period, very largely in control of the nominating machinery, if not of the public policy, of the Republican party, and the party experienced alternate victory and defeat in 1884, 1888, and 1892. It was a period marked by an alarming growth of campaign funds and of corruption within the party in the use of money to control elections, by the application of Dorsey's 'Soap' to smooth the way to success in party contests in the close states by the herding of the voters into Dudley's 'blocks of five,' and by 'frying the fat' from the protected industries to secure an administration that would safeguard their interests."[1] It was in the campaign of 1888 that the celebrated Dudley letter was exposed, and drew public attention forcibly to political corruption in Indiana. It was not an altogether novel subject. There had been more or less of political trickery in elections in Indiana from the earliest times, but it is commonly conceded that there was no extensive use of money for buying votes until 1876.[2] In May, 1886, Wm. P. Fish-

[1] Cyclopedia of Am. Government, Vol. 3, p. 197.

[2] Smith's Indiana, Vol. 1, p. 230.

back delivered an address to the students of Indiana University, entitled "A Plea for Honest Elections," in which he told a large amount of plain truth; and he was qualified to tell it, for he had been more or less in political life for thirty years, and during a part of that time was editor of the Indianapolis Journal. As to the innocence of Indiana before it was corrupted by the East, Mr. Fishback said: "In 1848,



General Benjamin Harrison
(In 1864)

the Whig national committee thought that rich Whigs of the East, whose infant industries had been fostered by protective tariffs, should assist the poor Whigs of Indiana, who had been robbed by these same protective tariffs, to defray the expenses of the campaign. I have been informed that Mr. Truman Smith, of Connecticut, sent to Mr. John D. Defrees, of Indianapolis, a draft for $5,000 to be used in the State canvass. I am also informed that the draft was returned with the statement that the money was not needed. In 1858, our esteemed fellow

citizen, Mr. William Wallace, was treasurer of the Republican State Central Committee. He received from Mr. Simon Yandes, who was a candidate for Supreme Judge, a voluntary contribution or assessment of $100 for campaign purposes. After the election and after all bills were paid, Mr. Wallace reported an unexpended balance in his hands to the credit of Mr. Yandes of $25.00. The same year I was a candidate for the office of prosecuting attorney for the Indianapolis Circuit, then composed of six or seven counties, and I was assessed or made a voluntary contribution of $1 to each county, to pay my share of the cost of printing and distributing election tickets. To the ears of the present generation, these facts have a Munchausen sound. The more the pity for the present generation."

In presenting the attitude of "the present generation," Mr. Fishback began, chronologically, with the activities of Senator Barnum, in the campaign of 1876, saying: "We remember the kindly and personal interest he manifested in Indiana politics that year. He came like the troubadour from his distant home in Connecticut, and, braving all the dangers incident to our malarial climate, took up his abode here, and began to distribute money with lavish hand. * * * It will be remembered also that Mr. Barnum, while here in 1876, embarked in the livestock trade—making a specialty of mules. A dispatch, which has become historical, was sent by Mr. Barnum during the campaign, to a Democrat of this State authorizing the purchase of 'seven more mules' for account of the Democratic National Committee. It is proper to say, in this connection, however, that while the mule business was active, the telegraph wires were kept warm with messages from Republicans in the East to Republicans in Indianapolis concerning certain mythical Indian agents, which agents, whatever else they may have done, replenished the Republican exchequer. But the mules beat the Indian agents, and Indiana, in that year, cast her vote for Tilden and Hendricks. Then came the contest, the electoral bill—eight to seven—and the Hayes administration." As to the election of 1880, he had been furnished with data by Hon. Wm. H. English, for Mr. English was the pioneer of election reform in Indiana; and, in an interview printed in the Cincinnati Enquirer, on February 9, 1882, he told some plain truth, possibly because he was smarting under charges that he had not contributed to the Democratic campaign fund as liberally as had been expected. His interview was not reproduced by the Sentinel, and the Journal printed mangled extracts, with an explanation that all the rascality was by Democrats. Mr. Fishback, in his address quoted it as follows:

"Q. But, Mr. English, how was it on the subject of money?

"A. Well, sir, the misrepresentation upon that subject has been even greater. More money was used by the Democrats in the campaign of 1880 than was ever used in any previous canvass. More was used by the National Committee, more by the State committee, more by the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, more by the Democratic candidate for Governor, and more for the party generally. The expense of the whole canvass up to the time of its close, prior to the October election, was paid out of money raised within the State; the money used on the day of the election and a few days before, came from abroad, almost entirely through the National committee, and was disbursed among the counties by the chairman of the National committee, as he had done in 1876, and at the same period before the election. The National committee did all in this matter any body had a right to expect. So did the State committee, and, in the main, so did the candidates. I could make an approximately correct statement of the amount disbursed by the Democrats in the canvass; how it was distributed, and into whose hands it primarily went. If I did so (and I may if it becomes necessary), it would astonish a great many people, and would show conclusively that there was no lack of money to prosecute a legitimate campaign in the most vigorous and effective manner. My own judgment now is that it was largely in excess of what was needed, and five times more than I should recommend the Democrats to raise in any campaign hereafter."

"Q. Do you think the Democrats had as much money as the Republicans?

"No, sir, I have already explained that the idea that we could compete with the Republicans either in raising money or using it for corrupt purposes was an utter absurdity. We had neither the source of supply, the officers and machinery to use it, nor the disposition to use it for corrupt purposes. The Democratic party, to succeed, must stand on the eternal principles of right, and if they should in future contests endeavor to carry elections by the corrupt use of money or other rascalities, they will deserve to be beaten. The corrupt use of money at elections is the very worst evil of the times, and should be discouraged by good men of all parties, and I have a very poor opinion of the man who would hold an office, knowing it to have been corruptly and fraudulently obtained. We had not the influence and salaries of a hundred thousand federal officers to help us in that October fight; nor Star Route and treasury thieves to pour corruption funds into our borders, and chuckle with the beneficiaries over the bountiful supply of 'soap'; nor a great system of banks nor great manufactories, nor moneyed corporations, to look to for aid; nor cartloads of crisp and unworn green-

backs apparently fresh from the treasury of the United States, the history of which may yet startle the country if the subject is ever properly investigated. Even if there had been no principle involved, successful competition with the Republicans in money and corrupt practices was absurd and impossible, and human ingenuity could not have devised a better way to give them the benefit of their superior facilities than the decision of the Supreme Court overthrowing the constitutional amendments and forcing the State election to come off in October instead of on the day of the presidential election.''

Mr. Fishback, as a consistent Republican, devoted some time to sarcastic intimations that Mr. English knew all the time what was going on, which nobody of ordinary intelligence doubted; but he also made confession for the Republicans. He says: ''The Republicans were not idle while these things were going on. * * * So it happened, as Mr. English says, that Mr. Barnum pitched his tent here during the dog-days and resumed the mule business. This provoked the Republicans to like good works, and Mr. Dorsey came upon the scene to look after the Indian agency business. It surprises many to learn the fact that this precious pair, Barnum and Dorsey, who are still in good and regular and high standing in their respective parties, were in 1880 business partners. In the very hottest of the campaign, the local papers at Indianapolis were publishing advertisements of 'The Bull Domingo Mining Co.' of which Barnum was president and Dorsey secretary. These two gentlemen—business partners—personal friends but, God save the mark, bitter political foes, came to Indianapolis, to assist in the herculean task of organizing the State. How much money Barnum brought West I don't know. Mr. English says he knows, but won't tell. He does say, however, that the sum put into the 'pot' by the candidates here, with the money used by Barnum was five times too much. Now, when Mr. English says there is too much money, and five times too much, it means a great deal. And then we are assured by the same authority that the Republicans had a great deal more than the Democrats. As to that, I plead *non sum informatus.* It has been stated that the amount used by both parties was something over a half million dollars. Much of this came from those over-worked and under-paid individuals who own the infant industries in the East, which support a weak and uncertain existence by means of the fostering tariff laws enacted for their benefit, gentlemen who lobby for legislation in the interest of American labor and go straightway and forget what manner of men they were and import semi-civilized Poles and Hungarians who terrorize our people and shock the world by their atrocities. Some came from Star Route contractors—Jay Hubbell assessments and other sources. The 'marines'

are told, and are expected to believe, that these vast sums of money were used in the work of organization. * * * Dorsey was probably fighting the Democratic devil with fire, and Barnum was after the Republican devil in the same fashion. It has been wittily observel by the editor of the Nation that fire is not the weapon to fight the devil with, and that Holy Water would prove much more effective in such a conflict. It is not likely that either Barnum or Dorsey had a reservoir of Holy Water at his disposal. * * *

"Let us not blink matters, but speak the truth. We know to a moral certainty that these gentlemen, Barnum and Dorsey, were the custodians and distributors of large sums of money, which were used, and intended to be used, to promote illegal voting, the bribery of electors and other election frauds. And it is a matter of indifference whether the money used was the 'crisp, uncut bank bills fresh from the treasury,' described by Mr. English, or the greasy, ragged currency contributed by the hungry office seekers of the Democratic party. No reputable Democrat or Republican pretends that these vast sums of money were necessarily to be used, or were in fact used, for the purposes of legitimate political warfare. It was an organized assault upon the right of suffrage, countenanced, I am sorry to believe, if not approved, by party leaders of both parties, who, in the midst of excitement, connived at transactions from which, in quieter times, an honorable man instinctively recoils. From Barnum and Dorsey down through the whole gamut of lesser scoundrels, to the poor devil who sat on the fence till five minutes before six o'clock p. m. and then sold his vote for a dollar or a drink of whisky—all who were engaged in the disgraceful business deserved the penitentiary. If Nathaniel Hawthorne's magic bugle were to summon into line—clothed in proper raiment of horizontal stripes, all the rascals who bribed voters, or who took bribes for their votes, who corrupted election officers, or falsified election returns, who swore in illegal votes, who colonized voters, who voted twice, or voted double tickets, who tampered with ballots after they were cast, who consorted with or encouraged repeaters and ballot-box stuffers, or who were accessory to their escape from the just penalties of the violated law, it would be, I fear, a large procession, in which we should see both parties represented, and in which we might discover men of good repute, as the phrase goes, and some who have had and now have official preferment mainly because they had earned a place in that procession." The picture is not overdrawn, but Fishback saw no remedy but in public opinion. He says: "We have laws enough. What we want is more common honesty, a strong, healthy, vigorous public sentiment which will secure

the enforcement of these laws, that are now a dead letter; a sentiment that will brand with enduring social infamy, every man who seeks by corrupt methods to defeat a fair expression of the people's will. * * * It has been said that it is a great calamity for a people when its criminal classes have learned to take an active part in politics. It is much worse when the active management of the politics of a free state is almost, if not wholly, surrendered to the criminal classes."

Unhappily, the appeal to reason is no more effective in politics than in religion. Before Mr. Fishback got his address printed, the local Democratic leaders in Marion County undertook to steal the office of Circuit Judge, by altering the tally-sheets of the election of 1886. It was done for the benefit of the Liquor League, and done so clumsily that it was a decided reflection on Indiana art. A Citizens Committee was formed, and the authority of the U. S. Court was invoked, on the ground that a Congressman had been voted for at the election. Col. Eli F. Ritter, and Judge Solomon Claypool were engaged as special counsel to prosecute the cases, and Judge William A. Woods, of the Federal Court used the privileges of the Federal bench to the fullest to secure conviction. The cases were tried in January, 1888; and Simeon Coy, and W. F. A. Bernhamer were convicted, and sent to the penitentiary. Even this did not put an end to ordinary election rascality in the election of 1888. On October 31, the Sentinel published the circular letter of Treasurer W. W. Dudley, of the National Republican Committee, sent to the local chairman of Indiana, with its cold-blooded instructions to, "Divide the floaters into blocks of five, and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of these five, and make him responsible that none get away and that all vote our ticket." There were feeble attempts to put an innocent construction on the letter, but they were soon abandoned. There was not a person of ordinary intelligence in the State who did not understand perfectly the gigantic scheme of bribery outlined. There was a temporary effort to create belief that the letter was a forgery; and this prevented some of the effect it should have had in the election; but this also was abandoned. There was not a county in the State where it had not been received. The truth was that the letter had been stolen from the mails by a Democratic mail clerk, who noticed them going through in quantities, and was by him turned over to the Democratic managers. Judge Claypool was again made special prosecutor, and went to work enthusiastically; but Judge Woods had lost his former ardor for purity in elections. The case dragged along until January 15, 1889, when Judge Woods gave supple-

Executive Committee.

W. E. DUDLEY, Chairman.
A. B. CLARKSON, Vice Chairman.
J. S. FARLEY, Secretary.
E. W. DUDLEY, Treasurer.
JOHN C. NEW,
A. H. COOPER,
G. A. HOBART,
SAMUEL FESSENDEN,
GEO. R. DAVIS,
CHANCHESTER MAXWELL,
E. HIDE YOUNG,
WILLIAM BROOKS.

HEADQUARTERS.
Republican National Committee.
51 FIFTH AVENUE,
New York.

New York, Oct. 24th, 1888.

Dear Sir..

I hope you have kept copies of the lists sent me Such information is very valuable and can be used to great advantage. It has enabled me to demonstrate to friends here that with proper assistance Indiana is surely Republican for Governor and President, and has resulted, as I hoped it would, in securing for Indiana the aid necessary. Your Committee will certainly receive from Chairman Huston the assistance necessary to hold our floaters and doubtful voters, and gain enough of the other kind to give Harrison and Morton 10,000 plurality. New York is now safe beyond peradventure for the Republican Presidential ticket; Connecticut likewise. In short every Northern State, except possibly New Jersey, though we still hope to carry that State. Harrison's majority in the Electoral College will not be less than 100. Make our friends in each precinct wake up to the fact that only boodle and fraudulent votes and false counting of returns can beat us in the State. Write each of our precinct correspondents, 1st, To find our who has Democratic boodle, and steer the Democratic workers to them, and make them pay big prices for their own men. 2nd, Scan the election officers closely, and make sure to have no man on the Board whose integrity is even questionable, and insist on Republicans watching every movement of the election officers. 3rd, See that our workers know every voter entitled to a vote, and let no one else even offer to vote. 4th, Divide the floaters into blocks of five, and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of these five, and make him responsible that none get away and that all vote our ticket. 5th, Make a personal appeal to your best business men to pledge themselves to devote the entire day, Nov. 6th, to work at the polls, i.e. to be present at the polls with tickets. They will be astonished to see how utterly dubfounded the ordinary Democratic election burmer will be and how quickly he will disappear. The result will fully justify the sacrifice of time and comfort, and will be a source of satisfaction afterwards to those who help in this way. Lay great stress on this last matter. It will pay.

There will be no doubt of your receiving the necessary assistance through the National, State and County Committees, ——only see that it is husbanded and made to produce results. I rely on you to advise your precinct correspondents, and urge them to unremitting and constant efforts from now till the polls close, and the result is announced officially. We will fight for a fair election here if necessary. The Rebel crew can't steal this election from us as they did in 1884, without someone getting hurt. Let every Republican do his whole duty and the country will pass into Republican hands, never to leave it, I trust. Thanking you again for your efforts to assist me in my work, I remain

Yours Sincerely,

W. W. Dudley

Please wire me result in principal precincts and county.

DUDLEY LETTER REDUCED ONE-HALF

mental instructions to the grand jury, reversing his rulings in the tally-sheet cases, and making the conviction of Dudley impossible.[3]

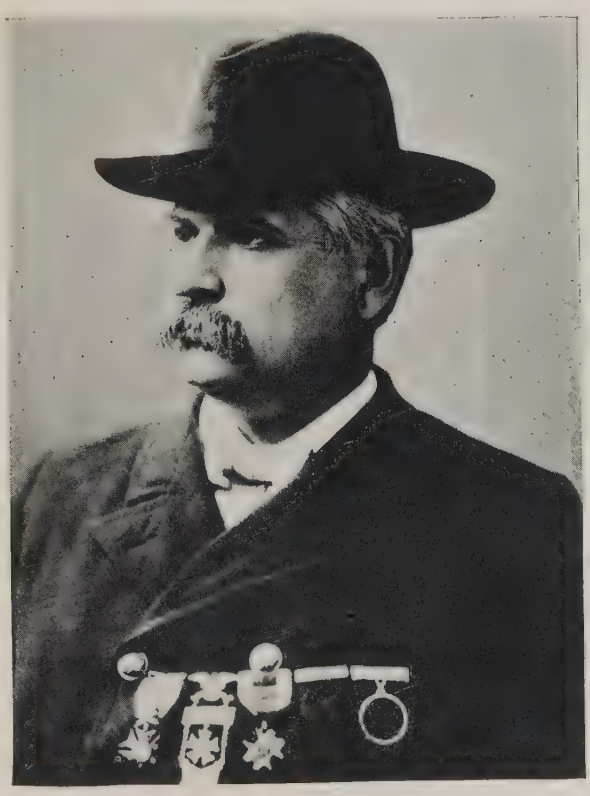
In the meantime, there had been two occurrences that materially affected the history of Indiana. The first was a change in the ownership of the Indianapolis Sentinel, the State Democratic organ. Craig, who had lost what influence he had left after the Supreme Court editorial by a hopeless attempt to defend the tally-sheet forgers, became weary of leading public opinion that would not lead, and in February, 1888, the paper passed under the control of Samuel E. Morss, an up-to-date newspaper man of the highest type. Morss was born at Fort Wayne, December 15, 1852, of English ancestry, the first of whom came to America in the middle of the seventeenth century, and located in Massachusetts, later removing to what became Maine. His father, Samuel S. Morss, was born at Bath, Maine, whence his parents removed to Western New York, and in 1835, he located at Fort Wayne, where, in 1837, he married Susan Clark, a native of Le Roy, New York, who had come to Fort Wayne in 1833, with her brother Nelson Clark, and, in 1836, opened the first private school for young children in Fort Wayne. Young Morss graduated from the Fort Wayne high school in 1871, and at once went to work on the Gazette as a reporter. He made his way rapidly, and in the spring of 1875 was put in editorial control of the Fort Wayne Sentinel, then owned by William Fleming, who was later Treasurer of State. In April, 1879, Morss and William R. Nelson purchased the Sentinel, which they conducted until August of the following year, when they sold to E. A. K. Hackett, and went to Kansas City, and founded the Star, with Morss as editor. He ruined his health by overwork in establishing that phenomenally successful paper, and, in the latter part of 1882 went to Europe for a six months stay. On his return he was employed by the Chicago Times as editorial writer, later as Washington correspondent, until December, 1887, when he organized the company that bought the Indianapolis Sentinel. Of this he made a financial success for several years, and bought other interests until he practically became the sole owner. Morss was a born reformer. He had learned the secret, so commonly overlooked in the United States, that the best politics is doing what is for the interests of the public. In the campaign of 1888, the chief issue discussed was the tariff, and there was no argument on either side of the question with which he was not familiar. As a newspaper writer, he never had a superior in Indiana, and he had a faculty of getting on the right side of new questions—known in newspaperdom as "lighting on

[3] A full account of these cases will be found in my history of Greater Indianapolis, pp. 292-306. There have been some attempts to justify Judge Woods since its publication, but none calling for any change in that statement or for any answer.

your feet'' that was almost uncanny. By the end of the campaign, he had given the Sentinel a standing and influence that it had not known for years. The course of Judge Woods in the Dudley case roused his indignation to the highest pitch, and on January 16, 1889, the day following the ''second decision,'' he indicted Woods in an editorial that stands as a classic. It concludes with these words: ''Weighing our words carefully, and fully prepared to accept all the consequences, we pronounce the course of Judge Woods in this matter a monstrous abuse of his judicial opportunities and a flagrant, scandalous, dishonorable and utterly unprecedented perversion of the machinery of justice to the purpose of knavery, and we believe that it should lead to his impeachment instead of, as it probably will, to his promotion to the supreme bench of the United States, as soon as it is in the power of Benjamin Harrison to reward him in this manner for dragging his judicial robes in the filth of Dudleyism.''

From the historical point of view, it is not to be understood that either Woods or Dudley were especially bad men; on the contrary, they were very respectable citizens in ordinary matters. They merely illustrate that intense political bias which has made it a proverb in Indiana—and probably elsewhere in the country—that ''men will do things in politics that they would scorn in any other relation.'' William Allen Woods was a very able judge. He was born in Marshall County, Tennessee, May 16, 1837, and at the age of ten years removed with his step-father, Capt. J. Miller, an anti-slavery man, to Iowa, and there acquired his partisan bias in his youth. He came back to Indiana for his education, and graduated at Wabash in 1859. He enlisted in the Union army in 1861, but was disabled by an injured foot, and took up the law, locating at Goshen, in 1862. He was a member of the legislature of 1867; declined re-election, and also nomination for Congress; was elected Circuit Judge in 1873, re-elected without opposition in 1878, and elected Judge of the State Supreme Court in 1880. He made an excellent record, and in May, 1883, was appointed U. S. District Judge for Indiana, to succeed Judge Gresham. His strength was his weakness, for he had what lawyers call ''an acute legal mind,'' and, practically, that means an ability to find a plausible reason for deciding whatever you wish. His decision in the Dudley case could not have been attacked successfully, if it had not been a reversal of his construction of the same statute under which the Democratic tally-sheet forgers had been convicted in his court. He made the matter worse in March and April, 1889, by quashing indictments in nearly two hundred election cases, on the ground that they were ''defective,'' although in form that had been used for years, and that he had

sustained in previous cases.[4] If his changes of heart were honest—and there is little limit to the mental effects of political bias—it was unfortunate that they came at a time when only Republican scoundrels were the beneficiaries. So William Wade Dudley had a good record. He was born at Weathersfield Bow, Windsor County, Vermont, August 27, 1842, the son of Rev. John Dudley, a Presbyterian preacher. He was edu-



Gen. William W. Dudley

cated at Phillips Academy, at Danville, Vermont, and at Russell's Collegiate Institute, at New Haven, Connecticut, the latter being a military school. In 1860, he came to Richmond, Indiana, where he became captain of the City Grays, a company that went into the Nineteenth Indiana, in July, 1861. He was made Colonel for merit, and lost a leg at Gettysburg, where his regiment was in an exposed position, and lost 72 per cent of its members in killed and wounded. He was brevetted Brigadier

[4] Federal Rep., Vol. 29, p. 897; Vol. 31, p. 794.

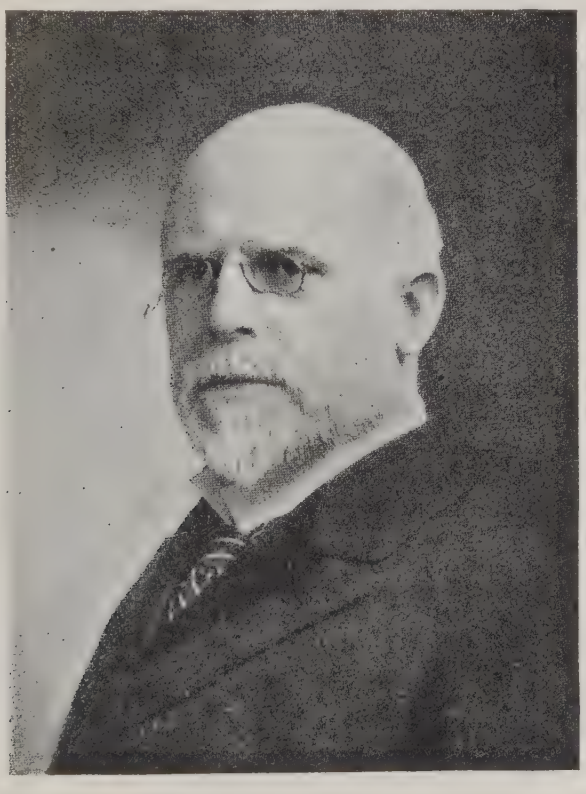
General, and served through the remainder of the war as inspector and judge-advocate. In 1866-74, he was Clerk of the Wayne Circuit Court; 1875-9, Cashier of the Richmond Savings Bank; 1879-81, U. S. Marshal for Indiana; and 1881-4, Commissioner of Pensions, under President Garfield. He then practiced law at Washington, taking a very active part in politics until 1887, when he was made National Treasurer for his party.

There was never any reflection on his private and business life, and in politics he had merely engaged in what hundreds of others had been engaged in in Indiana, since 1876, though on a somewhat larger scale. Yet he had little sympathy in his own party, for from the political standpoint, he had done worse than commit a crime—he had made a colossal blunder. The insanity of putting such a letter in typewriter print, and scattering it broadcast, was appalling to even ordinary political heelers. Moreover, it was wholly unnecessary and superfluous. The Indiana Republicans, in 1888, had a scheme of vote-buying that made Dudley's insignificant by comparison. They had organized "get a man" clubs, in which each member pledged himself to get one vote for the ticket. It was a very expensive process of vote-buying, involving the "sugaring and nursing" of some floater during the campaign; and was possible only under the circumstances of having the presidential candidate from the State, with a wide-spread expectation of political reward in case of success. There was not only more money used in Indiana in 1888 than in any preceding campaign, but it was used more effectively through this system. Men who had never before indulged in political crookedness went into it, many probably not realizing what it meant until they were started, and then not having the nerve to withdraw. The Democrats had a fair supply of money, and used it, in addition of going head over heels into debt, in expectation of winning; but they were outbought, and the State went for Harrison by the narrow margin of 2,348. After the election, Dudley was an elephant on the party's hands, and Harrison very wisely refused him any recognition. He continued his law practice at Washington, and died December 15, 1909. A posthumous defense of his action, prepared by himself, met a very chilly reception.[5] But Judge Woods could not be ignored, and in the spring of 1892, President Harrison nominated him for Circuit Judge, under the new law creating the Circuit Court of Appeals, and he was confirmed. He died at Indianapolis, June 28, 1901, after creditable service in his new position.

Within three years after Mr. Fishback made his plea for honest elections, the two most disgraceful election scandals ever known in Indiana

[5] Indianapolis News, March 17, 1910.

had been consummated, but the way was opened for reform, and the Australian Ballot Law, of 1889, is Indiana's perpetual monument to these affairs and the men concerned in them. Although the Republicans had carried the State, the Democrats had both houses of the Legislature. This was claimed by Republicans to be due to "the gerrymander of 1885"; but was in fact the result of the Democrats carrying the large counties



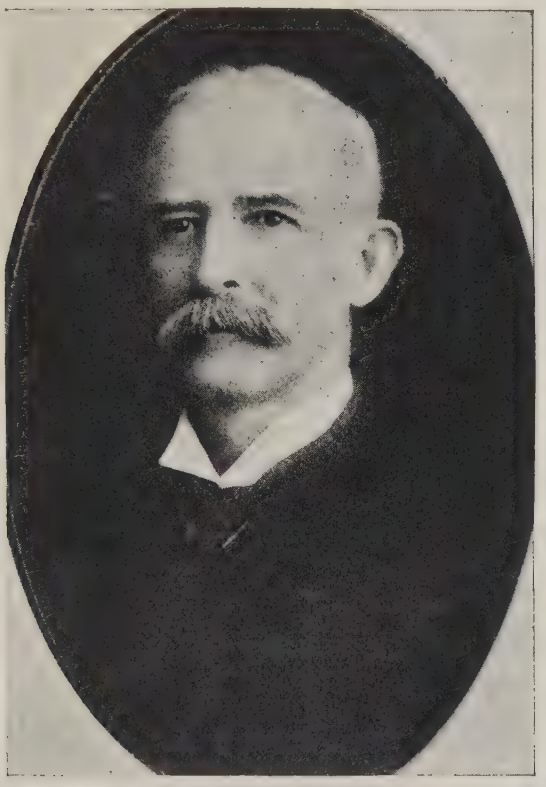
Simon P. Sheerin

that had multiple representation, and to Republicans "trading for the head of the ticket," i. e. agreeing with a Democrat to vote his local ticket if he would vote the Republican State and National ticket. As the local candidates and their friends are more interested in their success than in anything else, there is usually more or less of this in general elections. Moreover, the Democrats had "put their best foot forward" by nominating strong men for the Legislature, and the result was an unusually strong legislative body. On the Democratic side of the House

were such men as Andrew A. Adams, Frank D. Ader, Smith Askren, John Beasley, Charles G. Cox, James B. Curtis, Frank P. Foster, Wm. A. Hughes, Sidney R. Moon, Mason J. Niblack, John Nugent, Wm. S. Oppenheim, E. W. Pickhardt, George S. Pleasants, Gabriel Schmuck, Wm. H. Shambaugh, H. F. Work, and Philip Zoercher. In the Senate were James M. Barrett, W. W. Berry, V. P. Bozeman, Geo. A. Byrd, M. L. DeMotte, F. M. Griffith, S. W. Hale, Timothy E. Howard, W. A. Traylor, and S. E. Urmston. At the same time there had been an access of new blood in the party management that made a great improvement in it. At the head was Simon P. Sheerin, one of the finest characters ever known in Indiana politics. He was born in Dublin, Ireland, February 14, 1846, the son of Thomas Sheerin, a revolutionist of 1848, who came to the United States with his family in 1849, landing at New Orleans. He was warned out of there on account of abolition tendencies, and located at Dayton, Ohio, where Simon grew up. Here he had a common school education, and a course in a business college, after which he learned the blacksmith's trade. In 1866 he moved to Logansport, Indiana, and worked at his trade, meanwhile cultivating literature and politics. He was elected Recorder of Cass County in 1870, and reelected in 1874; and began writing for the newspapers. In this he found an attractive calling, and in 1875 purchased, and took editorial control of the Logansport Pharos, soon attaining rank as one of the ablest editors of the State. He was a man of the McDonald type in his absolute honesty and unswerving adherence to principles, while his native wit and common sense, backed by wide and intelligent reading, always made his presentation of his views attractive. In 1882 he was elected Clerk of the Supreme Court. He declined a renomination in 1886, but served as a member of the State Executive Committee of the Democratic party in 1884, 1886, and 1888; and in the last year was chosen as Indiana's representative on the National Committee, of which he was made Secretary, incidentally giving special attention to Indiana.

In Marion County there had come a change of vital import. After the conviction of Coy, he was determined to retain his held on the Democratic organization in Marion County, but, chiefly through the efforts of Oliver Reveal, a country boy, whose popularity and political acumen had made him County Commissioner, he was replaced as Chairman by Thomas Taggart, whose political skill has attained national reputation. Taggart was born in County Monaghan, Ireland, November 17, 1856. His parents emigrated to America in 1861, locating at Xenia, Ohio. Here, after a common school education, Thomas entered the employ of N. & G. Ohmer, railroad eating-house men, and showed so much aptitude that in 1874, he was put in charge of their restaurant at Garrett, Indiana,

and in 1877, of the Union Station restaurant at Indianapolis. His intelligence and affability made him so popular that in 1886, Coy induced him to accept a nomination for County Auditor to give strength to the ticket; and so he began his political career, which led to his national prominence. There was universal approval in Indiana when, on the death of Senator Shively, March 14, 1916, Governor Ralston appointed Mr. Taggart to



JOHN R. WILSON

serve for his unexpired term. As Chairman he brought into service the best element of the party, notable among them being John P. Frenzel, who by sterling qualities had come through hard knocks, to be President of the Merchants National Bank, and John R. Wilson, the ablest young lawyer of Indianapolis. Wilson was a Virginian—his middle name was Randolph, and he was entitled to it by blood—born at Farmville, Prince Edward County, March 16, 1851. His family had been impoverished by the Civil War, and his rudimentary education was largely from his

father, who was a lawyer. He graduated, however, from Hampden Sidney, and studied law at the University of Virginia, where he had the good fortune of instruction by the noted John R. Minor. He located at Indianapolis in 1873, first in the office of Hendricks, Hord & Hendricks, and soon after in practice. In 1888 he was a member of the firm of Duncan, Smith & Wilson. He was the best read man in law, economics and political history that I have ever known, and his native ability entitled him to much higher public position than the chances of politics ever brought him. And these were the chances that he could not control, for he left nothing to chance that he could control. He introduced systematic, scientific organization into the methods of the Democratic party in Indiana, and it was to this that much of the later success of the party was due. He was a born teacher, and was not only an active agent in the establishment and maintenance of Law Schools at Indianapolis, but also, for years, held private classes in which law students of the city received instruction without charge; and his generous kindness to young men, as well as others, made him troops of personal friends. In 1888 he defeated A. G. Smith for the nomination for Attorney General, although Smith was a sort of party idol for his record in 1887, by sheer force of organization. He made a strong campaign, and although defeated with his party, was second on the ticket, losing by only 1,853 votes. Notwithstanding the tally-sheet forgery backset, the Democrats carried Marion County, and this gave them the Legislature.

In the campaign, I had been put in charge of the literary work of the State Central Committee, of the Democratic party, which threw me in close touch with Morss; and after the election he asked me to take editorial charge of the paper while he took a vacation to recuperate. I felt that this was the opportunity for election reform, and began a search for something that would stop the atrocious corruption in Indiana elections. I had a slight knowledge of the Australian ballot system, but not enough to discuss it. The only man I could find in Indianapolis who could write intelligently on the subject was Lafayette P. Custer, a telegraph operator, and prominent in labor circles. He prepared an article which I printed on November 19, with editorial indorsement and so the movement was launched. I also invited readers to send in suggestions, which they did very freely. Meanwhile I sent for all the literature on the subject that I could learn of. When Morss returned, he took up the idea with enthusiasm, and printed columns of correspondence and comment, working all the time towards the Australian system. To get the matter in shape, he had a meeting at his house with Gov. Gray, John R. Wilson, and myself, at which we agreed on the outlines of a law based on one proposed by New York reformers, but modified to meet our estab-

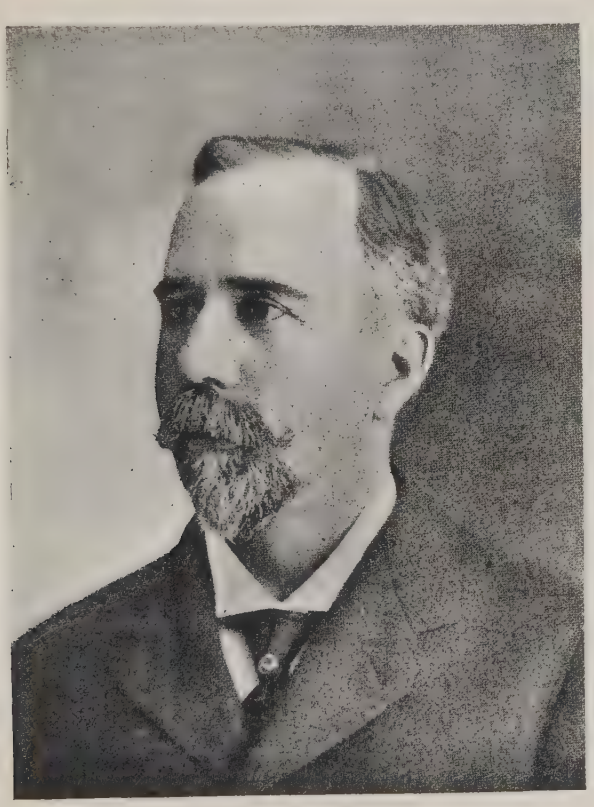
lished customs as far as possible, and utilizing party organizations to watch each other, by giving them equal representation on the election boards, and in outside officials. Our theory was that the most effective check on crookedness was to give each party full opportunity to stop it at the outset. This theory, since widely adopted, was here first given full effect, so far as I am informed. We also agreed on a provision for small precincts, on the suggestion of Senator McDonald, who favored the reform, but was unable to attend the meeting. His idea was that as close an approach as possible to the old English "hundred" was the best precaution against election frauds, on account of the mutual acquaintance of the voters which it assured. I was appointed clerk, and directed to prepare a tentative form for the law, which was considered from time to time, others being called into consultation, and the bill being modified whenever a suggestion considered valuable was offered. At the last consultation meeting, at Wilson's office, there were thirty or forty present, including several members of the legislature, and several valuable suggestions were made, notably one by W. A. Pickens. We had agreed on the Belgian system of designating the several party tickets, for the benefit of illiterate voters, by printing their tickets on strips of different colors on the ballot. He suggested the plan of designating by a party device, placed at the head of the ticket, which brought the printing more fully within the possibilities of a country printing office; and it was adopted.

The bill was put in the hands of Senator James M. Andrews for introduction, as his name was first on the roll, and went through as Senate Bill No. 1. It was, however, under the special management of Senator James M. Barrett, and his management was very skillful. The discussion had attracted so much attention that many members had come up with bills in their pockets, and the problem was to get them into agreement. It was debated in the Senate for nearly a month, Barrett yielding to amendments that were insisted on, and then, the Senate, having reached a conception of a consistent whole, repealed all the amendments and passed the bill substantially as introduced. Meanwhile the Sentinel continued the agitation. On January 16, the same day on which it published the second instruction of Judge Woods, it printed the proposed ballot law. On January 17, it took the ground squarely that the Democrats could not hope to compete with the Republicans in election rascality, and that their only salvation was in honest elections. This was not based on any assumption of superior virtue, or lack of criminal talent, but simply because the party, by its war on the tariff and trusts, had set the capitalist element in opposition to it, and it furnished the funds for vote-buying. As it said: "The moneyed power

of the country is arrayed on the side of the Republican party. In every national campaign it has a corruption fund of untold millions at its disposal." This, coupled with the recent record of the Federal court punishing Democratic scoundrels, and releasing Republican scoundrels, was the argument that convinced Democratic legislators, with few exceptions. I remember one old warrior who insisted to the last that he preferred the old system, "so that he could take a floater back of the schoolhouse, and mark his ticket for him." And in the campaign of 1890, when the law had its first trial, there were serious misgivings among Democratic politicians. The tide was coming their way, and they felt sure of the election but for "this d—n ballot law." But when the votes were counted in 1900, and the Democrats had twenty thousand majority, the Sentinel promptly claimed that it was all due to the new election law, and that theory was generally accepted. In reality the result was largely due to the disappointment of thousands of Republicans who expected to get offices after 1888, and disgust among Republican politicians over Harrison's treatment of Dudley—as they said, "the man who elected him"—but in fact Dudley came much nearer defeating than electing him.

The Democrats passed another memorable election law at this session which deserves commemoration on account of its originality and its wisdom. It was for the punishment of bribery, and was devised by Judge James McCabe, later of the Supreme Court. It relieved the vote-seller of penalty, treating him as one who had lost his virtue through seduction; and gave him a right of action against the purchaser, and anyone who furnished the money, for $300 and attorney's fees. The amount of recovery was fixed, and the judgment defendants had to go to jail until it was paid, as in cases of bastardy. It was the most effective preventive for vote-buying ever devised, and it made the elections of 1890, 1892, and 1894 the purest held in Indiana for years before and after. In 1897 a Republican legislature destroyed the effect of the law by a law punishing the seller by fine of $500, disfranchisement, and imprisonment for one to five years. In 1899, the law of 1889 was repealed, and the vote-seller made punishable by disfranchisement, with a reward of $100 for his conviction. The Supreme Court held that the purchaser could not recover this reward, on account of his own wrong. In 1905, the same penalty was provided for both buyer and seller, which effectually ended prosecutions by anyone; and that was the purpose of the law, despite hypocritical pretense of virtuous purpose. In consequence, vote buying is almost as common as in 1886. It may be added that the feature of the Australian ballot law which gave the greatest public satisfaction at the first was the strict enforcement of the provision prohibit-

ing anyone but voters and election officials from coming within fifty feet of the polls; and the common relaxation as to this subjects the voter to almost as much hustling and solicitation as was common before the law was adopted. It is a forcible illustration of the difficulty of securing the enforcement of meritorious law in this country. It may also be added that the Democrats have never had sense enough to



JAMES M. BARRETT

restore the McCabe law of 1889, although they have had the legislature several times. It would have been worth a great deal of money to them if they had remembered the lesson of 1889 that they could not compete with the Republicans in rascality; and several Democratic statesmen might not have taken residence in the penitentiary, where they worked under Republicans who were quite as guilty of election offences as themselves. But perhaps it is asking too much to expect all Democrats to have common sense.

But election reform was only one of many. Rev. O. C. McCulloch had a project for a State Board of Charities and Corrections, in the nature of a perpetual investigating committee, with power to investigate any charitable or correctional institution at will, and report publicly; and Morss gave this enthusiastic support. It was adopted, and has completely revolutionized charitable and correctional work, and has put Indiana in the foremost rank of American States, in these matters. Another measure of immense effect was what is known as "the Barrett Law." This was a distinctively Indiana idea, devised by Senator J. M. Barrett. There was a widespread and growing desire in Indiana for substantial street improvements, and they were sadly needed, but the cost, under our system, was borne by adjacent property-owners, and was a heavy burden, especially to small property-owners. His plan was the simple expedient of giving the property-owner ten years in which to pay for the improvement, the municipality issuing bonds to the contractor to cover the cost. This was championed by Morss, and was adopted. It proved so popular that it has since been widely extended, though some of its most useful features have been destroyed through the greed of local officials, and the imbecility of the courts. In spite of these, it is the direct cause of the up-to-date appearance of Indiana cities and towns. At the same time, the revenues of cities and towns were materially increased by raising the limit of liquor licenses from $100 to $250 in cities, and from $100 to $150 in towns. Senator Byrd had some measures for the relief of coal miners, notably one for abolishing the villainous "pluck-me" store, which were advocated by Morss, and adopted. Representative Pleasants had a bill to checkmate the school-book trust, by a system of State school books, with a limited price. Morss came to his support and it was adopted. There were others, almost too numerous to mention, including a law for an eight-hour day, a law requiring night-schools in towns of over 3,000 inhabitants, a law providing for farmers' institutes and appropriating $5,000 to Purdue University to conduct them. There were also constitutional amendments submitted, removing the word "white" from the militia section, requiring thirty days residence in the precinct for voters, making all offices four years and one term, putting legislators on a salary and allowing them to determine the length of their sessions, and providing for nine judges for the Supreme Court. The legislature of 1889 adopted more and better laws than any legislature that preceded or followed it; but what was of more importance, it set a pace for its successors. It emphasized the fact that the proper function of a legislature is to pass laws for the benefit of the public, and although there has been some humbug since then in the adoption of professedly beneficial laws, the

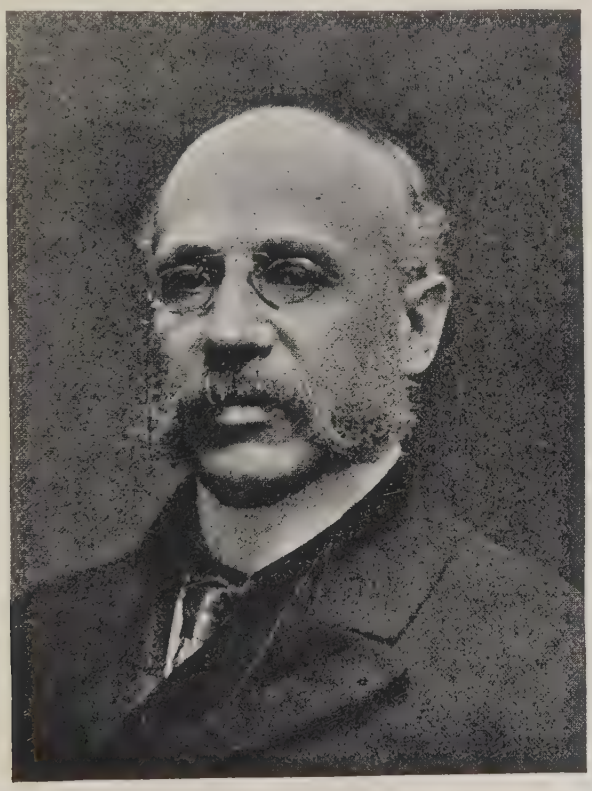
continuous appeal to the voters has been on records of laws for their good; and the period since 1888 stands out preeminently in the history of the State as an era of reform. I may add that a reform in which I was especially interested was the rehabilitation of the State Library, which for years had been receiving an appropriation of $400 a year for the purchase and binding of books, and had fallen into a mournful state of decay. I succeeded in getting an appropriation of $5,000 for the first year and $2,000 a year thereafter, with the understanding that I would take the office of State Librarian, and earn my salary of the Democratic party, as well as of the State, which I did for the next four years.

The Democrats swept the State in 1890, which was accepted as an indorsement of the legislative reforms, and the legislature of 1891 was in a reform mood; but so much attention had been given in the campaign to the proposal to abolish the fee system, and substitute salaries for the compensation of officials, that many of the members paid little attention to anything else. The finances of the State were in bad condition. Governor Gray proceeded on the avowed principle that "The people do not care a snap for going into debt, but they object to increased taxes." After the Civil War, the war tax rate of 25 cents and 75 cents poll had been continued until 1871, and the State was put in fair financial condition, except that it had "borrowed" the school fund, and was paying six per cent interest on it. But in the '80s the State built the Northern, Eastern and Southern Insane Hospitals, the Soldiers and Sailors Monument, and replaced the Soldiers and Sailors Orphans Home at Knightstown, which had been destroyed by fire in 1886. It had gone into debt for these, and the tax rate had been made so low that it did not cover current expenses. By 1889 the State debt had reached $8,056,615.12, and the State was borrowing more money to pay the interest. The situation was made worse by the utter demoralization of the tax system. Every locality had adopted the policy of under-assessment to escape taxation by the State, which not only deprived the State of its proper revenues, but wholly destroyed uniformity of taxation throughout the State. The first wise step of reform was made by the legislature of 1889, which provided for refunding the school fund of $3,905,000, at three per cent interest, and distributing the proceeds to the several counties, to be loaned, on mortgage security, at six per cent interest. This saved the State $117,150 yearly in interest, and reduced the prevailing interest rate on loans throughout the State. It was evident, however, that the essential step towards financial stability was a radical revision of the tax system. When I became State Librarian, I instituted what is now known as Legislative Reference work, to the extent of

gathering literature on those subjects that I anticipated would engage the attention of the legislature; and I collected everything I could find on taxation, which was now beginning to receive attention throughout a large part of the country. There had been several tax investigations, and all brought the same story of under-assessment and lack of uniformity. The best presentation of the question was in Prof. R. T. Ely's Taxation in American States and Cities, then recently published. Having read it, I induced Morss and several of the influential party leaders to do the same, and we agreed to make a fight for uniform assessment at true cash value. Several of the most influential members of the legislature united earnestly in the movement.

The first step was the introduction of a bill by W. S. Oppenheim, the Democratic House leader, for the separation of State and municipal revenue, turning the railroads over for State taxation, and exempting them from local taxation. This was defeated by the railroad lobby, who plausibly appealed to the representatives of the counties with large railroad mileage, there being three counties which then had no railroads. Oppenheim next tried a bill giving half of the total railroad taxes to the State, and supplementing the revenue by saloon and other taxes, but this also was defeated. There remained nothing but to revise the tax law, and make it as strong as possible, and the work of drafting the bill was given to Judge Timothy Howard, who did it so well that it withstood all the assaults of corporation lawyers; and, in the interest of historical truth, it should be recorded that the corporate interests assailed the law as thoroughly as legal shrewdness could suggest; and that A. G. Smith, the Attorney General, is entitled to much more credit for their defeat than he has ordinarily received. Governor Hovey appointed tax commissioners who were rather above the usual run of political appointments; but the State Board was actually controlled by the Democratic State officials who were ex officio members of the Board; and no member of the Board was in fact a tax expert, nor has one ever been appointed a member since then, although the law expressly requires it. There have, however, been several members who acquired a fair acquaintance with the science of taxation during their appointment. The weakness of the Board, then and ever since, was not lack of information, but lack of determination to enforce the law; and this is not peculiar to Indiana. The universal American idea is that tax laws are not intended to be enforced. They get together, and agree on a system which they all concede to be just and fair to all; and as soon as it is enacted, begin figuring on modes of evading it. The national government has succeeded in enforcing some of its tax and excise laws fairly well, but there has never been a general tax law that was enforced

in any State of the Union. The extraordinary thing is the complacency with which the people endure this condition. Even the truly good who have spasms over the non-enforcement of law, are not troubled by this. What they understand by "law" is the regulation of the liquor traffic and the suppression of gambling and the social evil. And yet the violation of tax laws causes greater and more widespread wrong, and more



SAMUEL E. MORSS

bad government, than all other law violations put together. It has been mathematically demonstrated, by every tax investigation in the country, that the class which really gets the benefit of the violation of tax laws is composed of a comparatively small body of corporations and wealthy men. Every cent of taxation evaded by them has to be made up by the small tax-payers. In consequence, nine-tenths of the tax-payers of America are paying larger taxes than they should; but they do not object to it because they are under the delusion that they have an

advantage, because their property is not assessed at true value, as required by law. At the same time, although most of the tax laws of the United States are not up to date in detail, there is not one of them which would not produce comparatively fair results if it were strictly enforced.

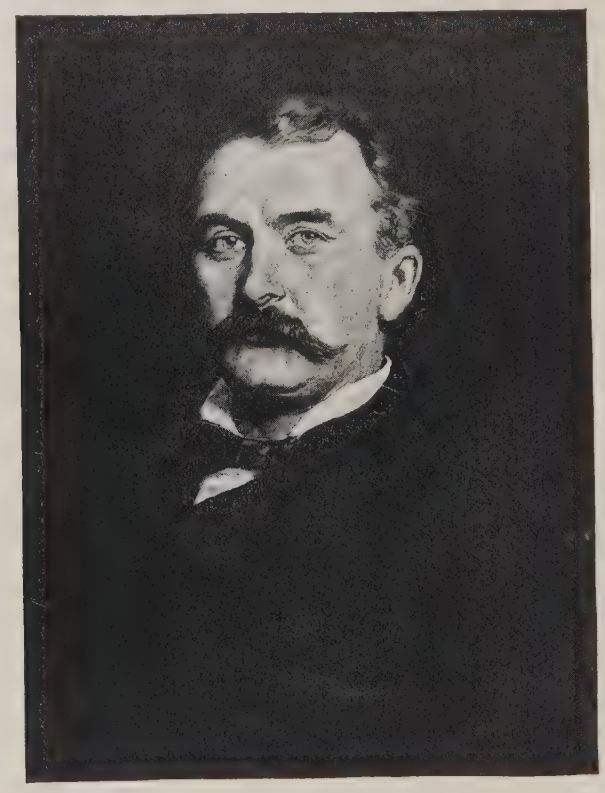
In 1892, the first State Tax Board under the new law requested me to assess the railroad property of the State for them. I called to my assistance Dr. J. F. VanVorhis, of the firm of VanVorhis & Spencer, who as attorneys for the Marion County Commissioners, had made the first intelligent study of railroad values ever known in Indiana. We made the valuation on the three bases of cost of construction, market value of stocks and bonds, and net earning value. On receipt of our report, the State Board proceeded to cut our figures 30 per cent, with additional cuts in Marion County, where the value of terminal facilities was simply beyond their comprehension. To our remonstrances, they replied that the real estate of the State had not been assessed at over 70 per cent of actual value, and as they were required to equalize, it would be unjust to tax railroads at a higher rate. I insisted that their sworn duty was to increase the assessment of the realty, which they had absolute power to do, but they answered that if they did so, the State revenues, under the rate which had been fixed by the legislature, would be so great that it would ruin the party. Being helpless, I submitted, and the result was an approach to an uniform assessment at about 70 per cent of true value. This was a vast improvement, as any uniform assessment is. Even with the cut made by the State Board, the railroad assessment, which had been scandalously low, was increased from $69,762,676 to $161,039,169, or over 130 per cent, while other property, on the average, was increased less than 50 per cent. In addition to this, there had been gross favoritism in the former assessments of railroads, one road having actually been assessed at more than its real value; and railroad men conceded privately that this was the fairest assessment of railroad property that had ever been made in the State. An actual test of the results in Marion County showed that by the tax duplicates there were 549 tax-payers in Center Township in the county assessed at $25,000 or more, and these owned practically one-half the property in the township. Their assessments had been increased an average of 75 per cent. The remaining property of the township was owned by 38,014 tax-payers, and their assessments had been increased an average of 55 per cent. As the rates in the township had been largely decreased, the majority of the tax-payers were actually paying less taxes than before. But this was not true everywhere. The Republican leaders had undertaken a special fight on the tax law, and their local officials, almost uni-

formly had increased their local rates, on the largely increased assessment, and undertaken to blame the increased taxes on the law. They overlooked the fact that all the tax returns would be made to the Auditor of State before the election. It so happened that the State was evenly divided politically, each party having the County Commissioners in 46 counties; and, in ample time before the election, the Republicans were confronted by the official returns grouped politically, showing that while the assessment in the 46 Republican counties had increased 43 per cent, and that in the Democratic counties 49 per cent, the local taxes in the Republican counties had increased $1,258,265, and the local taxes in the Democratic counties only $510,458; and further, that the increase in Democratic counties was due to Republican municipalities. Thus, in Marion County, the Republican school board of Indianapolis had increased their taxes $113,014, when they should have decreased them by $32,000, as they were getting that amount more from the State school tax. The "trail of the serpent" was so plain that it cost the Republicans hundreds of votes, especially of Republican tax-payers in Republican counties, who objected to being butchered to make a Republican holiday.

The failure of the State Tax Board to obey the law, and assess at true cash value, has been made the excuse of all succeeding Boards for continuing the violation, although they have had full power to correct this false step, and indeed are enjoined by the law to give special attention to improvements in administration. The administration of the law has gone from bad to worse until members of the Board and their "experts" cannot tell how they assess anything.[6] As nearly as can be ascertained, the process is similar to what used to be said to be the mode of weighing hogs in Kentucky—put the hogs in one side of the scale, and enough stones in the other to balance them; then guess how much the stones weigh. In 1915 a law was passed providing for a Commission "to investigate the problem of taxation in Indiana," and report its findings with bills for any laws it recommended. It made an extensive expert investigation, and reported mathematical proof that there was no approach to uniformity of assessment and taxation in the State; that "there are three counties in the State in which the average assessment is 25 per cent of true value or less, and that there are three counties in which the average assessment is as high as 75 per cent of true value"; that the discrimination between individuals is far greater, ranging from an average of 14.7 per cent of true value in the most favored class to 146 per cent of true value in the class of notable

[6] Report of Commission on Taxation, 1916, pp. 69-74, 130-3.

victims of the violation of the tax law. The Commission recommended the abolition of the State Board, and the creation of a new one with greater powers; and a thorough revision of the machinery of assessment; but its bills did not even get before the legislature, although reported to the Governor before the session began. In consequence the



Gov. Claude Matthews

same old system of injustice to the small property owner is still in use. A significant feature of its effects is shown by the Census report, which gives the relation of assessed values to true values in Indiana, as found by the experts of the Census Bureau. The average rate of assessment of all property in the State is 37½ per cent of true value, and the average of various kinds of property by classes is real estate 44 per cent, personal and corporate property 29 per cent, live stock 53 per cent, steam railroads 43 per cent, and electric railroads 14 per cent. There

is a singular coincidence in the fact that the managers of the electric railroad lines of Indiana have a great deal of political influence.[7]

In 1892, Claude Matthews was elected Governor, with the rest of the Democratic ticket. He was a native of Kentucky, born in Bath County, December 14, 1845. His father was a man of some property, and Claude graduated at Center College, Danville, Kentucky, in 1867. In the same year he married Martha R. Whitcomb, daughter of former Governor Whitcomb of Indiana, who had been attending school at Danville; and they located in Vermillion County, Indiana, where Mr. Matthews had a farm of 2,000 acres, and devoted his attention chiefly to stock raising. In 1876 he was elected to the legislature, and in 1890 Secretary of State. The first two years of his administration as Governor were not eventful; but the panic of 1893 put an end to Democratic supremacy in Indiana, and in 1894 the Republicans obtained control of both houses of the legislature for the first time since 1872. Then the Governor's troubles began, and during the session of 1895 he was kept busy vetoing political measures of various kinds, especially bills taking the appointing power from his hands. His last veto did not reach the legislature. It was on the last night of the session, and his private secretary had started up in the elevator to deliver it, when a party of Republican legislators, who were lying in wait, stopped the elevator between two floors, and kept the private secretary imprisoned there until the legislature adjourned. The vetos that reached their destination were promptly disposed of by passing the bills over the vetos, as only a majority vote in each house was necessary for that purpose. For a number of years it had been the Democratic party custom to nominate for President and Vice President, "favorite sons" of New York and Indiana, on the theory that they were "pivotal states" in the elections; and the Indiana Democratic State Convention indorsed Governor Matthews for the Presidential nomination, in 1896. But a new issue had been brought to the front by the panic of 1893, or rather an old one had been emphasized. The demonetization of silver was now charged to be the cause of all the financial and business troubles of the country, and this belief seemed to have taken firm possession of the West and Middle West. One of the most potent agencies in the movement was the celebrated little pamphlet "Coin's Financial School," which became the Bible of the advocates of "free silver;" and was studied as a textbook, especially in the various farmers' organizations. Why anybody should have taken this clever allegory as a record of historical events is almost beyond comprehension, but there were thousands who did; and

[7] Report of Commission on Taxation, p. 44.

when the free silver issue came on for discussion, the most effective agency in overthrowing the movement was the establishment of the facts that "Coin" was an imaginary person; that no "financial school" had ever existed; and that the debates recorded in the book had never occurred. It was through this mirage that the Democratic ship steered straight for the rocks.

There was a notable effort to prevent it in Indiana, the organization of which was due more to the work of John R. Wilson than that of any other one person; but there were many of the strongest men in the party who enlisted in it, including Thomas Taggart, John W. Kern, Samuel O. Pickens, A. G. Smith, W. D. Bynum, Wm. R. Myers, J. E. McCullough, John P. Frenzel, State Chairman Sterling R. Holt, and National Committeeman Simon P. Sheerin. On May 28, they held a "sound money" meeting at English's Opera House; and very able speeches were made by Wm. R. Myers, A. G. Smith, John W. Kern, W. D. Bynum, and Congressman George W. Cooper. Kern made a special hit with the audience by an account of experience with Confederate fiat money, including a story of a Confederate who was offered three thousand dollars for a horse he was riding, and indignantly replied: "Three thousand hell! I just paid five thousand to have this horse shod!" The free silver Democrats responded with a meeting at the same place on June 5, at which their side was presented by J. G. Shanklin and B. F. Shively. This meeting made a special demonstration for Matthews for President, but he was not at the meeting. The Gold Democrats were very bitter towards him later, claiming that he had privately assured them of his opposition to the free silver movement. The free silver men controlled the State Convention, and nominated Shively for Governor. The National Convention was swept away by Bryan's "cross of gold and crown of thorns" speech, and nominated him on a free silver platform, with Arthur Sewall, of Maine, for Vice President. This ticket was indorsed by the Silver Party, at St. Louis, on July 24; and on the next day the Populists, at the same place, nominated Bryan and Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia. Taggart, Kern, and some other of the Gold Democrats, accepted the party decision, and acted with the regulars in the campaign. Bynum, W. E. English, and a few others went over to the Republicans. The large majority, however, determined on independent action. On August 6, a call was issued for a convention of Gold Democrats, on a national basis, to be held at Indianapolis on September 2, which was duly carried into effect. The convention was a notable one in the character of its members, but in little else. It nominated John M. Palmer and Simon B. Buckner for its Presidential ticket, who were irreverently denominated "senile

dements'' by a leading Indiana Republican; and adopted a ''sound money'' platform.

During the contest before the National Convention, the Sentinel had tried to steer between Scylla and Charybdis by advocating international bimetallism, which had some distinguished advocates abroad, such as Arthur Balfour and President Meline, of France, but it was no time for

CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS

any compromise position. After Cleveland's election, Mr. Morss had been appointed Consul General at Paris; and had left me in editorial charge of the Sentinel. After Bryan's nomination, he telegraphed me to support the ticket, and I did so, declining, however, to support the free silver dogma that the United States, of itself, could maintain silver on a parity with gold. As a result, when the campaign was over, the Sentinel had no friends in either faction. The campaign had developed the most intense bitterness of partisan feeling that had been known since

war times. The free silver men thought that the continuation of the gold standard meant ruin, especially for the debtor class. The gold men were convinced that free silver meant the destruction of all property values. Ordinarily there is about one-tenth of the total vote that is not cast, composed chiefly of retired business men and well-to-do people who do not concern themselves with politics. In this election these were active. I knew one man whose Democracy was so intense that he quit voting after the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, who voted for McKinley in this election and remained a Republican thereafter. The Presidential vote in Indiana was McKinley 323,754, Bryan 305,573, Palmer 2,145, Levering, Prohibitionist, 5,323. The Palmer vote was no indication of the Gold Democratic strength. Many of them became frightened by the Bryan enthusiasm, which was indeed remarkable, and voted the straight Republican ticket. An unusual feature of the bitterness engendered by the campaign was the boycotting of the Sentinel by advertisers after it was over. This caused the financial ruin of the paper despite the efforts of Morss to keep it up. Things went from bad to worse, until he made the mistake of selling his Associated Press franchise, which was the most valuable asset he had, and converting it into an evening paper. He was killed by a fall from his office window, on October 20, 1903. The paper was not a complete loss, through the management of Aquilla Q. Jones, who wound up his affairs. Fortunately for his heirs, Morss had become interested in a Mexican copper mine which proved very valuable, and put them in affluence.

In 1893 Charles Warren Fairbanks came into political prominence in Indiana as a candidate for the Senate, though he was defeated by David Turpie. He was born in Union County, Ohio, May 11, 1852, and after the ordinary course in the common schools, graduated from Ohio Wesleyan in 1872. He first entered journalism, as agent of the Associated Press at Pittsburg and Cleveland, but studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1874. In the same year he removed to Indianapolis and entered the practice. His interest in public affairs brought him into politics, and he was called upon to preside over the Republican State Convention of 1892. His opportunity for preferment came with the Republican legislature of 1897, which elected him to the United States Senate. His service there made him the nominee of his party for the Vice Presidency in 1904; and after his term of service in that office, he resumed the practice of law at Indianapolis. Mr. Fairbanks also attained a diplomatic reputation as a member of the American and British Joint High Commission, which met at Quebec in 1898 for the adjustment of Canadian questions.

The administration of Governor Matthews witnessed the beneficial

effects of the Democratic financial legislation of 1889 and 1891, in the payment of $2,110,000 of the State debt, or nearly one-fourth of the total. It was also during his administration that the peculiar controversy over Green River Island was finally concluded. This was a dispute over the territorial jurisdiction over a large tract of land just above the City of Evansville, which was an island at the time of Virginia's cession of the Northwest territory, but which had long been joined to the Indiana shore by the filling of the channel on the Indiana side. The controversy had continued for years, and finally went to the Supreme Court of the United States, which, on May 19, 1890, decided that the land belonged to Kentucky.[8] It then became necessary to establish a boundary line, and the work of the commission appointed to do this was confirmed by the Supreme Court on May 13, 1896. In consequence, this is now the one point at which the Ohio River is not the boundary line between Indiana and Kentucky. In connection with this historic controversy, it may be mentioned that in 1895 a commission of thirty members was appointed to report plans for the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the establishment of Indiana Territory. It reported in favor of an exposition, and the erection of a building for that purpose; but no action was taken by the legislature. Governor Matthews attracted contemporary notice by suppressing gambling and winter racing at Roby, by the sporting element of Chicago. He did not long survive his administration. On August 25, 1898, he suffered a paralytic stroke, while addressing an old settlers meeting at Meharry's Grove, in Montgomery County; and died from the effects of it on August 28.

His successor in office was James Atwell Mount, a native of Indiana, born in Montgomery County, March 23, 1843. His father, Atwell Mount, a Virginian, located there in 1828. The son had the rather meager advantages of the common schools; and, in 1862, enlisted as a private in the Seventy-Second Indiana, which was a part of the famous Wilder's Brigade. He made a good record as a soldier, though he did not rise above the office of corporal; and after the war had one year more of school at the Presbyterian Academy of Lebanon. He took up the occupation of farming, and in 1888 was nominated by the Republicans for State senator, without solicitation, and elected. In 1890 he was nominated for Congress, but defeated. His administration was not very eventful, the most exciting episode being a lynching in Ripley County. A mob from Osgood took five men from that place, who were charged with burglary, from the jail at Versailles, overpowering the sheriff, and hanged them on the public square. There was no question of their

[8] Indiana vs. Kentucky, 136 U. S. p. 479.

guilt, but there had been considerable unpleasant notoriety for Indiana for white-capping, and a special effort was made to punish members of the mob. It was fruitless. The victims had been taken red-handed, after a desperate fight, and were all jail characters, with connection with a gang of counterfeiters who infested the locality after the Civil War; and the sentiment of the neighborhood coincided with that of Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, of England, that, "there are times when the swift methods of Judge Lynch become necessary in a community

Gov. James A. Mount

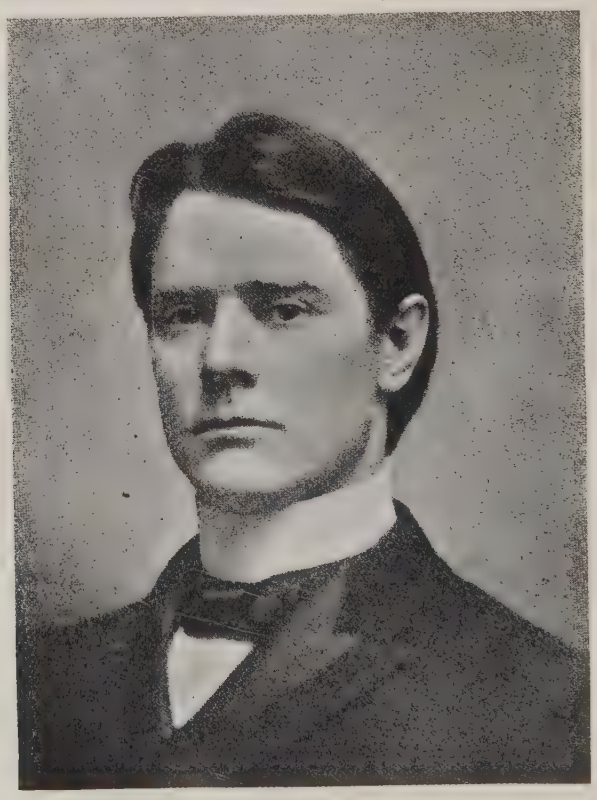
where crime is influential and powerful enough to debauch or intimidate courts or juries."[9] It was during Governor Mount's administration that the Spanish-American War came on, with a demonstration of Indiana's "preparedness" that was very convincing. The preliminaries of war had been in progress at Washington for nearly a week, and the

[9] Fishback's Recollections of Lord Coleridge, p. 9.

military department of Indiana was waiting only for the word. On April 25, 1898, at 6:15 p. m. the President's proclamation was received, calling for four regiments of infantry, and two batteries. Twenty minutes later the Governor's proclamation was issued, and the Adjutant issued orders to Brig. Gen. Will J. McKee to mobilize the National Guard. He wired orders, and at 7 o'clock the next morning the first company, from Frankfort, appeared at the State Fair Grounds, which had been named as the rendezvous, and, as the gates were not yet opened, climbed the fence, and took possession. By night the camp was full. An additional regiment, and two companies of colored troops were called for later and promptly furnished, making a total of 7,301 men called for and furnished. None of them got into actual warfare, though the 27th Battery was on the firing line at San Juan when news of the signing of the peace protocol was received, and Co. D. of the Second U. S. Engineers, which was recruited in Indiana, was kept at work in Cuba until the spring of 1899. A number of Indiana soldiers were engaged in the Philippines; and Gen. Henry W. Lawton, of Indiana, was killed there, while on duty, on December 19, 1899. He was born at Manhattan, Ohio, March 17, 1843, but his family removed to Fort Wayne when he was a child. He was a student in the Methodist Academy at Fort Wayne when the Civil War began, and enlisted in the Ninth Indiana, being made sergeant in Company E. He served through the war, and was mustered out as Lieutenant Colonel, in 1865. He began the study of law, but in 1867 accepted a commission in the regular army, where he saw much of Indian warfare. It was his command that captured Geronimo. When war with Spain was declared, he was Inspector General of the army, but asked for active service, and was made Brigadier General, and given command of the Second Division of the Fifth Army Corps. His troops were the first to land in Cuba, and he commanded at the battle of El Caney, being promoted to Major General for his services there. He was sent to the Philippines in December, 1898. A monument to his memory was erected at Indianapolis in 1907.

The Republican victory of 1898 in Indiana gave that party the legislature, and after a remarkable contest, it elected Albert Jeremiah Beveridge to the United States Senate. Senator Beveridge was born in Highland County, October 6, 1862. His father served in the Union army, at a sacrifice of business interests, and soon after the close of the Civil War, removed to Sullivan, Illinois, where business disaster followed him. Albert attended the common schools, but was early thrown on his own resources, and had the experiences of a ploughboy, a railroad hand, a teamster, and a logger; but he made his way through high school, and graduated from DePauw in 1885. After one more year of

labor, as a cowboy in the west, he began the study of law at Indianapolis, in the office of McDonald & Butler, and from that time advanced rapidly in his profession and in politics, his gift of oratory being a strong lever in both. He was soon known throughout Indiana as a popular speaker, and in 1896 attracted national notice by his reply to Governor Altgeld of Illinois. There were four formidable candidates



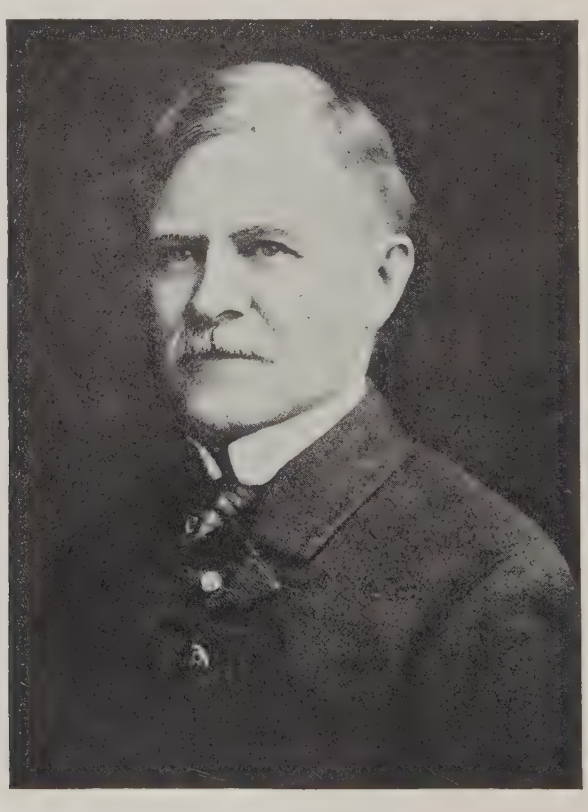
ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE

against him in the senatorial election of 1899, and most of the politicians thought that he had no chance of election; but the relative strength of his opponents, and the hostility which they developed toward each other, gave the prize to the popular young orator. His record in the Senate gave him reelection in 1905. In 1912 he followed the fortunes of Roosevelt, and was the Progressive candidate for Governor of Indiana. Since then he has engaged chiefly in literary work. In fact he had issued several volumes before then, and had been in demand as a magazine

writer. His latest venture is a life of John Marshall, and if it holds up to the quality of the first volume it is destined to a place among the notable biographical works of America.

During the administration of Governor Mount, the debt paying under the provisions of 1889 and 1891 continued; and at the close of his term the debt was reduced to $4,504,615. In his message of January 10, 1901, he said: "The debt paying policy has continued during the past two years until at the present time it can be safely predicted that all of the State's indebtedness that admits of payment will be paid within a time not exceeding four years, should the specific appropriations of the coming Legislature not be abnormally large. * * * The State debt sinking fund levy, three cents on the one hundred dollars, now yields about four hundred thousand dollars per annum. In my judgment this should be continued, and taking that amount as a basis, the surplus from the general fund that will accrue, with the average of appropriations previous to the session of 1899, will extinguish the available portion of the debt within the next four years." Notwithstanding this prediction, the debt was reduced in the next four years only to $2,162,615; but the incoming Governor, Winfield T. Durbin, acquired the delusion that he was the only original debt-payer; and the Republican platform of 1904 dwelt on this idea so extensively that the Democrats retorted in their platform with the following tribute to the Governor: "The administration of Governor Winfield T. Durbin, so fulsomely lauded and indorsed by the recent Republican State Convention, is a mournful and humiliating illustration of the decadence of the Republican party in Indiana under its present leadership. Through his persistent endeavors to build up a personal political machine, the efforts of his Republican and Democratic predecessors to put the State benevolent and penal institutions on a non-partisan basis have been nullified, and a subservient Legislature has promoted his design by passing the iniquitous 'ripper' bill in the face of a storm of public disapproval. He has insisted on the control of subordinate appointments, even to the janitors of the State Capitol, and when resisted has not hesitated to obstruct the work of the rebellious department. For this reason the report of the State Geologist for 1902 was arbitrarily held back from the printers from January 28, 1902, until April 20, 1903, making its information to the people almost valueless. The report of the State Board of Health for 1901 was likewise held back for nearly a year. The Board of State Charities has been obstructed in its work because it opposed the 'ripper' legislation; and Governor Durbin is now pressing his project to abolish the boards of control of the several benevolent and penal institutions and concentrate the power in a single appointive board, the preliminary

steps having been taken by the Legislature of 1903, at his bidding, in creating a Prison Reform Board to formulate plans for the change. We oppose any such radical change in a system that has proven satisfactory, without an opportunity for full consideration by the people. The Board of Charities, created by the Democratic Legislature of 1889, has demonstrated its value by making our penal and benevolent system



Gov. Winfield Durbin

a model that has attracted approval and imitation from other States, and we demand that no action for political ends shall be allowed to impair its efficiency."

The Democratic platform then reviewed the financial history of the past twelve years, concluding: "In reality the Republican administration of State affairs has been extravagant and wasteful. Offices have been multiplied and salaries increased, the last Legislature alone having made many new offices and increased annual salaries of State house officials

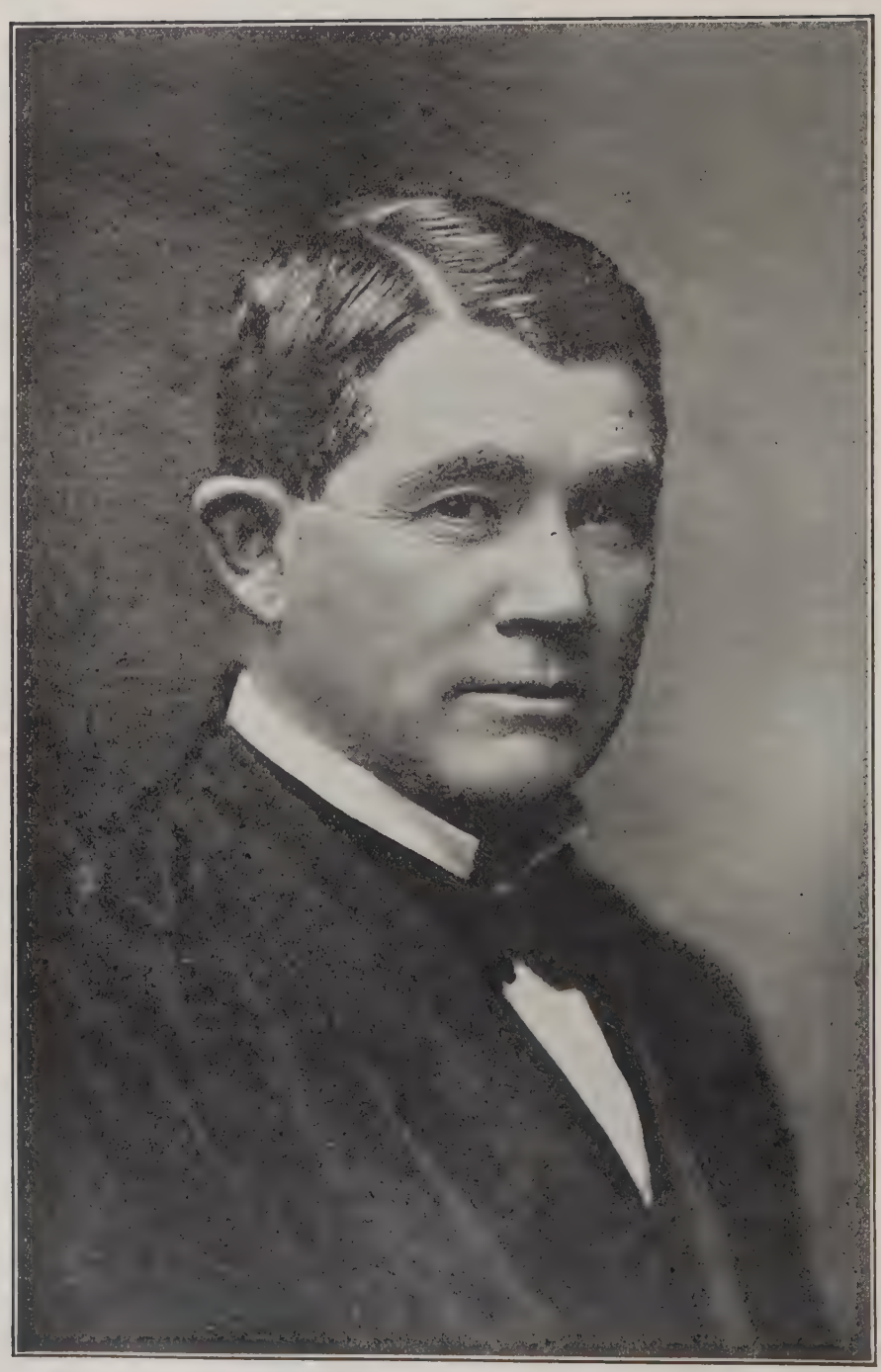
$40,000. Even the so-called economies of Governor Durbin have been costly. His refusal to allow the Health Board in 1901 to use the contagious disease fund of $50,000 provided by the Legislature for stamping out smallpox resulted in widespread infection that has cost the people thousands of dollars as well as much loss of life. While the work of several departments has been obstructed by cheese-paring methods, Governor Durbin has been liberal with himself, as shown by his taking the Soldiers' Orphans' Home Band to Jeffersonville on one of his jaunts and trying to saddle the expense of entertaining it on the State Reformatory; or as is even more clearly manifest in his recent issue at an expense of $1,575 to the State, of a railroad map of Indiana, bound in full morocco, and inscribed in gilt letters 'Compliments of Winfield T. Durbin, Governor.'" But State issues were of little consequence in Indiana in 1904. The Democrats had lost the State in 1896 and 1900, when Bryan was their candidate for President, on account of the defection of the Gold Democrats; and when Alton B. Parker was nominated in 1904, the Free Silver Democrats whetted their knives for his immolation; and Roosevelt carried the State by the unheard-of plurality of 93,934, the State offices and the legislature being thrown in for good measure. Durbin was born at Lawrenceburg, Indiana, May 4, 1847. His father, Winfield S. Durbin, came to Indiana from Kentucky when a youth, in company with his brother, John P. Durbin, the noted Methodist divine, and learned the tanners trade at Brookville, later establishing a tannery at Lawrenceburg. Young Winfield grew up at New Philadelphia, in Washington County, where he attended the common schools. He also took a course in a business college, and then went to work in his father's tanyard. In 1862 he enlisted in the Sixteenth Indiana, but was not mustered in on account of an accident. In 1863 he enlisted in the One Hundred and Thirty-Ninth Indiana, and served through the war. After the war, he resumed work as a tanner, then taught school for four years, and then put in ten years as a dry goods salesman for an Indianapolis firm. In 1879 he removed to Anderson where he engaged in banking and manufacturing. In the Spanish-American War he was commissioned Colonel of the One Hundred and Sixty-First Regiment.

Durbin's successor was J. Frank Hanly, a man of very different type. He was born in Champaign County, Illinois, April 4, 1863. His parents were very poor, and he had no school advantages, but learned to read from a History of the Civil War that had come into the possession of the family. He read it until he knew it by heart. In 1879, he walked to Williamsport, Indiana, and got employment sawing wood, for seventy-five cents a day. Later he found work on a farm, and had six

months of education in a district school. Then for eight years he taught school in the winter and worked on a farm in summer. Meanwhile he read law, and in 1889 was admitted to the bar. A gift of oratory gave him prominence as a lawyer, and introduced him into politics. He was elected to the State Senate in 1890, and to Congress in 1894. His career as Governor was stormy. With the exception of Morton, he had a more indomitable will than any other Governor of Indiana, and showed a more reckless courage in enforcing it. But he did not have an army, or a war feeling back of him, as Morton did; and he did not hesitate to assail abuses in his own party, in which he stands unique. He was a stranger to compromise or conciliation—indeed seemed so fearful of them that his antagonism was aroused by any attempt to alter a policy he had decided upon, even by reason. He undertook to govern with a club. He was an ardent temperance man, but many of the Republican leaders and legislators were not. His temperance feeling, and his forceful oratory may be seen from the following extract from one of his speeches: "I bear no malice toward those engaged in the liquor business, but I hate the traffic. I hate its every phase. I hate it for its intolerance. I hate it for its arrogance. I hate it for its hypocrisy; for its cant and craft and false pretense. I hate it for its commercialism; for its greed and avarice; for its sordid love of gain at any price. I hate it for its domination in politics; for its corrupting influence in civic affairs; for its incessant effort to debauch the suffrage of the country; for the cowards it makes of public men. I hate it for its utter disregard of law; for its ruthless trampling of the solemn compacts of state constitutions. I hate it for the load it straps to labor's back; for the palsied hands it gives to toil; for its wounds to genius; for the tragedies of its might-have-beens. I hate it for the human wrecks it has caused. I hate it for the almshouses it peoples; for the prisons it fills; for the insanity it begets; for its countless graves in potters' fields. I hate it for the mental ruin it imposes upon its victims; for its spiritual blight; for its moral degradation. I hate it for the crimes it commits; for the homes it destroys; for the hearts it breaks. I hate it for the malice it plants in the hearts of men; for its poison, for its bitterness, for the dead sea fruit with which it starves their souls. I hate it for the grief it causes womanhood—the scalding tears, the hopes deferred, the strangled aspirations, its burden of want and care. I hate it for its heartless cruelty to the aged, the infirm and the helpless; for the shadow it throws upon the lives of children; for its monstrous injustice to blameless little ones. I hate it as virtue hates vice, as truth hates error, as righteousness hates sin, as justice hates wrong, as liberty hates tyranny, as freedom hates oppression. I hate it as Abraham Lincoln

hated slavery. And as he sometimes saw in prophetic vision the end of slavery, and the coming of the time when the sun should shine and the rain should fall upon no slave in all the Republic, so I sometimes seem to see the end of this unholy traffic, the coming of the time when, if it does not wholly cease to be, it shall find no safe habitation anywhere beneath Old Glory's stainless stars."

Republican party harmony began to be strained during the legislative session of 1905; and in the fall of that year it was badly shattered, when Governor Hanly demanded the resignation of David E. Sherrick, Auditor of State, forced his return of $156,367.31 to the State Treasury, and had him indicted and convicted of embezzlement; but he was later released on reversal of the judgment for a technical defect. The Governor also forced the resignations of Adjutant General John R. Ward and Secretary of State Daniel E. Storms for irregularities in their accounts. Such vigorous treatment of party associates was unprecedented in Indiana, and caused widespread resentment in his party, which was openly shown in the legislative session of 1907. The exposures forced the passage of the Public Depository law, requiring all public officials to deposit to public credit all moneys coming into their hands "by virtue of their offices," and the interest thereon to be paid into the public treasuries. Formerly the officials had retained all interest received and were entitled to do so under the ruling of the Supreme Court. But the opposition to the Governor defeated his recommendations for insurance legislation; passed the Vincennes University claim over his veto; and defeated his proposal to increase the saloon license to $1000. He refused to issue the Vincennes bonds, as recounted elsewhere; and his course on the liquor question was even more radical. In 1895 the Nicholson Remonstrance law had been adopted, giving local option by townships and wards; and in 1905 this had been strengthened by "the Moore amendment" for blanket remonstrances. In 1908 the Anti-Saloon League forced a plank in the Republican State platform in favor of putting remonstrance on a county basis, and the Democrats declared in favor of retaining the township basis. The Republicans nominated James E. Watson for Governor, and the Democrats nominated Thomas R. Marshall. The liquor question became the chief issue of the campaign; and the report was circulated that the Republican managers had assured the liquor interests that if they were successful no change would be made. In the midst of the campaign, Governor Hanly startled the State by calling a special session of the legislature for September 18. The call specified the purpose of passing a county option law, and several minor matters; but the option law was the central feature, and it was commonly reported that the Governor had



Gov. J. Frank Hanly

given notice that if it were not passed, he would keep on calling special sessions until it was passed. It was passed by a narrow margin, through the aid of several temperance Democrats, after a spirited contest.

The result of the election of 1908 was peculiar. On the Presidential ticket Taft received 348,993 votes, and Bryan 338,262, with 18,045 for Claflin, Prohibitionist, and 13,476 for Debs, Socialist. But notwithstanding this Republican plurality of 10,731, the Democrats elected 11 of the 13 Congressmen, the joint Democratic plurality in the congressional districts being 16,334. For Governor, Marshall had a plurality of 14,809, but the only other Democratic State officers elected were Frank Hall, Lieutenant Governor, with 1,672 plurality; and Robert J. Aley, Superintendent of Public Instruction, with 762 plurality. With such results, it is hardly questionable that personal popularity was an unusually large factor in the election.

The legislature was Democratic, and a Senator was to be elected. John Worth Kern was ranked as the leading candidate. He was born at Alto, in Howard County, Indiana, December 20, 1849. His father, Dr. Jacob H. Kern, was a Virginian, who located in Indiana in 1836. John went through the common schools, attended the Normal School at Kokomo, and graduated in law at the University of Michigan in 1869. He was City Attorney of Kokomo from 1871 to 1884; Reporter of the Supreme Court from 1885 to 1889; State Senator in 1893 and 1895; and City Attorney of Indianapolis from 1897 to 1901. He had been the Democratic candidate for Governor in 1900 and 1904; received the Democratic vote for Senator in 1905; and was the National candidate for Vice President in 1908. But Kern had incurred the displeasure of the liquor interest. He had been approaching dissipation in his earlier career, but reformed absolutely. He had made a speech in the State Senate on a local option measure, in which he told the saloon men some plain truths, and they never forgave him. After a prolonged struggle, the Democratic caucus of 1909 nominated Benjamin Franklin Shively, who had represented the South Bend district in Congress for four terms, and had been the Democratic candidate for Governor in 1896. Shively was born in St. Joseph County, March 20, 1857. He attended the common schools, the Northern Indiana Normal School, and the University of Michigan. He was admitted to the bar; but taught school from 1874 to 1880, and engaged in newspaper work from 1880 to 1884. He died in Washington, March 14, 1916. Kern was elected to the Senate in 1911, and died shortly after the close of his term, on August 17, 1917, at Asheville, N. C.

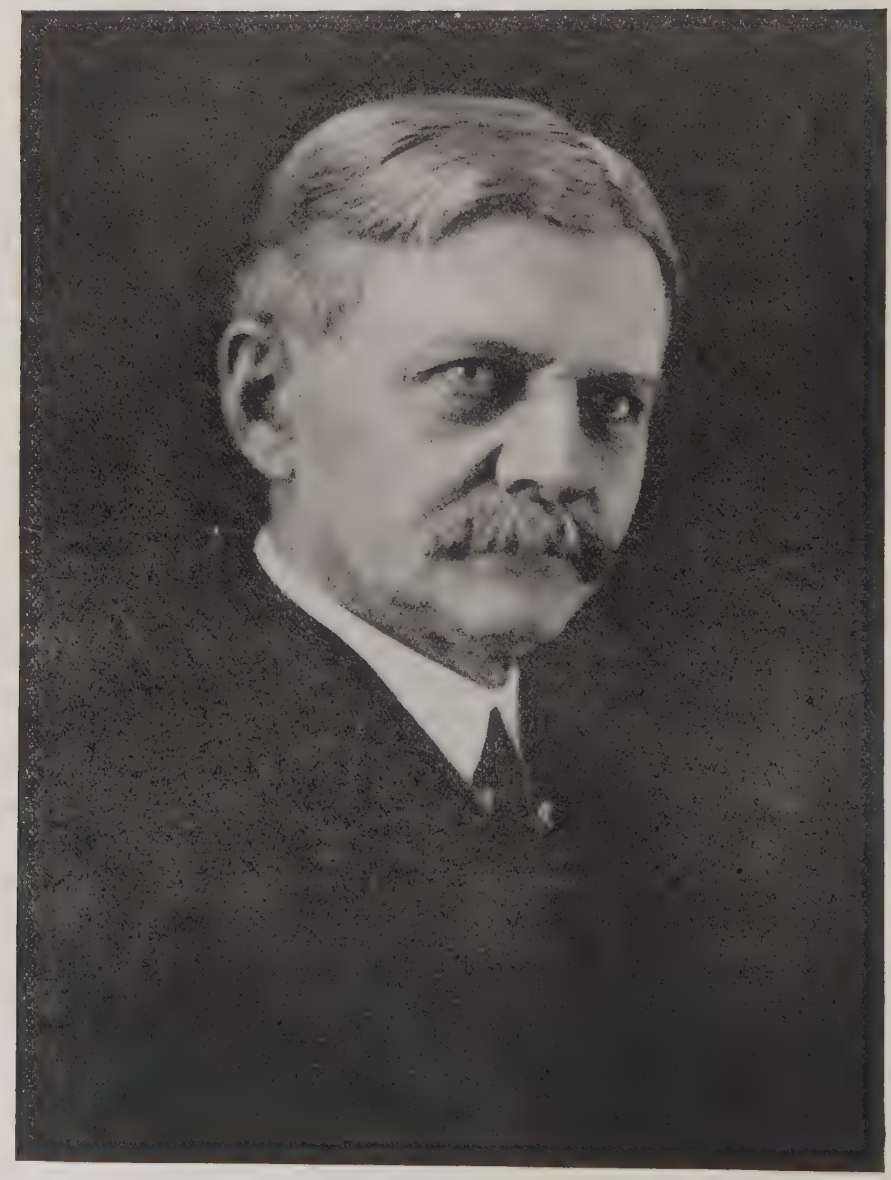
Thomas Riley Marshall was easily the ablest Democratic Governor that had been elected since Thomas A. Hendricks. He was born at

North Manchester, Indiana, March 14, 1854. He graduated at Wabash College in 1873; was given the degree of A. M. by Wabash in 1876; and has received the degree of LL. D. from half-a-dozen universities in later years. He was admitted to the practice of law in 1875, and was engaged in that profession at Columbia City until his election as Governor. The first two years of his term were quiet. He had announced his policy of non-interference with the other departments of the State government, on the ground that the constitution created three independent and co-ordinate departments of government, prescribed their duties, and provided that neither should exercise the functions of another; and this course produced a great calm as compared with the administration of his predecessor. But at the legislative session of 1911 a situation was presented that called for radical action. The Constitution of Indiana, like all other American constitutions, declares, "that all power is inherent in the people; and that all free governments are, and of right ought to be, founded on their authority, and instituted for their peace, safety and well being. For the advancement of these ends, the people have at all times an indefeasible right to alter and reform their government." But it made no provision for changing the constitution except a provision for amending by the vote of two successive legislatures, followed by the ratification of a majority of the electors of the State. It further provided that when any amendment "shall be awaiting the action of the succeeding General Assembly, or of the electors, no additional amendment or amendments shall be proposed." The Supreme Court had made the process of amendment more difficult by holding that if an amendment were submitted and not adopted by a majority of the voters at the election, but received a majority of the votes cast on the amendment, it remained "awaiting the action of the electors," and therefore no other amendment could be offered. The constitution provides that "every person of good moral character, being a voter, shall be entitled to admission to practice law in all courts of justice," and this was a thorn in the flesh of those members of the legal profession who took any pride in the standing of the profession. In 1897 they proposed an amendment authorizing the legislature to prescribe qualifications for admission to the bar, which was duly adopted by two successive legislatures. It was voted on at the elections of 1900, 1906, and 1910, but the people were so little interested in it that all the votes for and against it were less than a majority of the electors voting, though each time more voted for it than against it. Consequently it was still "pending," and blocked any other amendment.[10]

[10] The Supreme Court later changed this ruling. In Re Boswell, 179 Ind. 292.

Governor Marshall, as a lawyer, was especially interested in getting some relief for the Supreme Court, which was limited by the Constitution to five judges; and these had long been unable to handle the volume of business coming to the Court. An effort to remedy this by the creation of an intermediate Appellate Court had been made, but it appeared to make the situation worse. The Court was about two years behind, which made almost a denial of justice in some cases. He also desired a "workmen's compensation" law, which was presumably barred by the Constitution, and a provision that the State could not condemn property, except in case of necessity, without first assessing and tendering damages. More than all, he wanted some removal of the constitutional obstructions to honest elections. He decided that the Gordian knot could be cut by the legislature submitting a new constitution to the people for their adoption or rejection. Among others consulted, he asked my opinion, as I had given considerable attention to constitutional reform. The plan struck me as feasible, and he asked me to formulate the changes which I considered desirable, which I did. The Democratic legislators met in caucus, and decided to support the measure; and it was duly passed. I made the defense of it, in a series of newspaper articles—as I had previously done for the Australian Ballot law, the Tax law, and other Democratic reform measures—and these were subsequently published in pamphlet form under the title, "The Proposed Constitution of Indiana." No material attack was made on any change proposed; but a general onslaught was made on the method of change offered; and the advocates of woman's suffrage and prohibition were indignant because no provision was made for them. It is safe to say that there was considerable objection then that is regretted now by those from whom it came. One of the changes simplified the process of amendment by providing that any legislature might adopt an amendment and submit it to the people; and under this woman's suffrage and prohibition might have been submitted and voted on long since. But especially, it provided that no one should vote unless he was a citizen of the United States, and if that had been adopted we should now be spared the spectacle of alien enemies, who are debarred from military service, and who cannot go within certain distances of munition plants and other instrumentalities of war, being allowed to vote in Indiana for all officials of the State and the United States.

The proposed constitution was attacked in the courts by John T. Dye and Addison C. Harris, who had distinguished themselves by contesting other Democratic reform legislation, especially the Tax law, by an application for injunction to prevent the State Election Board from presenting the question to the voters on the ballots. The application



Gov. Thomas R. Marshall

was resisted on the ground that the right of the people to change their constitution was inherent, indefeasible and inalienable; that it was superior to any constitution, and was merely recognized by the Constitution as an inalienable right; that "the legislative authority of the State" was vested in the legislature, which was composed of "the representatives of the people," and that the legislature had the right to submit to the people any question that they thought proper. It was further urged that, on account of the constitutional division of powers, the court had no power to interfere with the process of legislation. Nobody pretended that the legislature had the power to adopt a constitution, and the proposed constitution could not have any legal effect until the people had voted for it. If they favored it, the courts could then say whether it had been legally adopted. Of course, it would have caused some trouble and expense to have a constitution apparently, but illegally, adopted; but so it does to have the legislature adopt an unconstitutional law, and yet nobody claims that the courts can intervene to prevent the passage of such a law. Judge Remster, of the Marion Circuit Court, to whom the application was made, granted the injunction. An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court, which sustained the injunction by a divided bench, Judge Charles E. Cox, a Democrat, voting with the two Republican judges. They took the same ground as Judge Remster, that "the legislative authority of the State" which was vested in the legislature was the "ordinary" legislative power, which nobody disputed, but denied the power of the legislature to submit to the people, to whom the power of "extraordinary" legislation is reserved, an opportunity to exercise their power.[11] An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States by Governor Marshall, under the provision of the national constitution: "The United States shall guaranty to every state in this union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence." The proposition was that the courts, by usurping the functions of the legislative and executive departments, had destroyed a republican form of government, and there was no remedy in the State except forcible resistance to the order of the court. The national Supreme Court dodged the question—refusing to consider it, on the ground that Governor Marshall had appealed as Governor and not as a citizen alleging personal injury—that the appeal does not charge that the acts of the court "violate rights of a personal nature."[12]

Nothing could better illustrate the absurd tangle of technicalities

[11] Ellingham vs. Dye, 178 Ind. 292.

[12] Marshall, Governor vs. Dye. 231 U. S. p. 250.

into which the courts of the United States have fallen. The guaranty of the federal constitution is not to the individual citizens of the State, but to the State; and the express provision is that the appeal shall be made by the legislative or executive departments, which alone can speak for the State. The functions of the executive were charged to be usurped, and he was one of the parties enjoined by the court from enforcing a law, which he was sworn to enforce. In place of an appeal from him in his official capacity, the U. S. court asked for one of those theoretical claims of personal damage, with which "government by injunction" has made the country familiar. For example, in this very case, Mr. Dye's allegation of personal damage was for his share of the cost of printing the question of the constitution on the ballots, which was shown to be a fraction of one cent. That sort of damage, by this ruling of the highest court of the land, is made superior to the damage of overthrowing the constitutional government of a state, by judicial decree. But this refusal to decide an important question on its merits forces the consideration of the really serious problem, what remedy have the American people for judicial usurpation? Theoretically our governments are based on "checks and balances" between the three governmental departments, but in reality there is no check on the judicial department. The judges are subject to impeachment for misbehavior, but no American would vote to convict a judge who claimed to have made a decision in good faith. Furthermore, with all our precautions for maintaining constitutions, we have put it in the power of one man to change the constitution. In this very case, the question was decided by the vote of one man, and the question whether the constitution was or was not overthrown depends wholly on the question whether that one man was right or wrong. But there have been many cases where there is no question. For example, as noted elsewhere, the Supreme Court at first decided that a local tax could not be levied in support of the common schools, and later decided exactly the opposite. Necessarily, either the Supreme Court annulled the constitution in the first decision, or we are daily annulling it now under the second decision. You can take your choice as to the time when the Supreme Court annulled the Constitution in this respect, but you cannot avoid the fact that it annulled the Constitution. What is your remedy? You can remove a judge by impeachment, or by defeating him for re-election, but that does not remove the decision. This is one of the most serious questions that the American people have yet to solve; and one that they probably will not solve until some grave crisis shall arise from it.

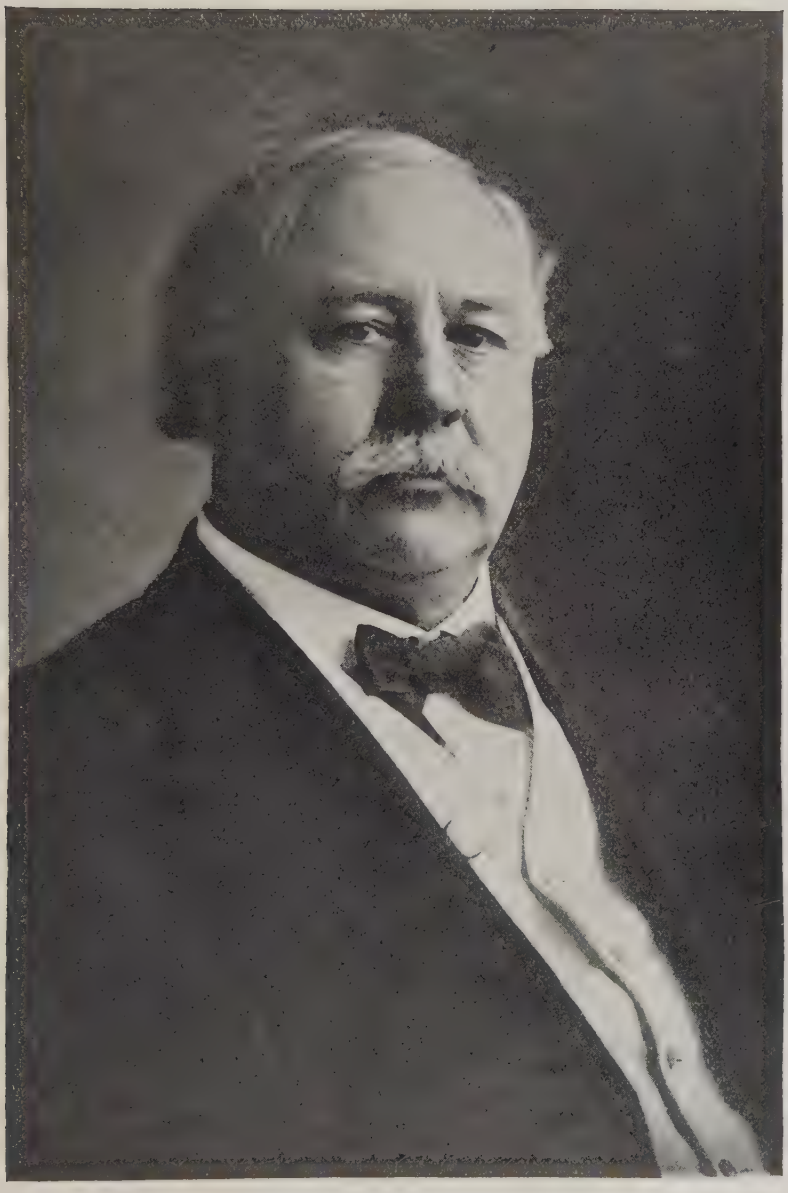
The only rational proposal for a remedy that has ever been made is Theodore Roosevelt's plan for the recall of judicial decisions on consti-

tutional questions, and it has been hooted out of sane consideration by the legal profession, who rail at the submission of intricate legal questions to tinkers and hod-carriers. And yet these same legal lights all agree that no constitution should be adopted without submitting it to a vote of these same tinkers and hod-carriers, notwithstanding the adoption of the constitution carries with it every intricate legal question that can possibly arise under its provisions. Obviously, the only thing on which the people can vote intelligently is a concrete question. In the school cases above referred to, if the legislature, or the Governor could have submitted to the people this question: "Do you mean by your Constitution that nō local school tax shall be levied in support of the common schools?" there was not a voter in Indiana who would not have understood it, and have voted intelligently. The only "intricate legal question" involved was the intricate process of reasoning from general principles by which the court reached its conclusion. The State is confronting a similar question now in the matter of prohibition. More than half-a-century ago the Supreme Court decided that a prohibition law was unconstitutional.[13] The constitution does not say a word about prohibition. The decision was deduced from enunciations of general principles. As an historical proposition, it is absolutely safe to say that the makers of the Constitution never contemplated any provision against prohibition, and the voters never dreamed of such a thing when they adopted the Constitution. It was purely a piece of judicial constitution-making by the Supreme Court, for political purposes, if there was ever such a thing in the United States—and Heaven knows there have been many such. It is as certain as anything could be that the people would have wiped the decision out either by amendment or by the election of another court, if the Civil war had not come on, and turned their attention to other matters. How simple and easy would have been the remedy of submitting to the people the question: "Do you mean by your Constitution to prevent the adoption of a prohibition law?" The most ignorant voter could understand that, although he might well be puzzled by the "intricate legal question" evolved by the Supreme Court. The American people have put themselves in voluntary slavery to their courts, and until they get rid of the absurd delusion that all judges are upright, and incorruptible, and infallible, and above partisan control, they will simply continue to suffer any indignities that the courts may choose to inflict upon them. I am not writing an essay, nor an anarchistic plea, but the sober truth of history, which has been exemplified in every state in the Union, not to mention such little events as the Dred Scott decision; and especially in Indiana, where an Attor-

[13] Beebee vs. the State, 6 Ind. p. 501.

ney General once boasted, "We have the Supreme Court"—and the boast was true. The Supreme Court of Indiana has taken the further step in control of popular will of deciding that the legislature of 1917 could not call a constitutional convention, because, forsooth, the question of a constitutional convention had been submitted to the people at the election of 1914, and they had voted 338,947 to 235,140 against it. And yet it was a notorious fact that the defeat of the proposal in 1914 was due to the work of the liquor interests, while the temperance people were not alert; and the sentiment of the people in 1916 had been clearly shown by the election of a temperance legislature, which adopted the prohibition law now under judicial scrutiny. Who dares to maintain that the people of Indiana "have at all times an indefeasible right to alter and reform their government?"

The Marshall proposal started the people of Indiana to thinking, and the realization has steadily grown that they are suffering needless ills, in gerrymanders, crooked elections, legal delay, and other matters, all on account of an antiquated constitution. It was probably very instrumental in his nomination for Vice President. The campaign of Woodrow Wilson for the Democratic nomination in 1912 was without precedent in the United States. The party leaders were against him, and he went to the people, who, especially in the West, wanted relief from the fetters of conservatism that bound them. The United States has grown something like a tree, rooted in the East, with stem and branches steadily reaching westward. It is in the latter that the signs of life are most manifest—the blossoming and fruitage—because there is the freedom of the frontier. There are the great mass of those who believe that the earth belongs to the living, and not to the dead; and that no past generation should have power to hamper the legitimate progress of the present, by absurd restrictions that have long since lost their reason for existence. Marshall was advertised from one end of the nation to the other by his proposal, which his political enemies called "the Tom Marshall constitution"; and progressive men everywhere welcomed a man who had the originality and courage to attempt any plan for getting rid of their manacles. At the Baltimore convention this record broke the force of Bryan's opposition to his nomination, on the ground that he was a "reactionary." The convention had gone through the long struggle of 46 ballots to nominate Wilson for President; and the party leaders met in consultation to agree on the most available candidate for the Vice-Presidency, but were unable to reach any approach to harmony, because there were strong movements based on the idea that it was necessary to nominate Champ Clark or Bryan to strengthen the ticket; but both of these refused to be considered, and the convention



Gov. Samuel M. Ralston

Mrs. Albion Fellows Bacon

joint authorship with her sister of a book of poems, "Songs Ysame." The literary productions of Mrs. Johnston are too numerous for separate mention. The demand for her stories for children has been so great that she is known chiefly in that line; but she has also written a number of short stories for various magazines, poetry, and novels. Of the novels, "In League With Israel" and "Asa Holmes, At the Cross Roads" have won the greatest popular approval.

Governor Ralston recommended a number of reform laws that the legislature did not reach action on in any final way; and he urged strongly the adequate celebration of the centennial of the admission of the State to the Union, by the erection of a memorial building, for the housing of the State Library, State Museum, and other agencies for the preservation of the history of the State. But the small politicians of the legislature were afraid to make an appropriation of $2,000,000 for this purpose; and the utmost that could be secured was the submission of the appropriation to a vote of the people. In the election, the appropriation was defeated, chiefly through the opposition of the Liquor League, which was fighting a constitutional convention on the ground that it would cost $500,000, and used opposition to the centennial memorial as an evidence of good faith in its pretense of economy, and as an evidence of the wild extravagance to which sentiment led. In reality there was an actual need for more room for the transaction of the business of the State; and every legislator knew it, on account of the difficulty of finding committee rooms for the use of the legislature. It was a repetition of the picayune politics that caused the State to be discommoded for years by the old State House, until we had a legislature in which the two houses were of different political majorities, and neither party had to take the responsibility of the expenditure. An attempt is now being made to remedy the lack of room by remodelling and utilizing the basement of the capitol; but this is only a temporary makeshift, and it is a certainty that additional buildings will have to be constructed within a few years. Governor Ralston did succeed however in inducing the legislature to create a non-political and non-salaried Centennial Commission of nine members, and to appropriate $25,000 for its use in promoting the general celebration of this notable epoch in the State's history, a large portion of which was to be expended in the publication of historical material desirable for the use of the entire State, and not accessible to the greater part of it. The Commission did a valuable work in promoting local celebrations and pageants which aroused a very general interest in the history of the State, and made many persons realize that it was their history, who had never grasped that fact before. The beggarly amount available for publication was well utilized by the

Members of the Indiana Historical Commission

issue of four volumes—two on "Constitution-Making in Indiana," one "Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers," and one "The Play Party." But in comparison with what other states are doing in the publication of their early records and other historical material this is so pitiable that the rising generation, which is having five years of Indiana history in the public schools, will probably blush for the penuriousness and lack of vision of the generation preceding, and set to work to put Indiana in line with other progressive states in this respect.

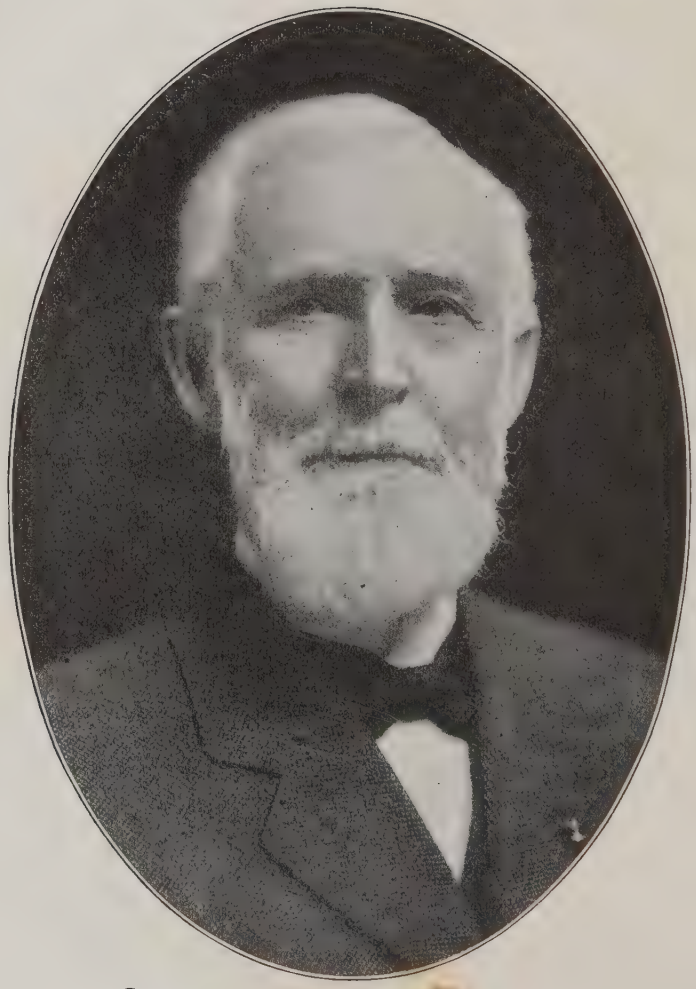
There was another project in which Governor Ralston took a leading part that might be considered sentimental by some persons, but which has an important practical side. On account of his interest in the Good Roads Movement, in the spring of 1915 he called a meeting of the Governors of seven states to consider the construction of a national highway from Chicago to Jacksonville, Florida, to be known as the Dixie Highway. This unique proposal met with universal approval, and the meeting was held at Chattanooga in April, 1915. It was attended by large delegations from all of the Ohio Valley states and Southern states east of the Mississippi, who gave strong assurances of support. Michigan announced the intention to extend the road through that state to Sault Ste. Marie. The project was realized to be one of national importance, as was the old National road from east to west; and it appears to be in a fair way to completion.

The election of 1916 was the first in many years in which international affairs had any material influence in Indiana. At that time the pro-German vote in the State was much more open in expression, and probably much stronger than after later experience with the German treatment of helpless neutral nations, and with the treasonable work of German emissaries at home. It was notorious that many Republicans and independent voters supported President Wilson, but the plurality in the State was 8,779 against him. That he received this outside support is shown conclusively by the fact that while James P. Goodrich, the Republican candidate for Governor, received 652 votes less than Mr. Hughes, his plurality was 14,609; and while the aggregate Republican vote for congressmen was only 131 more than the vote for Mr. Hughes, the aggregate Republican congressional plurality was 21,702. The heavy Democratic losses were in the strong German districts. The Democrats might have offset their loss if they had made a flat anti-German fight, but local politicians foolishly undertook to placate the Germans who were incensed against Wilson, and in consequence they lost in both directions, as they deserved to lose. It does not pay to try to carry water on both shoulders in war time. It was the realization of what had happened to them that reconciled large numbers of Democrats to the adoption of the prohibi-

Gov. James P. Goodrich

tion law by the legislature of 1917. They were of the class that were not especially interested in prohibition, but had an ambition to "get even with the Dutch." What was more important, the election opened their eyes to the impropriety of catering to a disloyal element, and did away with a quantity of namby-pamby sentiment about German "good citizenship." There is no sentimentality about the German in American politics. Like Fritzi Scheff, he "wants what he wants, when he wants it," and he goes after it, whether it be "personal liberty," or what not.

James Putnam Goodrich, the present Governor of Indiana, is a lawyer by profession, a successful business man, and a politician of conceded acumen. He was born at Winchester, Indiana, February 18, 1864, the son of John Bell Goodrich and Elizabeth Putnam (Edger) Goodrich. He was educated at De Pauw University; studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1886, practicing at Winchester and Indianapolis. He has held a prominent place in Republican politics for a number of years, having served as Chairman of the State Central Committee for eight years, and as member of the National Executive Committee. It is too soon to judge of the merits of his administration; but it may be said that he is apparently trying to introduce business principles and methods in the transaction of public business, and is meeting the opposition that always arises when that effort is made. Perhaps the most common criticism of his administration thus far is of a lack of what may be called the sentimental side—a lack of appreciation of things that go to make a State worthy of admiration outside of success in a business way—but that is a matter of which the future generation will probably be better fitted to judge than the present.



G. W. H. Kemper.

CHAPTER XIV

MEDICAL HISTORY OF INDIANA'S FIRST CENTURY

By Dr. G. W. H. Kemper

July 13, 1787, congress passed the bill known as "The Ordinance of 1787." In time, five states were formed out of the territory covered by that remarkable ordinance. From this domain, congress, on May 7, 1800, created the territory of Indiana, and prescribed certain limits for its boundary. Indiana and Illinois were embraced in this bill. In 1809 this territory was divided into the present states of Indiana and Illinois.

On December 4, 1815, a census showed that the territory of Indiana had a population of 12,112 white males of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, and a total population of 63,897. With this showing Indiana was admitted into the Union as the nineteenth state on the 11th day of December, 1816. Corydon was the capital from and after the first day of May, 1813, until January 10, 1825, when the seat of government was removed to Indianapolis.

One hundred years is a long period of time when measured by human life; it is comparatively short when applied to the age of a state. What momentous history has been recorded in the century since Indiana came into the galaxy of states!

One hundred years ago the steamboat had been on trial only a few times. There was no railroad in the United States. Morse had not conceived the telegraph, and no one dreamed of the telephone, nor a thousand other conveniences that surround us at the present day. We, at that time, were reading and writing by the light of chimney fires and tallow dips. Lucifer matches, sewing machines, reapers and the various improved farming implements of the present day were wholly unknown. The reaping hook was then in use as the common harvester, and men and women were binding sheaves to their bosoms as in the days of the Psalmist.

One hundred years ago Abraham Lincoln was only seven years old and a child of toil in the wilds of southern Indiana. Oliver P. Morton, our great war Governor was then unborn; as well as the two hundred and ten thousand four hundred and ninety-seven soldiers who went from

Indiana and followed the flag in the days of the Civil War from 1861 to 1865.

At the beginning of our state history we were dependent upon our log school houses for instruction; and yet these developed a large number of scholars and teachers.

Few of the early physicians of Indiana were college bred,—and these were from the eastern states. Prior to 1816, there was not a medical college west of the Alleghany mountains, and at that date there was only one medical journal in the United States,—"The Electric Repertory and Analytical Review," of Philadelphia. That city then was the medical Mecca of the United States. Dr. W. H. Wishard declared that from the best statistics he could obtain, that as late as 1825, not ten per cent of the physicians of Indiana were graduates of medical colleges, and not to exceed twenty-five or thirty per cent had ever attended one course of lectures.

According to Dr. L. P. Yandell, Sr., of Kentucky, the celebrated Dr. Ephraim McDowell, of Danville, Ky., was not a graduate of medicine; he attended one course of lectures in Edinburgh, Scotland, returned to Kentucky in 1793, and in 1809 performed the first operation for the removal of an ovarian tumor that had ever been attempted. In 1825 the honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine was conferred upon Dr. McDowell by the University of Maryland. When a doctor was accused of being a one course student his answer invariably would be, "So was Dr. McDowell."

The Ohio Medical College graduated its first class in 1821; this and the Transylvania, at Lexington, Ky., were the only medical colleges in the western states until 1837. In the winter of 1837-8, the first course of lectures was delivered at the medical department of the University of Louisville. Medical lectures were not given in Indiana until 1842,—at the Indiana Medical College at Laporte.

Early Domestic Medicine

Indiana passed through her days of domestic and primitive medicine. Quite often homes were remotely situated from the family physician, or he was absent on a call and the mothers learned to meet the emergencies of minor surgery, and the trifling ills of childhood. She tied up cut fingers,—applying turpentine or brown sugar to the wound, inasmuch as these articles were supposed to be "healing."

If the baby was seized with a fit, the cause was assigned to "worms," and a draught of "pink and senna" was quickly administered, bowels cleared out, and a cure wrought without alarming the neighborhood.

The camphor bottle on the shelf was ever ready for accidents and bruises; warm poultices were quickly prepared from slippery elm, or bread and milk. Mother was resourceful; truly, she is childhood's best friend,—ever ready to assist and always sympathetic.

If the doctor was absent,—in an emergency, there were men and women in every locality who could render first aid. They could bleed an injured person, or extract a tooth with the old-fashioned turnkey. In short, there were persons at hand who were accounted as handy in any crisis, and when an opportunity presented, these persons,—to use a military phrase,—assumed command, whether at a birth, a death, or a funeral; in fact, in all departures from the normal, these officious ministering angels,—male and female, were on the ground, or speedily summoned. The phrase "safety first" had not been coined at that early date. The patent medicine vender was sojourning with the innocents of that primitive day as if to remind them that they were living in a period of business and indigestion.

As time progressed, the standard of the Physician was elevated; still, he had his faults. Jealousy was the besetting sin of the old time doctor; he disliked rivals, and was given to petty quarrels. Often the neighborhoods took sides with their chosen doctor. The animosity of former days is rarely met with at the present day,—having been superseded by the spirit of altruism.

The old time family doctor is rapidly vanishing. He has been crowded out of the cities, and exists at the present day in small towns and country places. He flourished in an age when physicians did a general practice, and covered a large field. He cured a cold; treated a fever, and prescribed for acute and chronic ailments. He managed diseases of the ear, throat, and eye. He adjusted broken bones, and reduced dislocations; sewed up wounds, and extracted teeth. He waited patiently and tenderly at the bedside of the expectant mother, and cared for the ills of childhood. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes said the motto of a physician should be *semper paratus*,—always ready. Day and night the faithful country doctor responded to calls of suffering humanity.

"In the night-time or the day-time he would rally brave and well
Though the summer lark was fifing, or the frozen lances fell."

The old time doctor was loved, feared, and venerated. He knew the family secrets, and was trusted implicitly. His decisions were final, and in sickness he was the pilot. The friends of the sick watched for his coming, and they lingered to watch his departure. What anguish, what joy, what despair in his coming, and in his going!

Many of these men died in poverty, a few were comfortable in their declining years,—and still fewer died rich.

This is an age of specialism, and the medical profession has caught the spirit. There are eye, nose, and throat specialists; physicians who give their attention to internal medicine, fever specialists, those who treat the heart and lungs, those who specialize on diseases of women and children, and still others who confine their practice to surgery. If you have a diseased tooth you seek a dentist.

The practice of medicine has always been beset by imposters. If the honest practitioner informs the invalid that his case is hopeless; that he is suffering from a disease that inevitably tends to a fatal termination, he will be disposed to seek advice from one who will promise a cure. The patient wants to get well. "All that a man hath will he give for his life," and he seeks the charlatan who deals in unwarranted promises and robs his victim of his last penny.

Primitive Medical Fads

One of the early medical fads was known as Thomsoniasm, "steam doctors," etc. This system was inaugurated by an ignorant but energetic charlatan,—"Dr." Samuel Thomson, who was born in Olmstead, New Hampshire, February 9, 1767. At an early age he began to experiment with lobelia. Later he added to his stock of drugs and practice, emetics, sudorifics, capsicum, "composition powders," "number six," and hot drops. He patented his system in 1823, and sold rights in several states, while he practiced on horseback, riding through New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont, and Massachusetts. Some of his pilgrimages extended as far west as Ohio. I have one of his patent rights in my possession; printed on cheap paper, and ornamented with a spread eagle, proclaiming *E Pluribus Unum!*

My friend, Rev. E. F. Hasty, now a resident of California, presented me with the "right," and also one of Thomson's books. Dr. Hasty said, "I found these among my grandfather's papers,—Jacob Smith, who resided near Richmond, Indiana. He did not at all pretend to be a doctor, but in an early day the neighbors depended much upon him and grandmother in time of sickness; perhaps they were as good as many of the quack doctors."[1]

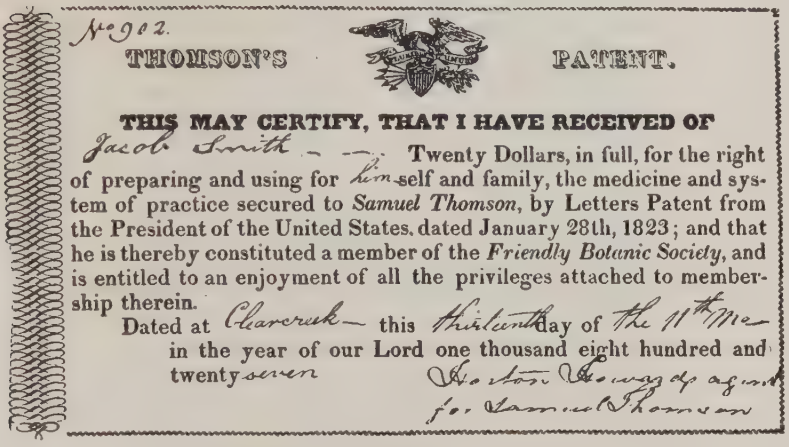
His book consists of 188 pages of fine type, and the title page reads as follows: "A narrative of the life and medical discoveries of Samuel Thomson; containing an account of his system of practice and the manner of curing disease with vegetable medicine, etc."

[1] See fac-simile of Thomson Certificate on p. 791.

This is the 3rd edition and was published at Columbus, Ohio, in 1827, by Horton Howard.

This book has the stamp of ignorance and error upon every page. Supported by the energy of Thomson, and the industry of his agents, thousands purchased it. Strange enough, he seemed to realize but little money from his patent and his book. He spent too much of his time riding on horseback among the barren hills of New England, paying court fees, and boarding in jails, to create a bank account. He lacked the shrewdness of the street faker of the present day.

Venesection, or removing blood from a vein, was a common practice



No 902.

THOMSON'S PATENT.

THIS MAY CERTIFY, THAT I HAVE RECEIVED OF Jacob Smith — — Twenty Dollars, in full, for the right of preparing and using for him-self and family, the medicine and system of practice secured to *Samuel Thomson*, by Letters Patent from the President of the United States, dated January 28th, 1823; and that he is thereby constituted a member of the *Friendly Botanic Society*, and is entitled to an enjoyment of all the privileges attached to membership therein.

Dated at Clarcrek — this thirteenth day of the 11th Mo — in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty seven

Horton Howard agent for Samuel Thomson

FACSIMILE OF THOMSON CERTIFICATE

three-quarters of a century ago. Doctors had faith in the efficacy of this remedy, and the laity as well. In my childhood days the family physician seldom came to my father's home without "bleeding" the patient. I will venture the assertion that there are practicing physicians of large experience in Indiana today who never performed this operation,—possibily, some who never saw any one else "bleed" a patient. Possibly no remedy was more popular in its day than was bleeding. So popular was venesection among the masses in those days that had one of the political parties declared in its platform for this measure, it would have served a good purpose in augmenting the vote![2]

[2] I have before me "Dewees' Practice of Physic," 2nd ed. 1833, and upon its title-page as a motto, I find this extract, "Had I *dared* to bleed freely, and especially by means of leeches, the patient might have been saved; but I was afraid of *debility*. But who is to blame!—Broussais, Phleg. Chron. Vol. 11, p. 82."

The madstone, an aluminous shale, or sometimes a small bone from the heart of a wild deer, was deemed valuable as a remedy for hydrophobia, snake-poison, and certain septic affections. Many persons formerly set great store by this worthless fraud. Quite recently a man called at my office and offered to sell me a madstone at a fabulous price.

There were a select few who could "blow the fire" out of persons who had suffered burns; and others who could arrest hemorrhage, even at a distance, by uttering certain cabalistic words. It was proper to send some member of the household to make the dog stop its howling, and thus avert a death in the family!

There are, even at the present day, persons who wear a copper wire around the waist, or carry a buckeye in the pocket to prevent rheumatism. Possibly, as a survival of the fittest specimen of superstition is the dread of many college-bred people of the present day as they approach the small-sized banquet table, until a careful count shows less or more than thirteen persons.

In my early childhood days I saw some men cut a hole through a tree and pass a delicate child through the opening, in order to cure it of a so-called "short growth."

Early Laws Regulating the Practice of Medicine

In the years 1816-1825, laws were enacted entitled, acts for the better regulation of the practice of medicine in the State of Indiana. These laws were imperfect; they arranged for the granting of charters for medical societies; they granted judicial or medical districts the power to license physicians to practice medicine by certificate, and denied the aid of the law to collect the bills of irregular practitioners.

These laws were repealed in 1830, and no laws were at that time enacted in their stead. This repeal left the citizens of Indiana without any legal protection against incompetent practitioners for a period of fifty-five years.

The next attempt to create legal enactments to guard the practice of medicine was in 1885.

Later Legislation

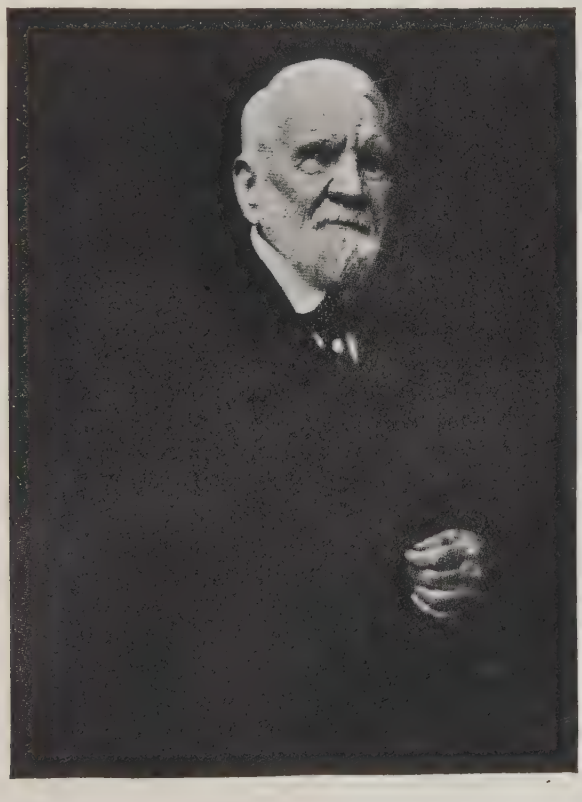
At the session of the legislature of 1885, a law was enacted designed to regulate the practice of medicine, surgery, and obstetrics in the State of Indiana. This beneficent law was opposed by the irregular practitioners and their friends in Indiana.

Laws of 1897

In 1897 the law was changed, and the act as amended provides that all physicians who had registered under the act of 1885, and had been in continuous practice in the State since that date shall be permitted to register under the new law. This law also created the

Board of Medical Registration and Examination

to which all applications for registration must be made, and whose duty



Dr. W. H. Wishard

it is to issue permits in the way of certificates setting forth that applicants have complied with the provisions of the law.

On the presentation of these certificates to the clerk of the court of the county in which the applicant lives and proposes to practice, and the payment of a proper fee, a license is issued by the clerk. Under the law of 1897, the applicant must be a graduate of a reputable medical

college, and the standard of the college is determined by the board of medical registration and examination.

The following schools of practice are represented on the Indiana state board of medical registration and examination: regular, physio-medical, homeopath, eclectic, and osteopath. At the present time (1918) this board is composed of the following named persons:

W. A. Spurgeon, president—physio-medical; J. M. Dennen, vice-president—regular; W. T. Gott, secretary—homeopath; M. S. Canfield, treasurer—eclectic; S. C. Smelser—regular; A. B. Caine—osteopath.

First Practitioners of Indiana

There were many excellent practitioners among the early physicians of Indiana. Their preliminary education, often, did not measure up to the standard of our medical men of the present day; they had a fair knowledge of the theory of medicine, and gained much from experience. Often they were distant from professional counsel, and learned to act independently. I have encountered conflicts on battlefields when, if it had not been my duty to be there and nowhere else, I should have fled; and I have met conflicts no less severe single-handed and alone, far removed from a professional help when, if I had not been a physician, I would not have remained. There is no place like the firing line for training a soldier.

Some of the physicians of the period we are considering were graduates of literary and medical colleges of eastern states. Many physicians in Vincennes, Terre Haute, Fort Wayne, Madison, New Albany, Rushville, Brookville, and Indianapolis, were known as cultured, scholarly men.

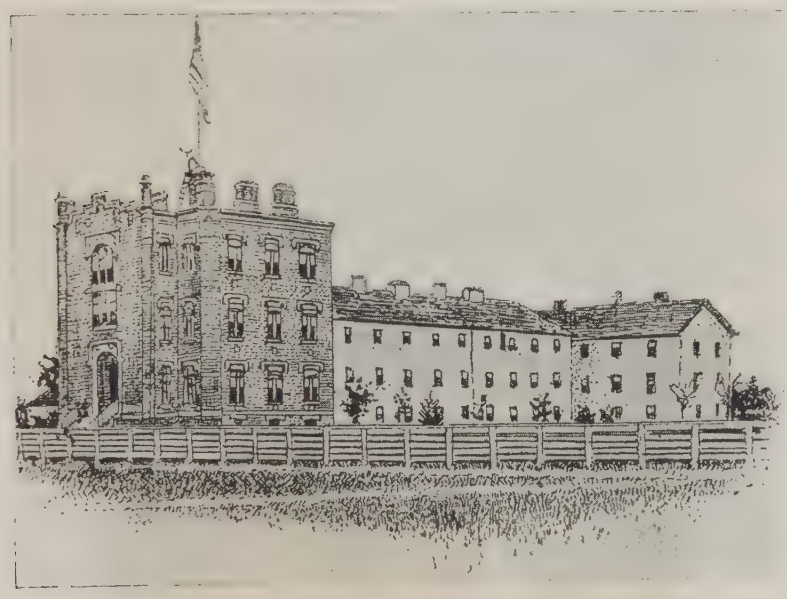
Possibly James Whitcomb Riley has unduly praised the virtues of "Doc" Sifers, and yet this character had varied attainments; was equal to most emergencies, and was a useful individual in his neighborhood. The village doctor ranked higher in intelligence than the village pettifogger.

The early doctors did not possess large libraries—perhaps not more than "five feet"—but they were close students of such books as they owned. They treated fevers, broken bones, extracted teeth, performed venesection, cared for the ills of women and children, and it may truthfully be said that they were fairly successful. There was little machinery in those days and so there were fewer extensive injuries. He was equal to the task of the minor surgery of his day.

There were competent midwives in the early days. Mrs. Brown,

mother of Prof. Ryland T. Brown, had an extensive practice in Richland Township, Rush County.

The medical men of Indiana have kept pace with the advancements of modern medicine, and have taken a high rank as practitioners, teachers and authors. The majority of the physicians of Indiana have stood as a unit for high qualifications for students and practitioners. They have been instrumental in placing upon our statute books laws that protected



Old City Hospital, Indianapolis
(From a war time photograph)

the well, and cared for the sick. While true physicians have been faithful in guarding the welfare of the masses, quacks and charlatans have striven to hinder the good work. Too often the public has been indifferent to our beneficent acts and misjudged our motives. The medical profession of Indiana has never placed a law upon the statute books of the state that was not for the welfare of the people. The charlatans never even asked for nor supported a single measure that would benefit one sick or well person!

Statistics demonstrate that within the last half of the century of our existence as a state the average of human life in this country has been lengthened to the extent of ten years. This is due to the beneficent

results of the sanitary laws of the country guarding the health of the people of the state and the nation.

The author of this paper located in Muncie, August 19, 1865. All physicians at that time were making country calls on horseback; a few were using buggies or carts in the summer season while the roads were in better condition. As the roads were improved vehicles became more

Dr. Joseph W. Marsee

common, until gradually the doctor with saddle-bags merged into the physician riding in a phaeton, and still later—as at the present day, in an automobile—a veritable evolution, as I have witnessed, from equestrianism to electricity and gasoline.

The physicians who practice in Indiana today and ride along its well constructed roads can scarcely appreciate the hardships that the early practitioners endured before our gravel roads were constructed. Visits made on errands of mercy were often attended with peril, as it was no

uncommon thing for the horse to mire in creeks and swamps. However, it was no more perilous than the upsetting of an automobile, as occasionally happens at the present day.

May I describe one of these early physicians? Dr. Levi Minshall was the second physician to locate in Delaware County, in 1829. An old citizen who remembers Dr. Minshall's first appearance in Muncie says that he came here from Dayton, Ohio, riding a very large iron-gray horse and wearing a suit of broadcloth—a circumstance that created almost a sensation among the primitive people living here at that time, as homespun jeans was the regulation apparel, and broadcloth was reserved for the rich and nobility. One of the interesting incidents of his early practice in the country when visiting the sick, was that he would ride up and down White river in the water to avoid bears and wolves that roamed about in their native freedom in the woods in the territory which now comprises Delaware County.

Some Early Diseases in Indiana

From the time that Indiana was settled until as late as in the seventies, a class of fevers usually began to prevail about the middle of July and continued until frost made its appearance. This fever was generally known as autumnal fever, also "ague," "chills and fever," "intermittent," "remittent," "malarial fever," etc. Its periodicity was peculiar. Its exacerbations occurred, commonly, daily, alternate days, or on the third day; rarely on the fourth. For a better knowledge of the cause, malaria, miasm, etc., were assigned.

An idea was prevalent that these unwelcome diseases which came to nearly every home like an unbidden guest, had their origin in the numerous swamps that gave rise to a subtle malarial poison. The theory was tenable that this effluvia arose from stagnant pools of water and hovered about, especially at night—this "night-air" thus acquired a questionable reputation. Older physicians will remember the classical phrase of the former days that "malaria loves the ground," indicating that its intensity was greatest near the earth or foul water.

The mosquito was considered harmless in those days; beyond the abstraction of a small quantity of blood, no criminality was suspected. Flies were supposed to be scavengers—possibly serving a useful purpose—until the microscope exposed their dangerous germ-laden feet and legs. An investigation showed that the stagnant pools were guilty only as they were hatching beds for mosquitoes—the real cause of the malarial poisoning. Finally, Reid and Carroll, in 1899, established the transmission of yellow fever by mosquitoes.

Dr. Daniel Drake (1785-1852), of Cincinnati, a physician of great ability in the forties made extensive journeys into the several states comprising the Mississippi valley, including Indiana, in order to investigate the various diseases of that area. In 1850 he published a work of 968 pages entitled, "On the Principal Diseases of the Mississippi Valley," in which he devotes 186 pages to the consideration of autumnal fevers. He wrote learnedly for that early period, but his writings were historical rather than scientific. He did not suspect the mosquito.

Pioneer Indiana Physicians

Dr. Hubbard Madison Smith, who lived and died at Vincennes, in "Historical Sketches of Old Vincennes," gives the following history of the early physicians of that place:

"There is little to be said of the earliest physicians located here, since no record exists giving their names or labors. It is said a Doctor Tisdale was here as early as 1792, and that Samuel McKee, Surgeon United States army, was here as early as 1800, and Doctor Scull, a little later, who was with General Harrison at the battle of Tippecanoe. Knox County history says a medical society was organized in 1817 and met again in 1819 for the last time, but no names are given of the members.

"The first medical society of Vincennes of which any authentic record exists was organized June 5, 1827, with the following named members and officers: President, Doctor E. McNamee; Secretary, Hiram Decker; Treasurer, J. Kuykendall; members, Philip Barton, J. D. Wolverton and Doctor O'Haver. Doctor James Porter was elected a member at the same meeting, paying a fee of $5.00 for a diploma.

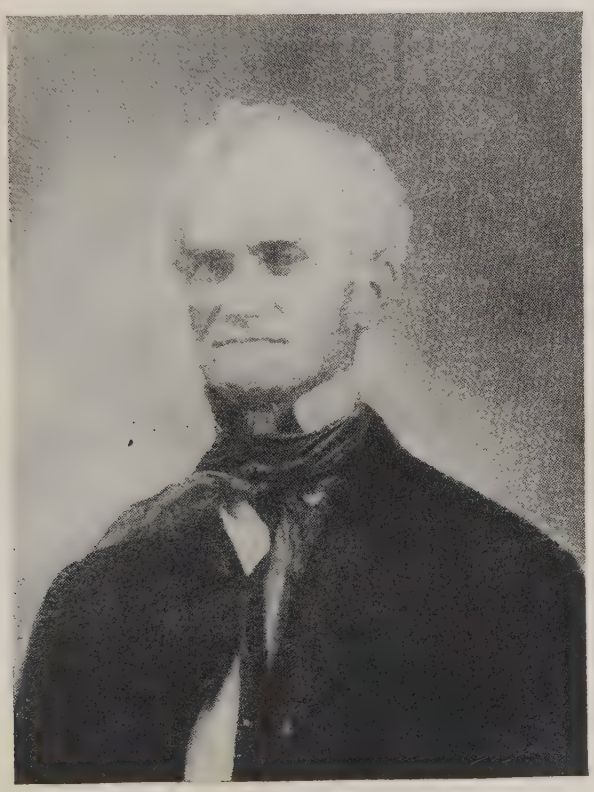
"It is presumed that the society was organized under the provisions of the charter of the Vincennes University, which permitted the conferring of the degree of doctor of medicine. The society was called 'The First District Medical Society of Indiana.' As the years went by Doctors A. Elliot and J. W. Davis became members; the latter subsequently went into politics and became a United States Minister abroad. In May, 1830, Doctors W. Dinwiddie, Joseph W. Posey, Hezekiah Holland, Pennington and Joseph Somes were admitted to membership. In November following, Doctor N. Mears joined. In May, 1831, Doctors W. W. Hitt, H. Davidson and O. G. Stewart were admitted.

"In the years following, up to 1853, there appear on the roll Doctors G. G. Barton, Thomas Nesbit, Joseph Brown, Joseph Maddox, Daniel Stahl, F. M. McJenkin, F. F. Offatt, William Warner, J. S. Sawyer, John Barry, in June, 1839; B. J. Baty, March, 1840; Alexander Leslie, November, 1843; William Fairhurst, November, 1842; John R. Mantle, November, 1844; James P. DeBruler, November, 1842; Thomas B.

Thompson, 1841; Hubbard M. Smith, May, 1849; George B. Shumard, June, 1849; R. B. Jessup February, 1854."

Dr. Henry P. Ayres [3] (1813-1887), of Fort Wayne, gives the following account of early physicians of Allen County:

Dr. Curtis was the first whose name can be definitely determined. He visited Fort Wayne in 1810 and was as much of an Indian trader as



Dr. John W. Moodey

a physician. The same year Dr. Turner, who was connected with the United States army as a surgeon, reported there for duty. In 1813, Dr. Crow and Dr. Vorees, of the United States army, reported at Fort Wayne for duty with the garrison. Dr. Treat came in 1815, and relieved Dr. Crow. Dr. Smith, from Lancaster, Ohio, located at Fort Wayne and remained one year. Dr. Uphane, of Canada, located in Fort Wayne in 1818; lived but a short time and was buried there. In 1818 or 1819, Dr. Benjamin Cushman moved to Fort Wayne and began the regular

[3] Transactions Indiana State Medical Society, 1874, p. 58.

practice of medicine and may properly be considered the first resident physician; he died about 1839. Dr. L. G. Thompson located in Fort Wayne in 1825 and was the second resident physician. He was an able and skillful physician and beloved in the community. He died in 1845.

Dr. Ezra Read (1811-1877), formerly a well-known and excellent physician of Terre Haute, says he settled in that place in 1843, and found

Dr. Ezra Read

at that date Doctors Ebenezer Daniels, Septer Patrick, Edward V. Ball, and Azel Holmes.[4]

At New Albany there were Doctors Asahel Clapp, William A. Clapp, William Cooper, Henry M. Dowling, Somerville E. Leonard, William A. Scribner, Pleasant S. Shields, William G. Sinex, and John Sloan.

Dr. William T. S. Cornett (1805-1897), of Ripley County, and Dr. Isaac Fenley, of Columbus, deserve honorable mention.

The late Dr. William H. Wishard[5] (1816-1913), of Indianapolis, men-

[4] Transactions Indiana State Medical Society, 1874, p. 45.

[5] Transactions of the Indiana State Medical Society, 1893, p. 16.

tions the names of the following physicians at Indianapolis during its first fifteen years of existence: Dr. Samuel G. Mitchell, first physician to locate, in April, 1821; Isaac Coe, Livingston Dunlap, Jonathan Cool, K. A. Scudder, W. H. Lilly, Henry Ross, Charles McDougle, John L. Mothershead, John H. Sanders, George W. Mears, who removed from Vincennes in 1834; Dr. John L. Richmond, who performed the first Cesarean section west of the Allegheny mountains, at Newtown, Ohio, April 23, 1827,[6] located at Indianapolis about 1836. During the interval between 1836 and 1846, Doctors John S. Bobbs, Charles Parry, and others located in Indianapolis.

Space will not permit the recording of but a few of the names of the very early physicians of Indiana. The reader who may desire to pursue this subject is referred to the Author's Medical History of Indiana, 1911, for an extensive list of early and later physicians of Indiana.

Dr. Dickinson Burt was the first physician to locate in Delaware County. The date is not known, but it was prior to 1829. Dr. Levi Minshall was the second, in 1829. He died at Muncie in 1836, aged 32 years.

Early Medical Practice

Dr. Joel Pennington (1799-1887), one of the pioneer physicians of Indiana and a very intelligent man, gave us an excellent sketch of the plan of treating fever patients in early days:[7] "I settled in the village of Milton, Wayne County, in October, 1825. Before commencing with the good old doctor's treatment of fever, I will quote a few lines indicating how they managed to live in those days. Lest we forget, there were good days before us; and better days ahead of us."

He says: "Soon after arriving I purchased of an old friend (Quaker) a hindquarter of beef, which cost, in the payment of a doctor bill, 2½ cents per pound. Pork was worth from $1.25 to $1.50 per one hundred pounds; corn 10 cents per bushel; potatoes, 12½ cents per bushel; turnips the same; sweet potatoes, 25 cents per bushel; wheat, 37½ cents per bushel, and all other products of the soil in proportional prices.

"When called during the fever and wild delirium, we seated the patient on the side of the bed and held him there by the aid of assistants, if necessary, opened a vein in the arm by making as large an

[6] The reader who may be interested in this remarkable case will find a full history of it in the Indianapolis Medical Journal, September, 1909, by G. W. H. Kemper, M. D., Muncie, Ind. Also Richmond Memorial Celebration, held at Newtown, Ohio, April 22, 1912. The Indianapolis Medical Journal, May, 1912, by G. W. H. Kemper, M. D.

[7] President's Address, Transactions Indiana State Medical Society, 1873, p. 11.

The Third Wesley Chapel, Built 1846
(In which the State Medical Convention of 1849 was held)

orifice as practicable, and allowed the blood to flow until his pulse became soft and less resisting, or until syncope supervened. We relied more on the effect produced than on the quantity of blood extracted, our object being to produce a decided impression upon the heart's action. Our patient being in a sitting posture and the blood escaping from a free opening, it did not require a great length of time to produce the desired effect. Often within ten or twenty minutes after faintness or sickness occurred, the subject of this mode of treatment would become bathed in a copious perspiration, and the violent fever and delirium existing a short time before would have entirely passed away. Now, if the indications seemed to require it, we directed an emetic to be given, usually composed of tartarized antimony and ipecac combined, or wine of antimony. After free emesis and the sickness had subsided, if thought necessary, we gave a brisk cathartic usually containing more or less calomel. After the *primae viae* had been well cleared, it was our practice to give opium in such doses as the case required, in order to allay all irritability of the stomach and bowels. We directed the usual febrifuges to be given if the fever should return, and these were given in such doses as required to arrest or mitigate it. We used no manner of temporizing treatment, but aimed our agents directly at the extermination of diseases.

"Under the above manner of treating a case of remittent fever it was no uncommon thing on our second visit to find our patient sitting up and feeling pretty well, except a little weak; and within a few days able to return to his ordinary avocation."

The high price of quinine hindered many of the early physicians from using it. Dr. Pennington says: "The first I used cost me at the rate of $30.00 per ounce."

The late Dr. J. W. Hervey,[8] of Indianapolis, in "Reminiscences of Western Hancock County," mentions an epidemic of congestive fever in the year 1846, and states that physicians were hindered from using this drug owing to the price. He says: "The great hindrance to the use of quinine was its cost and the scarcity of money. Quinine cost $6.00 (I think at one time $8.00) an ounce, and scarce at that. Dr. Hervey bought up a number of fat cattle, drove them to Indianapolis, sold them for $7.50 a head, and bought quinine with the money."

Epidemics

Several epidemics of various diseases have invaded our State at different periods of its history. With our present-day methods of quarantine, studies in bacteriology, antidotes, and remedies, it is not likely that we will again be invaded by any widespread epidemic of disease.

[8] Transactions Indiana State Medical Society, 1874, p. 74.

Asiatic cholera first invaded our state in Dearborn County in 1833, having been conveyed from New Orleans by steamboat. At that early period the real nature of this disease was not understood, and quarantine measures were not instituted. Remedies were futile and the well portion sought safety by escaping to uninfected districts.

In 1848-49, cholera again invaded a number of the middle states, advancing from New Orleans along the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. This was a most virulent type of the disease. Cholera of a milder type invaded Indiana in the years 1854, 1860 and 1873.

Koch discovered the cholera bacillus February 2, 1884. This discovery and quarantine have robbed cholera of its terrors.

In 1842-3 epidemic erysipelas prevailed in a number of counties in southern Indiana, and was known by a number of popular names, as "black tongue," "sore throat," "swelled head," etc. The fatality was great.

In 1843, influenza, now known as la grippe, prevailed in several portions of Indiana. It was seldom fatal, but its sequelae were numerous and often fatal.

In 1848 scarlet fever prevailed to a marked extent over southern Indiana.

From 1836 to 1856, the disease known as "Morbo Lacteo," or "milk sickness," was encountered in numerous localities. It especially affected cattle, involving both flesh and milk. The diseased cattle were subject to a species of "trembles," quite characteristic of the disease. Sucking calves were affected. Humans who partook of the milk or butter of diseased cows contracted the disease.

In some localities farmers lost portions of their stock. This led to a depreciation of farm lands in suspicious localities, and at times the innocent suffered with the unfortunate. In the human the premonitory symptoms of this disease were a remarkable feeling of lassitude, loss of appetite, headache, fever, furred tongue, and a burning sensation in the epigastric region. Later, nausea, vomiting, a low grade of fever, and obstinate constipation ensued. Sporadic cases are occasionally met with at the present day. Many physicians classed the disease as apocryphal, considering it a type of malarial fever.

Several epidemics of smallpox have occurred in portions of the state. In December, 1847, a severe epidemic occurred at Indianapolis while the legislature was in session, and several legislators were attacked. Hon. Andrew Kennedy, of Muncie, received the nomination for United States senator. He was stricken with the disease and died, and was buried at Indianapolis. The legislature adjourned precipitately, and the members who were well hurried to their homes. Mr. Kennedy died December 31, 1847.

A severe epidemic of smallpox occurred at Muncie in the autumn of 1893.[9]

Diphtheria has occurred as an epidemic in a number of places. A notable instance was at Columbus in 1896.[10]

Epidemics of dysentery were common in Indiana during the summer months of 1849,50,51, and 52. The disease was especially fatal in 1851. Shiga discovered the dysentery bacillus in 1897, since which time the disease has been more readily controlled.

The Indiana State Medical Society

February 26, 1848, "The Indianapolis Medical Society," a local organization, was established. At its first meeting the following named physicians were selected as officers: President, John H. Sanders; vice president, Livingston Dunlap; secretary, John S. Bobbs; corresponding secretary, Talbott Bullard; treasurer, John L. Mothershead; censors, George W. Mears, Charles Parry and Livingston Dunlap; members, David Funkhouser, John Nutt, Herschel V. V. Johnson, John Pleasants, James S. Harrison, John Evans, Alois D. Gall, William R. Smith, R. G. Graydon, John M. Gaston, A. G. Ruddell, Isaac Meranda and William Clinton Thompson. In May, 1849, this society issued a call for a State Medical Convention to be held at Indianapolis in June of the same year.

Pursuant to call, the State Medical Convention assembled in Wesley Chapel, at Indianapolis, on Wednesday, June 6, 1849, at 10 o'clock A. M. An organization was effected by electing John H. Sanders president, and John S. Bobbs secretary. This session was termed "Convention." At the session of 1850, the organization was permanently named "State Medical Society," and was known by this name until 1904, when the name "Association" was substituted for Society.[11] This change was made in order to harmonize with the various state organizations and the American Medical Association. The proceedings of the several sessions from 1849 to 1907 were printed in pamphlet form termed Transactions, until 1873, and beginning with 1874 were bound in muslin and issued to the members. The transactions were discontinued in 1907.

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[9] Dr. Hugh A. Cowring, at that time county health officer, prepared an interesting and elaborate account of this epidemic. W. B. Burford, Indianapolis, 1894.

[10] Personal observations in 190 cases. Dr. George T. MacCoy, Health officer of Columbus, Transactions Indiana State Medical Society, 1897, p. 54. Also Ib. 1898 (Supplemental), p. 350. Also on same epidemic, Dr. G. M. Voris, Columbus. Trans. for 1897, p. 66. These reports and the discussions are quite valuable.—K.

[11] Considerable discussion has been indulged over the question as to who was the president of the first session of the "state society." This is easily disposed of. John H. Sanders was president of the convention in 1849, and William T. S. Cornett president of the society in 1850.

With January, 1908, the transactions gave place to the first number of the Journal of the Indiana State Medical Association. This journal is mailed regularly to members of the association.

Unfortunately, only a few complete files of the transactions are in existence.[12]

In these pamphlets and volumes—fifty-eight in number—is a treasure of medical literature that the present and coming generations of medical men will do well to care for tenderly. They reach back to a period antedating our state medical journals, and so far as I can determine, the transactions were the first medical publications in bound form issued in Indiana.[13]

The pamphlet proceedings of the convention of 1849 consist of fourteen pages. It gives the names of eighty-four physicians. I am in doubt whether the eighty-four were all present or only a portion of them, while the remainder sent credentials.

It was common in those days to give simply the initial letter of the first name, but I have been able to supply the full name of all save one. Two names—probably in a rush—were bunched, as "Farquhar and Henkle, of Wabash." Neither of these physicians resided at Wabash. Farquhar (Uriah) lived and died at Logansport. After due diligence I have been unable to locate "Dr. Henkle." The witnesses are all dead; possibly it may be a typographical error.

I think the publication of these names at this time is proper as showing a list of representative, progressive physicians who lived when Indiana was yet young:

Allen, Joseph, Crawfordsville; Ardery, Joseph C., Decatur County; Armington, John L., Greensburg; Athon, James S., Charleston; Ballard, Chester G., Waveland; Bobbs, John S., Indianapolis; Boyd, John M., Thorntown; Brower, Jeremiah H., Lawrenceburg; Bullard, Talbott, Indianapolis; Byers, William J., Frankfort; Clapp, Asahel, New Albany; Clapp, William A., New Albany; Collum, William F., Jeffersonville; Conn, Richard B., Ripley County; Cooper, William, New Albany; Corn-

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[12] A complete set of the transactions can be consulted at the Indianapolis City Library. They contain many valuable articles, medical, surgical, scientific, historical, etc. In January, 1915, the author of this paper published a complete index of the transactions from 1849 to 1907, inclusive; combined with this index is an alphabetical list of contributors to the transactions from 1849 to 1907. This pamphlet contains the names of four hundred and eighty-one (481) physicians, and the titles of twelve hundred and two (1202) articles.

[13] I have in my possession a small volume of 182 pages, printed at Connersville in 1845, for Dr. Buell Eastman, a physician who resided only a few years in that place (possibly 1844 to 1846). So far as I have been able to determine, this is the first medical book printed in Indiana. It is entitled: "Practical Treatise on Diseases Peculiar to Women and Girls." It appeals to the laity, and, strictly speaking, is not a professional work.

PRACTICAL TREATISE

ON DISEASES

PECULIAR TO WOMEN AND GIRLS:

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN ECLECTIC SYSTEM OF MIDWIFERY.

ALSO.

THE TREATMENT OF THE DISEASES OF CHILDREN,
AND THE REMEDIES USED IN THE
CURE OF DISEASES:

PARTICULARLY ADAPTED TO THE USE OF

HEADS OF FAMILIES AND MIDWIVES.

BY BUELL EASTMAN, M. D.
PRESIDENT OF THE ENDERMIC SOCIETY OF MEDICINE, AND SENIOR MEMBER OF THE
MEDICAL SOCIETY OF CINCINNATI.

Second Edition.

CONNERSVILLE:
1845.

(Facsimile Title Page of First Indiana Medical Book)

ett, William T. S., Ripley County; Cowgill, Tarvin W., Greencastle; Curran, Robert, Indianapolis; Davidson, William, Madison; Dowling, Henry M., New Albany; Dunlap, Livingston, Indianapolis; Eldridge, Albert, Dearborn County; Farquhar, Uriah, Logansport; Fenley, Isaac, Columbus; Florer, Thomas W., Alamo; Foster, William C., Sr., Bloomington; Francis, James K., Ripley County; Fry, Thomas W., Crawfordsville; Funkhouser, David, Indianapolis; Gall, Alois D., Indianapolis; Gaston, John M., Indianapolis; Gordon, Jonathan W., Dearborn County; Hamil, Robert C., Bloomington; Harding, Myron H., Lawrenceburg; Harrison, James S., Indianapolis; Helm, Jefferson, Rushville; Henkle, ————, Wabash; Hinman, Homer T., Columbus; Hitt, Washington Willis, Vincennes; Holcomb, John B., Madison; Huggins George M., Darlington; Hunt, Andrew M., Indianapolis; Hunt, Franklin W., Laporte; Hunt, John, Madison County; Hutchinson, David, Mooresville; Jameson, Patrick H., Indianapolis; Johnson, H. V. V., Broad Ripple; Johnson, Nathan, Cambridge City; Judkins, Stanton, New Garden, Wayne County; Kersey, Vierling, Milton; Leonard, Somervell E., New Albany; Lewis, John, Ripley County; Mahan, Oliver P., Crawfordsville; Maxwell, James D., Bloomington; Mears George W., Indianapolis; Moodey, John W., Greensburg; Mothershead, John L., Indianapolis; Mullen, Alexander J., Napoleon; Mullen, Bernard Francis, Napoleon; Mullen, John William, Madison; New, George W., Greensburg; Nutt, John, Marion County; Parry, Charles, Indianapolis; Patterson, R. J., Indianapolis; Pegg, Jesse A., New Garden; Preston, Albert G., Greencastle; Ramsey, C. S., Indianapolis; Rodgers, Joseph H. D., Madison; Ryan, Townsend, Anderson; Sanders, John H., Indianapolis; Scribner, William A., New Albany; Shields, Pleasant S., New Albany; Sinex, William G., New Albany; Sloan, John, New Albany; Smith, William R., Cumberland; Talbott, Hiram E., Greencastle; Taylor, W. H., Dearborn County; Thompson, W. Clinton, Indianapolis; Tichnor, James, Crawfordsville; Wallace, Charles, Belleville; Weldon, Samuel J., Covington; White, William, Prairieville, Clinton County; Wiley, John Hezekiah, Richmond; Wishard, William H., Johnson County; total, 84.

Presidents of the Indiana State Medical Society and Association

Medical Convention—1849, *Livingston Dunlap, Indianapolis.

Medical Society—1849-1850, *William T. S. Cornett, Versailles; 1850-1851, *Asahel Clapp, New Albany; 1851-1852, *George W. Mears, Indianapolis; 1852-1853, *Jeremiah H. Brower, Lawrenceburg; 1853-1854, *Elizur H. Deming, Lafayette; 1854-1855, *Madison J. Bray, Evansville; 1855-1856, *William Lomax, Marion; 1856-1857, *Daniel Meeker, Laporte; 1857-1858, *Talbott Bullard, Indianapolis; 1858-1859, *Nathan

* Dead.

Johnson, Cambridge City; 1859-1860, *David Hutchinson, Mooresville; 1860-1861, *Benjamin S. Woodworth, Fort Wayne; 1861-1862, *Theophilus Parvin, Indianapolis; 1862-1863, *James F. Hibberd, Richmond; 1863-1864, *John Sloan, New Albany; 1864, *John Moffet (acting), Rushville; 1864, *Samuel M. Linton, Columbus; 1865, *Myron H. Harding, Lawrenceburg; 1865-1866, *Wilson Lockhart (acting), Danville; 1866-1867, *Vierling Kersey, Richmond; 1867-1868, *John S. Bobbs, Indianapolis; 1868-1869, *Nathaniel Field, Jeffersonville; 1869-1870, *George Sutton, Aurora; 1870-1871, *Robert N. Todd, Indianapolis; 1871-1872,*Henry P. Ayres, Fort Wayne; 1872-1873, *Joel Pennington, Milton; 1873-1874, *Isaac Casselberry, Evansville; 1873-1874, *Wilson Hobbs, Knightstown; 1874-1875, *Richard E. Haughton, Richmond; 1875-1876, *John H. Helm, Peru; 1876-1877, *Samuel S. Boyd, Dublin; 1877-1878, *Luther D. Waterman, Indianapolis; 1878‡, *Louis Humphreys, South Bend; 1878-1879, *Benjamin Newland (acting), Bedford (V.-P.); 1879-1880, *Jacob R. Weist, Richmond; 1880-1881, *Thomas B. Harvey, Indianapolis; 1881-1882, *Marshall Sexton, Rushville; 1882-1883, *William H. Bell, Logansport; 1883-1884, *Samuel E. Munford, Princeton; 1884-1885, *James H. Woodburn, Indianapolis; 1885-1886, *James S. Gregg, Fort Wayne; 1886-1887, General W. H. Kemper, Muncie; 1887-1888, *Samuel H. Charlton, Seymour; 1888-1889, *William H. Wishard, Indianapolis; 1889-1890, *James D. Gatch, Lawrenceburg; 1890-1891, *Gonsolvo C. Smythe, Greencastle; 1891-1892, Edwin Walker, Evansville; 1892-1893, George F. Beasley, Lafayette; 1893-1894, *Charles A. Daugherty, South Bend; 1894-1895, *Elijah S. Elder, Indianapolis; 1894-1895, Charles S. Bond (acting), Richmond; 1895-1896, Miles F. Porter, Fort Wayne; 1895-1896, *James H. Ford, Wabash; 1897-1898, William N. Wishard, Indianapolis; 1898-1899, John C. Sexton, Rushville; 1899-1900, *Walter Schell, Terre Haute; 1900-1901, George W. McCaskey, Fort Wayne; 1901-1902, Alembert W. Brayton, Indianapolis; 1902-1903, John B. Berteling, South Bend.

Medical Association—1903-1904, Jonas Stewart, Anderson; 1904-1905, George T. MacCoy, Columbus; 1905-1906, *George H. Grant, Richmond; 1906-1907, *George J. Cook, Indianapolis; 1907-1908, David C. Peyton, Jeffersonville; 1908-1909, *George D. Kahlo, French Lick; 1909-1910, Thomas C. Kennedy, Shelbyville; 1910-1911, Frederick C. Heath, Indianapolis; 1911-1912, William F. Howat, Hammond; 1912-1913, Albert C. Kimberlin, Indianapolis; 1913-1914, John P. Salb, Jasper; 1914-1915, Frank B. Wynn, Indianapolis; 1915-1916, George F. Keiper, Lafayette; 1916-1917, John H. Oliver, Indianapolis; 1917-1918, Joseph Rilus Eastman, Indianapolis.

* Dead.

‡ Resigned.

Long Hospital

Presidents of the American Medical Association from Indiana—1879, *Theophilus Parvin; 1894, *James F. Hibberd.

Medical Colleges

The legislature of the territory of Indiana granted a charter for the Vincennes University in 1807, with the privilege of uniting a medical department with law and theology, but the medical department was never organized.

In 1842 the Indiana Medical College of Laporte was established and continued until 1850. The regular course consisted of sixteen weeks. The faculty was as follows: Daniel Meeker, anatomy and surgery; Franklin Hunt, materia medica and botany; Jacob P. Andrew, obstetrics and diseases of women and children; Gustavus A. Rose, theory and practice; John B. Niles, chemistry. At this session there were thirty matriculates and one graduate.

At the several sessions of this institution there were a number of distinguished men besides those named who filled medical and surgical chairs: Azariah B. Shipman, Elizur H. Deming, Tompkins Higday, J. Adams Allen, Ryland T. Brown, and others.

Many of the graduates of this school in time became prominent practitioners. A few may be named: John Evans, at one time superintendent of the Indiana Insane Asylum and later a lecturer in Rush Medical College, and the founder of Evanston, Illinois; Louis Humphrey, South Bend; William Lomax, Marion; William H. Wishard, Indianapolis; S. S. Todd, of Kansas City, professor of theory and practice in Kansas City Medical College.

In the fall of 1849 the Indiana Medical College, located at Indianapolis, held its first session. This school was a branch of Asbury (now Depauw) University, at Greencastle, the trustees of which acted in the same capacity to the college. The professors who were elected to the various chairs were: John S. Bobbs, Indianapolis, anatomy; Alvah H. Baker, Cincinnati, surgery; Livingston Dunlap, Indianapolis, theory and practice; Charles Downey, Greencastle, chemistry; James Harrison, Indianapolis, materia medica and therapeutics.

During the session of 1849-50, forty students were in attendance, among whom were John A. Comingor and Robert N. Todd. Later these two men arose to eminence as medical professors in Indianapolis schools of medicine.

In the summer of 1850, the medical school of Laporte having sus-

* Dead.

pended, two who were engaged in teaching there were elected to chairs in the Indiana Central Medical College—Doctor Deming to the newly formed chair of institutes of medicine and general pathology, and Doctor Meeker to fill the chair of anatomy. Dr Baker having resigned the chair of surgery, Dr. Bobbs was elected to fill that vacancy.

The last session of this school was held in 1851-2, at which time, owing to some disagreement among the faculty and trustees, the school was disbanded. From that date until the fall of 1869, Indianapolis was without a medical college.

In the early part of 1869 the Academy of Medicine, at Indianapolis, appointed a committee to select a faculty for the Indiana Medical College, with the following result: J. S. Bobbs, principles of surgery; J. A. Comingor, orthopedic surgery and surgical pathology; R. N. Todd, practice of medicine; T. B. Harvey, diseases of women and children; W. B. Fletcher, physiology; R. T. Brown, chemistry; Dougan Clark, materia medica; G. W. Mears, obstetrics; L. D. Waterman, anatomy. The college met with a severe loss in the death of Dr. Bobbs, which occurred on May 1, 1870, and required a readjustment of the faculty. Of the men named above, all are dead.

Space will not permit an enumeration of the several medical colleges which have arisen, and run their course in the state since 1871.

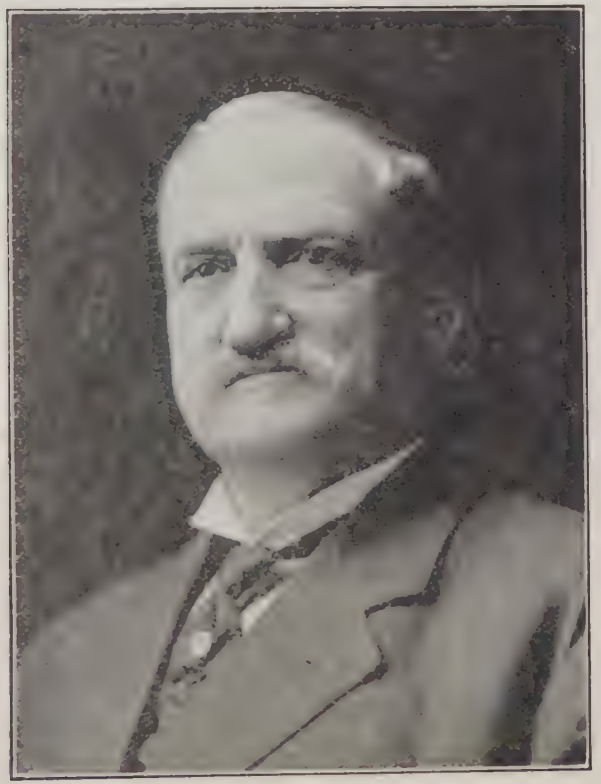
In September, 1905, the Medical College of Indiana, the Central College of Physicians and Surgeons, and the Fort Wayne College of Medicine merged under the name, The Indiana Medical College—the school of medicine of Purdue University.

In the summer of 1907 the Indiana University School of Medicine and the State College of Physicians and Surgeons united under the name and style of the Indiana University School of Medicine.

In April, 1908, negotiations were completed whereby the Indiana Medical College should be united with the Indiana University School of Medicine, under the name of the latter.

On February 26, 1909, an act was passed by the legislature of Indiana authorizing the trustees of Indiana University to conduct a medical school in Marion County, Indiana; to receive gifts of real estate and other property in behalf of the State of Indiana for the maintenance of medical education in said county, and declaring an emergency.

In October, 1910, Dr. Robert W. Long, of Indianapolis, began negotiations with the president of the University, whereby Dr. Robert W. Long and Clara Long, his wife, proposed to donate certain properties in the City of Indianapolis,the estimated value of which was $200,000, for the purpose of establishing a State Hospital, under the control of the University. This princely gift was accepted by an act of the following



Dr. Robert W. Long

Mrs. Robert W. Long

legislature. Doctor and Mrs. Long afterward conveyed to the State of Indiana for the use and benefit of Indiana University School of Medicine this property. The magnificent hospital has been constructed, and is now serving humanity.

Subsequently, Doctor Long made additional gifts amounting to the sum approximately of fifty thousand dollars ($50,000), and he has provided in his will for the residue of his estate to go for the use and maintenance of this hospital.

After the several schools of medicine had been merged into the Indiana University School of Medicine, and all necessary legal enactments consummated, Charles Phillips Emerson, A. B., M. D., was made dean of the school of medicine.

The officers and faculty of the medical department at Bloomington and at Indianapolis are teachers and instructors of the highest order, and our school of medicine compares most favorably with the high class institutions of other states.

Medical Journals

Dr. Theophilus Parvin was the first of our Indiana physicians to enter medical journalism. His scholarly attainments particularly fitted him for the work. In 1866 he began the publication of the Western Journal of Medicine, at Cincinnati. It might properly be classed with the Indiana journals. In 1870 this journal was transferred to Indianapolis, and the name changed to Indiana Journal of Medicine. In 1882 the name was changed to Indiana Medical Journal. This name continued to 1908.

Dr. Alembert W. Brayton deserves especial praise for his efforts to advance medical journalism in Indiana. For many years he edited the Transactions of the Indiana State Medical Society, and for a number of years has been on the editorial staff of several of the Indiana journals.

Dr. Thaddeus M. Stevens, of Indianapolis, was editor of the Indiana Medical Journal for several years, and discharged his duties in a creditable manner.

Doctors Frank C. Ferguson, Samuel E. Earp, and R. French Stone, all of Indianapolis, have labored efficiently in editorial work bestowed upon several medical journals.

In June, 1898, The Medical and Surgical Monitor was first issued at Indianapolis—Dr. S. E. Earp, editor.

The Central States Medical Magazine, for a short time published at Anderson, and edited by Dr. Samuel C. Norris, of that city, merged with the Medical and Surgical Monitor in November, 1905. The union of these journals took the name of the Central States Medical Monitor, with

Dr. S. E. Earp editor, and Dr. S. E. Norris and Dr. Simon P. Scherer, associate editors.

January, 1909, The Indiana Medical Journal, edited by Dr. A. W. Brayton, merged with the Central States Medical Monitor, and assumed the name, The Indianapolis Medical Journal, with Dr. S. E. Earp, editor-in-chief, Dr. A. W. Brayton, editor, and Dr. S. P. Scherer and Dr. S. C. Norris, associate editors. This is an independent medical journal and the editors are assisted by a number of Indiana physicians, who serve as collaborators: Charles P. Emerson, M. D., Indianapolis; Curran Pope, M. D., Louisville, Ky.; John C. Sexton, M. D., Rushville, Ind.; N. E. Aronstam, M. D., Detroit, Mich.; M. N. Hadley, M. D., Indianapolis; Thomas B. Eastman, M. D., Indianapolis; Charles R. Sowder, M. D., Indianapolis; Charles S. Houghland, M. D., Milroy, Ind.; C. R. Strickland, Indianapolis; F. F. Hutchins, M. D., Indianapolis; Leslie H. Maxwell, M. D., Indianapolis; George L. Servoss, Reno, Nev.; Frank Crockett, Lafayette, Ind.; E. D. Clark, M. D., Indianapolis; F. B. Wynn, M. D., Indianapolis; E. B. Mumford, M. D., Indianapolis; J. N. Hurty, M. D., Indianapolis; Goethe Link, M. D., Indianapolis; Ralcy Husted Bell, M. D., New York City; Joseph Rilus Eastman, M. D., Indianapolis; John F. Barnhill, M. D., Indianapolis; Thomas Kennedy, M. D., Indianapolis; Bernard Erdman, M. D., Indianapolis; J. W. Wainwright, M. D., New York City; W. H. Foreman, M. D., Indianapolis; R. O. McAlexander, M. D., Indianapolis; J. O. Stillson, M. D., Indianapolis; W. W. Kahn, M. D., Detroit, Mich.; *W. W. Vinnedge, M. D., Lafayette; Paul Coble, M. D., Indianapolis; G. W. H. Kemper, M. D., Muncie, Ind.

Prior to 1892, for a number of years, Dr. Christian B. Stemen published a small medical journal at Fort Wayne, known as the Journal of the Medical Sciences. This appeared at irregular intervals.

In 1892 the Fort Wayne Medical Magazine was established in that city with Dr. Albert E. Bulson, Jr., as editor, and with an associate staff composed of Drs. Miles F. Porter, George W. McCaskey, Maurice I. Rosenthal, Budd Van Sweringen, and Kent K. Wheelock. Beginning with January, 1897, the Fort Wayne Medical Magazine absorbed the Journal of the Medical Sciences, published by Doctor Stemen, and thereafter the periodical was known as the Fort Wayne Medical Journal-Magazine, with Doctor Bulson as editor, and with Doctor Stemen added to the editorial staff. Within two or three years the editorial staff and owners had, through resignations, been reduced to three men, namely, Doctors Miles F. Porter, George W. McCaskey and Albert E. Bulson, Jr. These three men continued the periodical up to and including December, 1907, when

* Dead.

the Fort Wayne Medical Journal-Magazine ceased to exist in name and merged its identity with The Journal of the Indiana State Medical Association.

At the session of the State Medical Society held at Richmond, in 1907, a resolution was adopted, instructing the council to take necessary steps to abolish the yearly Transactions which had been the custom from 1849 to 1907, and substitute a monthly medical journal. In accordance with this resolution the first number of The Journal of the Indiana State Medical Association was issued January 15, 1908, at Fort Wayne. Dr. Albert E. Bulson, Jr., was selected as editor and manager.

This journal has proved highly satisfactory to the profession of the state, and has taken a rank with the best medical journals of the country. Dr. Bulson is to be complimented for the able manner in which he has conducted the journal. The high tone of professional character; freedom from mercenary motives and charlatanism, combined with its dignified and classical editorials, eminently commend this monthly visitor to the profession of the state.

Women Physicians

While untrained midwives were common in the early days of Indiana, professional female nurses and female physicians were unknown until a much later period. After the medical colleges permitted women to matriculate and graduate, they took high rank with their professional brothers.

I think it is proper to mention a few names of women physicians in order to show their honorable attainments. I wish I could publish the names of all who are practicing in the state, as an honor roll, but cannot. I am sure that those whose names are omitted will pardon me.

Dr. Rose Alexander Bowers, Michigan City, has rendered good service in psychiatry. Dr. Laura Carter, Shelbyville, is specializing in gynecology. Dr. Etta Charles, Alexandria, has done efficient work as a general practitioner at Summitville, and in Madison County, one of our most efficient county secretaries, Dr. Maria Allen Jessup, Canby, has practiced for a number of years in her native town, specializing in obstetrics. Dr. Marie Kast, Indianapolis, is employed as anesthetist in the Methodist Episcopal Hospital. Dr. Amelia Keller, Indianapolis, has practiced in that city, and is associate professor of pediatrics in Indiana University School of Medicine. Dr. Jane Merrill Ketcham, Indianapolis, has rendered efficient service in a number of stations, and is clinical associate in medicine in Indiana University School of Medicine. Dr. Adah McMahon, Lafayette, is in general practice and obstetrics. Dr. Lillian B.

Mueller, Indianapolis, is anesthetist at the Methodist Episcopal Hospital. Dr. Nettie B. Powell, Marion, is a successful practitioner and city health officer. Dr. Mary Thayer Ritter, Angola, is in general practice and gynecology; also secretary Steuben County Medical Society. Dr. Anna T. McKamy, New Albany, is a general practitioner, specializing in ob-

Dr. Helene Knabe

stetrics. Dr. Ada E. Schweitzer, Indianapolis, is a specialist in nervous and mental diseases and assistant bacteriologist in the State Laboratory of Hygiene. She is author of a number of papers on scientific subjects. Dr. Kenosha Sessions, Indianapolis, has had experience in children's hospitals, girls' schools and is physician to women at Southern Hospital for the Insane at Evansville. Dr. Mary Angela Spink, Indianapolis, with Dr. W. B. Fletcher, established the Fletcher Sanatorium in 1888, and after his death became superintendent of that institution. At this time she is president. Dr. Alice B. Williams, Columbia City, is a practi-

tioner of general medicine. Dr. Urbane Spink, Indianapolis, has been efficient at the Fletcher Sanatorium. Dr. Sarah Stockton was one of the first women to practice medicine in Indianapolis. For several years past she has been an associate physician at the Central Hospital for the Insane. Dr. Doris Meister, of Anderson, and Dr. Harriet Wiley, of Portland, have been faithful workers in the ranks.

Death List

A number of faithful women physicians are contained in this list: Dr. Helene Elise Hermine Knabe, Indianapolis; Dr. Rebecca Rogers George, Indianapolis; Dr. Mary Widdop, Longcliffe; Dr. Harriet E. Turner, Indianapolis; Dr. Martha E. Keller, Indianapolis; Dr. Sarah F. Stockwell, South Bend.

Indiana Nurses

The Crimean war raged from 1853 to 1856, and Florence Nightingale accompanied the British soldiers as the first female nurse. The names of the several generals who commanded those vast bodies of troops have left our memories, but we treasure the name of Florence Nightingale. The wounded and dying soldiers in that Crimean hospital who turned upon beds to kiss the shadow of saintly Florence Nightingale as it fell upon them, have told us that to them it was a holy shadow. On April 29, 1905, it was my privilege to walk by the graves of these soldiers in the English cemetery at Scutari, Constantinople, and with uncovered head I recalled the deeds of this good nurse.

In 1859 Florence Nightingale first published her work, "Notes on Nursing." This work was a gospel call to women, reminding them that they should share the toils of the sick room and the hospital with the physician and surgeon.

In my army experience of three years in the Civil war, I never saw but two women upon a battlefield. At the closing hours of the battle of Farmington, Tennessee, October 7, 1863, I saw two women from the village come upon the field with a bucket of water and two tin cups, and give a drink to wounded Union and Confederate soldiers alike. It was a rare opportunity for giving the "cup of cold water."

During the Civil war Miss Catharine Merrill was a lone nurse from Indiana. A writer in the Indianapolis News, November 1, 1916, pays the following tribute to her memory: "A comrade said to another: 'Captain, what of all you saw in the war will stay with you the longest?' He was silent for a moment and then replied: 'There was a lovely lady who left

her home of comfort and refinement and came to the army in the field. The day I was carried into the hospital I saw her, basin and towel in hand, going from cot to cot, washing the feet of the sick, the wounded and the dying, gently preparing the tired boys for that long journey from which none ever returns. The act was done with such gracious humility, as if it were a privilege, that I turned my head away with my eyes filled with tears, and I say to you now that after all other earthly scenes have vanished this, on which a radiance from heaven fell, will abide forever.' ''

Nursing as a profession was not established in Indiana until within the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Indianapolis Flower Mission and the Hospital Board organized in 1883 the first training school for nurses. Miss Mary C. Iddings (Mrs. Thomas B. Stanley) was the first nurse graduated from this school.

The physician and surgeon at this day finds an able ally in the skilled nurse. She relieves him of much of the drudgery of the sick chamber—work that she can do much better than the doctor and permit him to see other patients. During the first twenty-five years of my practice my nurse help usually came from unskilled women; true, they were willing and ever ready, but I was compelled to do menial service that the young doctor of today would shrink from. I washed the disciples' feet!

The trained nurse has come to stay. We find her in the home, the hospital, the camp, and with our armies that went out to battle for a world peace. There are hundreds in France; we have sent some to England, to Russia, to Belgium, to Austria, to Poland, to Roumania, and to Germany. Several died in those countries; some who labor and toil for humanity in those lands will never see home again.

Medical Authors

Theodore Potter—''Essays on Bacteriology, and Its Relation to the Progress of Medicine.''—1898.

Theophilus Parvin—''Science and Art of Obstetrics.''—1886.

R. French Stone—''Elements of Modern Medicine.''—1885. ''Biography of Eminent American Physicians and Surgeons.''—1894.

John W. Sluss—''Handbook of Surgery.''—1911.

John F. Barnhill and Ernest De W. Wales—''On Principles and Practice of Otology.''—1911.

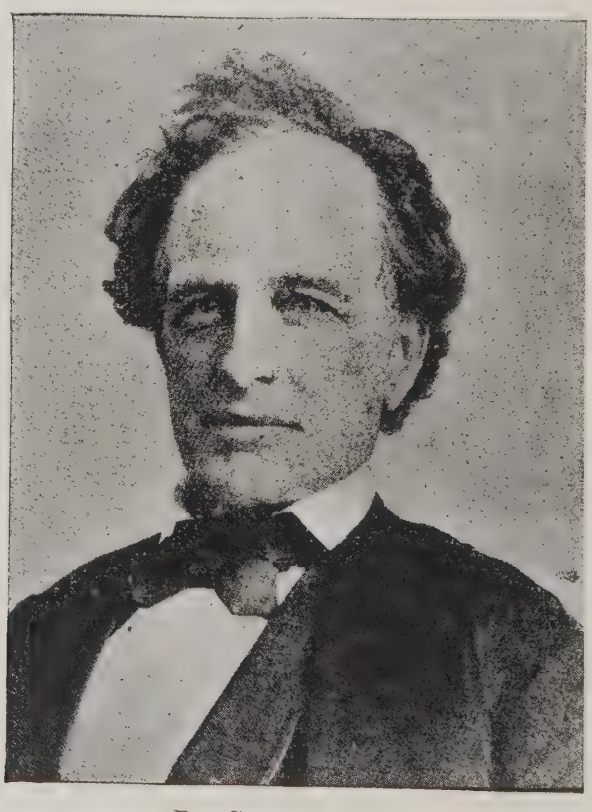
John J. Kyle—''Compend of Diseases of the Ear, Nose and Throat.'' —1903.

G. W. H. Kemper—"The World's Anatomists."—1905. "Medical History of Indiana."—1911.

G. C. Smythe—"Medical Heresies."—1880.

Quite a number of medical monographs have been written by physicians of Indiana; many of them are valuable contributions.

Dr. David Hutchinson (1812-1891), formerly of Mooresville, and



Dr. George Sutton

while residing at that place, was the recipient of the Fiske Fund Prize Essay, on "Stomatitis Materna,"—Nursing sore mouth, June 3, 1857.[14]

Dr. Jacob R. Weist (1834-1900), Richmond, was the successful competitor for a prize essay in 1868, entitled, "The Causes, Nature and Treatment of Cerebro-spinal Meningitis." Transactions Indiana State Medical Society, 1868, p. 121.

Dr. George Sutton, one of the brilliant physicians of the early days

[14] Am. Jour. Med. Sciences, Vol. xxxiv, p. 369. (October, 1857.)

of Indiana, in November, 1843, contributed to the Western Lancet, an article entitled, "Remarks on an Epidemic Erysipelas, Known by the Popular Name of 'Black Tongue,' Which Prevailed in Ripley and Dearborn Counties, Indiana." This article was of so much merit that it was reproduced entire in the English work of "Nunneley on Erysipelas."—1844.

Buried in the fifty-eight copies of the Transactions of the Indiana State Medical Society may be found many articles of great interest to the profession of Indiana.

Some Later Medical Teachers

Bigelow, James K.; Chambers, John; Cook, George J.; Dills, Thomas J.; Dunning, Lehman H.; Eastman, Joseph; Elder, Elijah S.; Fitch, Graham N.; Fletcher, William B.; Ford, James H.; Geis, John F.; Hadley, Evan; Harvey, Thomas B.; Haymond, William S.; Hays, Franklin W.; Hibberd, James F.; Hodges, E. F.; Lash, Hugh M.; McShane, John T.; Marsee, Joseph W.; Maxwell, Allison; Myers, William H.; Parvin, Theophilus; Pearson, Charles D.; Potter, Theodore; Reyer, Ernest C.; Smythe, Gonsalvo C.; Stemen, Christian B.; Stevens, Thaddeus M.; Stone, R. French; Thompson, Daniel A.; Thompson, James L.; Todd, Robert N.; Walker, Isaac N.; Weist, Jacob R.; Williams, Elkanah; Wright, Chas. E.

Hospitals

Hospitals are a product of the last half of our statehood. The first attempt to establish a city hospital at Indianapolis was in 1858. It did not prove successful and the plan was soon abandoned. The Civil war in 1861 gave a new impetus for their creation, and the Indianapolis city hospital was revived; at the close of the war the interest again declined until the year 1867, when the city council of Indianapolis took action in the matter and the hospital proved a success, its wards being full since that date. At the present time Indianapolis may justly be proud of the number and completeness of its hospitals. The same may be said of all of our larger cities.

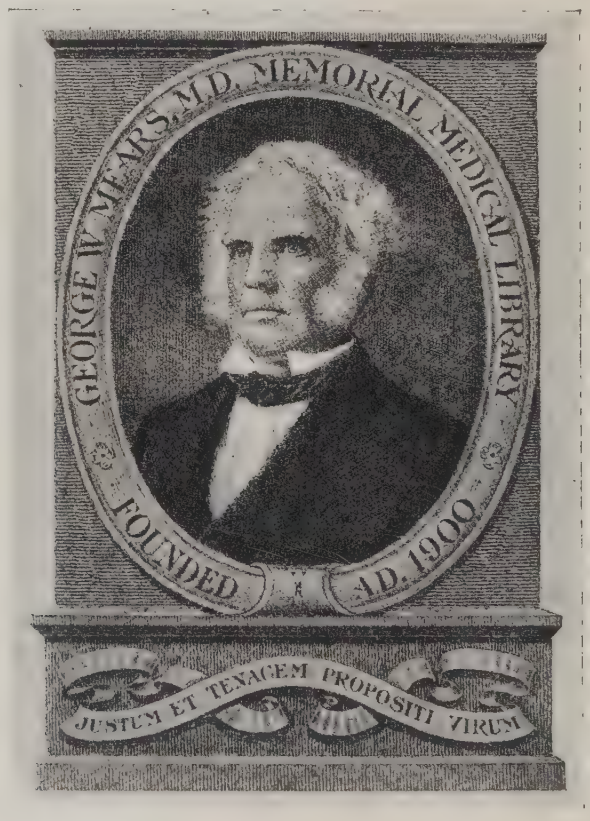
At this time almost every city or town of any magnitude in the state is provided with one or more of these institutions. Municipal authorities, churches, and fraternal organizations, as well as railroads, deserve praise for erecting these homes for the care of sick and injured, whose numbers, unfortunately, are constantly increasing.

There is a law upon our statute books which generously allows coun-

ties in Indiana to erect and maintain hospitals at the expense of its citizens. A few counties already have chosen to build under this law.

Medical Libraries

The Marion County Medical Society has been instrumental in building up an excellent medical library, now located in the James Whitcomb



Dr. George W. Mears

Riley Library building in Indianapolis. This collection was started by donations from physicians in various parts of the state.

At the death of the late Dr. Theophilus Parvin, January 29, 1898, his widow very generously donated his medical library to the above named collection.

Also, at the death of the late Dr. George W. Mears, his library was presented to the physicians of Marion County, by his son, Dr. J. Ewing Mears, of Philadelphia.

The library of the late Dr. John S. Bobbs was donated to the Marion County Medical Society soon after his death, but, unfortunately, was burned with the medical college some years ago.

One of the valuable libraries—literary and medical, for a small city, is at New Harmony. This was a gift from one of its former citizens, Dr. Edward Murphy. "In 1893 he induced the Library Society to sell its old quarters and assisted it to erect the building now occupied. This is a handsome brick structure containing in addition to its excellent library quarters a large auditorium, a museum, and a very creditable art gallery. Dr. Murphy made contributions of books and specimens for the museum, and filled the art gallery with costly paintings purchased in Italy.[15]

The Vigo County Medical Society has secured quite a number of medical volumes for its public library.

Many of the county medical societies have formed very creditable collections of medical books, utilizing space in public library buildings.

The Indiana State Library, located in the state capitol, Demarchus C. Brown, librarian, contains a number of medical books.

Hospitals for the Insane.[16]

The care of the insane in Indiana dates from an Act of the Legislature of 1844-1845, which resulted in the purchase of land and the construction of the Central Indiana Hospital for the Insane at Indianapolis. The new constitution of 1851 declared it the duty of the General Assembly to provide by law for the treatment of the insane. This, however, has never been done fully. At no time have all of the insane in Indiana been under state care. The Central Hospital was the only institution provided for these unfortunates until the Legislature of 1883 provided for three additional hospitals, which were developed in the Northern Indiana Hospital at Logansport, the Eastern Indiana Hospital at Richmond, and the Southern Indiana Hospital at Evansville. One of these hospitals was opened for the admission of patients in 1888 and the other two in 1890. In 1905 the Organic Act of the Southeastern Hospital at North Madison was passed and that institution was opened for the admission of patients in 1910. There are, therefore, five hospitals for the insane in this state, which have a total enrollment of approximately 5,800 patients. According to a law provided for the purpose, the State is

[15] The New Harmony Movement, by George B. Lockwood, 1905.

[16] In the preparation of this article I am under especial obligations to Dr. S. E. Smith, Easthaven.—K.

divided into five districts for the insane, based upon population and the capacity of the institutions. Each hospital has a definite district of certain counties which are tributary to it.

The Indiana laws upon the subject of the organization of the hospitals for the insane and other correctional and benevolent institutions, are not equaled by those of any other state in the union. These laws so definitely and clearly establish the principle of non-partisan management that there has been no interference of this character in the management of these institutions for many years.

The management is lodged in a board of trustees of four members, two belonging to each of the dominant political parties and one is appointed each year for a term of four years. By this arrangement the majority of the board cannot retire at the same time. The board of trustees appoints the superintendent and fixes all salaries of officers, nurses, attendants and employes.

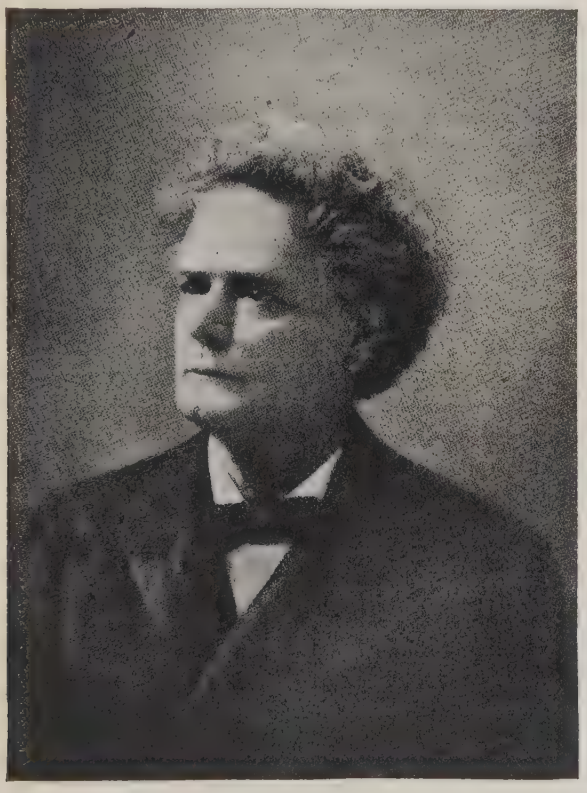
Appointment and tenure of office of the medical superintendent are based upon experience, merit and faithful discharge of duty and the law prohibits the consideration of party affiliations. The medical superintendent is charged with full responsibility for the internal affairs of the hospital and is by law given power to employ and discharge all subordinate officers and employes. This kind of organization is regarded by experts as the best that has been devised.

These five institutions are receiving between twelve hundred and thirteen hundred patients each year, and the scope of their work is being constantly developed and broadened. The medical staff of each hospital consists of the medical superintendent and from three to seven assistants, depending upon the number of patients. Generally there is one assistant physician to about two hundred patients. Each institution has a laboratory more or less complete, in which pathological examinations and those for diagnostic purposes are made by an assistant trained in this line of work. There is now in process of development in the several institutions a system of social service, mental clinics and free consultation for deserving cases in their respective districts, from which much good is expected to result. A colony system is also being developed at the Eastern Hospital at Richmond. Another has been started at the Southeastern Hospital at North Madison, and others will follow.

These institutions, and all other correctional and benevolent institutions in Indiana, are under the advisory suggestions of the Indiana Board of State Charities, which, also, is a non-partisan board, made up of benevolent citizens who serve for a period of four years each without compensation, except for necessary traveling expenses.

Central Indiana Hospital for the Insane

This hospital is located at Indianapolis and is the largest institution in the state, having an approximate capacity of fifteen hundred patients. Dr. George F. Edenharter, Superintendent, was elected May 1, 1893, and has served continuously to this date. The original building in this hospital, constructed in 1848, is still in service and constitutes the de-



Dr. William B. Fletcher

partment for men. The department for women was built thirty years later and is a good example of the Kirkbride construction so popular in those days. Both departments are under one roof and are large. The clinical laboratory was planned and constructed by Dr. Edenharter and is one of the largest and most complete in the country. He has opened it and provided clinics for the Indiana University Medical School, which thereby furnishes to its students cases in neurology and psychiatry such as few medical schools in the country are able to obtain.

Dr. Edenharter is the eleventh superintendent and his tenure of office is much longer than any of his predecessors. Among his predecessors are such well-known physicians as Dr. James S. Athon, Dr. James H. Woodburn, Dr. Orpheus Everts, Dr. Joseph G. Rogers, Dr. William B. Fletcher and Dr. Charles E. Wright.

Northern Indiana Hospital for the Insane

This hospital is located at Longcliff, near Logansport. It was built under the Organic Act of 1883 and opened for the admission of patients July 1, 1888, with Dr. Joseph G. Rogers as medical superintendent, who continued in charge until his death on April 11, 1908. Dr. Rogers was one of the eminent psychiatrists and medical superintendents of the country and he has left a large impression upon the hospitals for the insane in Indiana. He served Indiana well and efficiently for approximately thirty years as medical superintendent and medical engineer of construction of the three additional hospitals.

Following the tenure of Dr. Rogers, Dr. Frederick W. Terflinger, a member of the hospital staff for six years, was appointed medical superintendent and continues in charge to this date. The Northern Hospital is a good representation of the modified pavilion type of construction, consisting of many detached buildings both for patients and administrative purposes. It has a capacity of about 1,042 patients.

Eastern Indiana Hospital for the Insane

This hospital is located at Easthaven, near Richmond. It was one of the three additional hospitals and was created by the Organic Act of 1883, and was opened for the admission of patients August 1, 1890, with Dr. Edward F. Wells in charge, who retired in less than one year. Dr. Samuel E. Smith, formerly assistant physician at the Northern Hospital, Logansport, was elected medical superintendent and assumed office May 15, 1891, and has filled this office to the present date, making the longest continuous service of a medical superintendent in the history of Indiana. The capacity of the hospital is 896. This institution is built upon the well-known cottage plan, consisting of thirty-four small brick structures arranged in the form of a rectangle. The medical staff consists of a medical superintendent, three assistant physicians, one woman physician and a laboratory assistant. It is located on a farm consisting of 350 acres and two miles distant is a colony farm of 520 acres, on which are established three colony units. The plan of the colonization of the insane in Indiana began in this institution and is being slowly elaborated.

It is based upon the idea of giving helpful employment in the open air to the able-bodied patients in simple surroundings somewhat removed from the parent institution, but still under the direction of the medical superintendent.

Southern Indiana Hospital for the Insane

This hospital is located at Woodmere, near Evansville. It is the third of the additional hospitals for the insane built under the Organic Act of 1883, and was opened for the admission of patients November 1, 1890. The first superintendent was Dr. A. J. Thomas, formerly and for many years assistant superintendent of the Central Hospital at Indianapolis. His services as medical superintendent terminated July 15, 1897. Dr. C. E. Laughlin, the present medical superintendent and the fourth in the history of the hospital, has had an incumbency since June 1, 1903. This hospital as originally built is a good representation of the congregate-radiate plan, consisting of a central building and two wings, three stories in height. Extensions have been made from time to time by detached construction, including a modern hospital, completely equipped. It is located in the center of a tract of 275 acres of land to which small additions have been made in late years. It has a capacity of 870 patients.

Southeastern Hospital for the Insane

This hospital is located at Cragmont, North Madison, on a most beautiful site, overlooking the City of Madison and the Ohio River for many miles. This is the largest hospital in the state and is regarded as one of the best constructed and equipped institutions of its kind in the country. It is cottage construction, made up of thirty-four buildings made of pressed shale brick and roofed with red Spanish tile. It was built under an Act of the Legislature of 1905 and opened for the admission of patients August 23, 1910, with a normal capacity of 1,120 patients.

This hospital was planned by Dr. S. E. Smith, Medical Superintendent of the Eastern Hospital at Richmond, who was medical adviser to the board of commissioners throughout its construction and equipment. It has had two medical superintendents—Dr. E. P. Bussé, 1910-1915, and Dr. James W. Milligan, the present incumbent, who was formerly assistant physician for ten years at the Northern Hospital and later resident physician in the Indiana State Prison.

This hospital is located on a tract of 360 acres of land. A new colony farm of approximately 1000 acres has been purchased within the past year. Colonies will be established thereon as rapidly as conditions will permit.

Indiana State Board of Health

The idea of creating a State Board of Health in Indiana originated in the Indiana State Medical Society. The said society was organized at a medical convention in Indianapolis, June, 1849. Prior to the creation of the State Board of Health a local board of health, probably the first in the state, was appointed on the 25th day of October, 1832, by the city council of Madison. An outbreak of cholera on the 23rd of October, 1832, impelled the city council to this step. The ordinance said the duty of the board was to meet daily at 1:00 P. M. to receive the reports of physicians, and it will be noted that this was the first effort to collect vital statistics. The city council of Madison passed a supplemental ordinance October 22, 1832, which required all tenants and householders to keep the gutters in front of their premises clean, to remove all filth that had accumulated on their premises under penalty of not less than one dollar fine and costs of suit. There was a Board of Health in Bloomington as early as August, 1833. The first board of health in Fort Wayne was established in 1842.

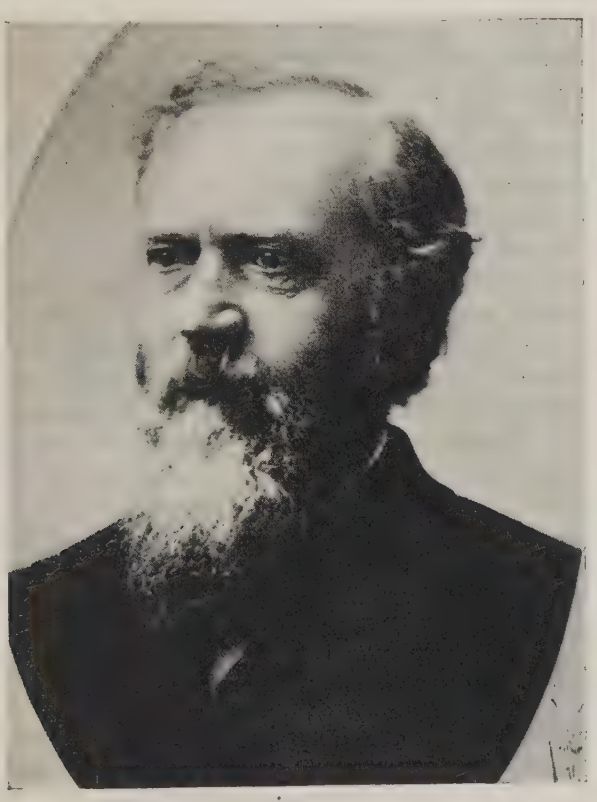
The law creating the Indiana State Board of Health and establishing health boards in all counties, cities and towns, was passed in 1881. The resolution passed by the Indiana State Medical Society, out of which finally originated the State Board of Health, was as follows:

"Resolved: That a committee of five be appointed to memorialize the legislature, asking them to provide by law for a registration of births, marriages and deaths."

At this date cholera was raging at New Albany to such an extent as to prevent the delegate from that county, Dr. W. H. Dowling, from attending the medical convention. It was 32 years after this resolution and first step of the Indiana State Medical Society, before the State Health law was enacted. The population of Indiana in 1880 was 1,909,916. The first statistical report of the State Board of Health for the year ending October 31, 1832, shows 11,392 deaths reported from all causes or a death rate of 5.96 per thousand. It was estimated that not more than one-third of deaths was reported so that the actual death rate was probably not less than 17 per thousand. The record of the State Board of Health both of achievement and omission is found in the annual reports of this board. The first report appeared in 1882.

In 1913 the American Medical Association undertook a survey of all activities, equipment and accomplishments of the various state boards of health. The report, when published, had this to say in regard to Indiana: "The department of health in Indiana seems to have kept free from political interference, and its efficient executive has remained

in the office for many years, and has been able to follow a consistent policy. A successful registration of deaths has been accomplished and that of births is rapidly improving and is doubtless over 90 per cent." The American Medical Association adopted a rating system and in its tables rated the Indiana State Board of Health as sixth in efficiency and 21st in per capita expenditure for health purposes. The per capita



DR. THOMAS B. HARVEY

expenditure at that date was 1.39 cents per annum. The state having the highest per cent expenditure was Florida, 15.21 cents.

The State Board of Health presented the first food law to the general assembly in 1897, and it was unanimously rejected. The said law was presented again to the assembly in 1899 and was passed, after all possibility of enforcement was removed through amendment. Authorization of laboratories and power for the enforcement of the pure food law and certain phases of the health law was given by the general

assembly of 1905. This was called the "Laboratory Law" and gave the State Board of Health $10,000 annually and power to establish a laboratory wherein food and drug and water analyses could be made and where pathological and bacteriological and microscopical examinations could also be made, the work to be entirely free, no fees to be charged. At the present time the State Board of Health is divided into nine divisions:

1. Executive.
2. Accounting.
3. Child and School Hygiene.
4. Vital Statistics.
5. Laboratory of Bacteriology and Pathology.
6. Pasteur Laboratory.
7. Laboratory for Food and Drugs.
8. Laboratory for Water and Sewage.
9. Weights and Measures.

The total appropriation for all these departments at the present time is $83,000, divided as follows: Executive, $35,000. From this sum must also be paid the expenses of the Division of Statistics and Division of Child and School Hygiene. The appropriation for the Bacteriological and Pathological Laboratory is $10,000. For the Food and Drug Laboratory, $25,000. Weights and Measures, $10,000. Waters and Sewage, $5,000. Pasteur Laboratory, 5 per cent of the excess dog tax amounting to $3,000.

The membership of the first board of health created in 1881 was as follows: Dr. John W. Compton, Evansville; Thaddeus M. Stevens, Indianapolis; Dr. J. M. Partridge, South Bend; and Dr. W. W. Vinnedge, Lafayette. Dr. Stevens was elected secretary and was therefore the first secretary of the State Board of Health and the first state health officer of Indiana. Dr. Stevens served as secretary until March, 1883, and was then succeeded by Dr. E. R. Hawn, who served until his death, September 6, 1883. Dr. Elijah Elder was his successor and served from September 6, 1883, to May 8, 1885. Dr. Charles N. Metcalf succeeded Dr. Elder and served from May 8 to March, 1896, when he died. He was succeeded by Dr. J. N. Hurty, who was appointed March 6, 1896, and has served from that date continuously until the present time. The very extensive powers and manifold duties of the State Board of Health are distinctly set forth in the statutes. There are now 37 statutes passed at various times by the general assembly, their enforcement being given to the State Board of Health.

The original health law of 1881 was amended in 1891 and at this time is in force. The present vital statistics law, under which accurate and

reliable vital statistics are secured, was passed in 1913. The quarantine law of 1903 gave to the State Board of Health ample powers for the control of infectious and contagious diseases. The legislature of 1911 distinguished itself by passing the sanitary schoolhouse law and the medical school inspection law, both of which laws aim at the promotion and conservation of child life. The infant blindness law for the prevention of infant blindness was passed in 1911. The importance of this action will be appreciated when it is known that about one-third of all infant blindness is preventable. The hydrophobia law was passed in 1911. Under its beneficent provisions it is safe to say several hundred lives have been saved. The antitoxin law was passed in 1907, which under very liberal conditions, supplies free antitoxin to the poor for the cure and prevention of diphtheria. The anti-rat law, the public water supply law, the public playgrounds law were all passed in 1913. The pure food and drug law, which is now in force, was passed in 1907.

The membership of the present State Board of Health, 1918, is as follows:

Dr. Chas. B. Kern, President, Lafayette, Indiana.
Dr. Hugh A. Cowing, Vice President, Muncie, Indiana.
Dr. J. N. Hurty, Secretary, Indianapolis.
Dr. James S. Boyers, Decatur, Indiana.
Dr. John H. Hewitt, Terre Haute, Indiana.

Dr. William F. King is assistant secretary and is also Chief of the Division of Child and School Hygiene.

Credit is herewith given for much of the historical information in compiling this matter to an article written by Dr. W. F. King in 1916 and entitled "One Hundred Years Progress in Public Health Administration in Indiana." This article will be found in the proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Indiana Sanitary and Water Supply Association held at Indianapolis, February 2, 3, and 4, 1916.

Medical and Surgical Discoveries

More beneficent discoveries have been made in the last one hundred years than in all the preceding centuries. A majority of these discoveries were made in the last half of the century,—really, in the period in which a majority of us have lived.

The present array of death dealing destructives in war was never equaled, and the means of relief for caring for the sick and wounded soldiery in this world wide war surpasses the methods of all preceding wars. Our surgeons are more skillful, have more appliances, and better

equipped hospitals, than in any preceding war. Another additional help is the presence and aid of skilled nurses. Our means for staunching blood, and relieving pain are numerous. Much of our preparedness in relief work is due to modern discoveries.

In the century since our state was admitted, many valuable instruments for diagnostic purposes have been invented. Notably the X-ray,

Dr. Theophilus Parvin

discovered by Rontgen in 1893. In the hands of experts this apparatus has proved of great value in discovering broken bones, locating bullets and foreign bodies in the tissues, as well as determining many internal diseases. The hypodermic syringe, fever thermometer, the stethoscope, and the large number of instruments whose names terminate in "scope,"—signifying to examine.

A distinguished American called upon Charles Darwin, and in the course of conversation asked him what he considered the most important

discovery of the nineteenth century. To which Mr. Darwin replied, after a slight hesitation: "Painless surgery."

Velpeau, the leading surgeon of the world, wrote in his great work on surgery in 1844: "To avoid pain in operations is a chimera that we can no longer pursue in our times. A cutting instrument and pain in operative surgery, are two words which are never presented separately to the mind of the patient, but in an association which he must of necessity admit. It is to the hand of the operator and the quality of the bistoury that he must look to obtain the desired result. Let the hand be light and steady, and the bistoury smooth and well-shaped * * * and you will have no other pains to encounter than those which are inherent in the operation, and which nothing can separate from it."

Before these gloomy words were printed, namely, March 30, 1842, Dr. Crawford W. Long (1815-1878), residing at Jefferson, Jackson County, Georgia, as has been well attested, while a patient was under the influence of sulphuric ether, removed a small tumor from the back of the neck. He performed, about the same date a number of other minor operations, but failed to publish his claim of discovery for a number of years. Many think that because of this negligence he should not be entitled to the honor.

The first public use of ether was at the Massachusetts General Hospital on October 16, 1846. Chloroform was first used November 17, 1847. In 1867 the use of nitrous oxid came into use in dentistry.[17]

In 1884 Koller first used cocaine as a local anesthetic. Quinke first used the lumbar puncture in 1891; and Schleich introduced infiltration anesthesia in 1894.

Lord Joseph Lister promulgated antiseptic surgery in 1867. Anesthesia and antiseptic surgery have done more for the advancement of surgery than all other aids combined. Prior to Lister's discovery, surgeons were content to speak of "laudable pus." Now, the surgeon is humiliated when he encounters pus after his operations.

Physicians and scientists have done much to aid in the prevention of disease, and epidemics. We would soon "stamp out" smallpox if vaccination was universally practiced.

In 1884 Crede began the use of silver nitrate instillation in the newborn children's eyes as a preventive of conjunctivitis and blindness. Since 1911 physicians and midwives in Indiana have been required by a statute to treat the eyes of all newborn children with the silver solu-

[17] It is interesting to know that when Lord Nelson had his arm amputated after the engagement of Trafalgar, before the days of anesthetics that the amputating knife was cold and the sensation was so disagreeable that he issued an order requiring that when amputations were required the knife should be warmed in hot water.

tion. Many children are saved from permanent blindness by this precaution.

In 1843 Oliver Wendell Holmes declared that puerperal fever was contagious, and was carried to patients by the attending physician. This discovery has saved hundreds of women.

We have learned and demonstrated in recent years that tuberculosis

Dr. William Lomax

of the lungs is contagious, and not hereditary. We know that there is no specific remedy, and that tuberculosis cannot be cured by medicines.

Sunlight and fresh air will come nearer curing the disease than anything else known to the medical profession.

In 1876 Peter Dettweiler first treated consumptive patients by rest in the open air.

In 1882 Koch discovered the tubercle bacillus, and in 1890 the same person introduced tuberculin.

The Henry Phipps Institute for Tuberculosis was opened in 1903.

In 1845 the work of Prof Eberle, an efficient textbook for its day, did not contain the word diphtheria. Membranous croup was recognized and described; a few years later diphtheria was recognized and classed among other diseases. At that period these two diseases were considered as distinct,—at the present day authors generally class them as one and the same,—croup involving the larynx; diphtheria the pharynx, or throat.

Thirty-five years ago the mortality of diphtheria was very high, and nearly all cases of croup perished unless intubation (tube in larynx) or tracheotomy (an incision into the larynx or windpipe) was resorted to,—and these measures gave but little hope.

A brighter day has dawned. In 1883 Edwin Klebs, and a short time afterwards Loeffler, discovered the germ of diphtheria.

In 1890 Behring first used antitoxin as a remedy in this disease. A few cases only, are fatal at the present day if antitoxin is used, especially if used at an early period in the disease.

Typhoid fever has, virtually, been banished from the several armies. The typhoid bacillus was discovered in 1880. In the Civil war there were 79,462 cases of typhoid fever, with a mortality of 29,336. The anti-typhoid serum does not cure the disease,—it prevents it,—a far better service.

Tetanus, or lockjaw is another terrible disease that has been largely deprived of its fatality by a special antitoxin used for a preventive.

Pasteur, the great French scientist deserves unbounded praise for his discoveries. He gave us methods of cure for hydrophobia, anthrax, and other diseases. He deserves credit for protecting the silkworm.

Time and space will not permit entering upon a prolonged discussion of many other affections, such as hookworm, cerebro-spinal meningitis, bubonic plague, yellow fever, syphilis, and many other diseases that have been routed by modern discoveries.

Cancer is an enemy that we have not as yet conquered. It defies all our remedies and investigations. Insanity haunts us, and we are helpless, both as regards prevention and cure; all that we can do is to build more insane asylums. Wretched men and women are not content to endure the evils they have but "fly to those they know not of,"—and so suicide is on the increase,—an awful increase!

Mexican War History

Indiana furnished five regiments for the Mexican War, which continued from 1846 to 1848 inclusive. Seventy years have passed away

since its close, and all the Indiana surgeons have been dead for some years.

Caleb V. Jones was promoted from a private to surgeon of the first Indiana volunteer regiment. William Fosdick was assistant surgeon of the same regiment. During the Civil war Dr. Jones was surgeon of the 63rd Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry.

Daniel S. Lane was surgeon of the second Indiana volunteer regiment; John T. Walker, assistant surgeon.

James S. Athon was surgeon of the third Indiana volunteer regiment; John G. Dunn, assistant surgeon.

The fourth Indiana volunteer regiment was not provided with surgeons. Isaac Fenley a contract physician was with the regiment as its medical officer during the years 1847 and 1848. A letter from the Adjutant General's office at Washington, D. C., says: "Nothing has been found of record to show that any other person was on duty with that organization in a medical capacity."

James S. Athon was surgeon of the fifth Indiana volunteer regiment; P. G. Jones, assistant surgeon.

Civil War History

Indiana sent to the Civil War 136 regiments of infantry; 13 regiments of cavalry; 1 regiment of heavy artillery; 25 companies of light artillery and 2,130 naval volunteers,—a total of 210,497 men. There were 24,416 of these men who gave up their lives. Approximately, 550 physicians of Indiana served as surgeons for these soldiers. Generally one surgeon and two assistant surgeons were assigned to each regiment. In a few instances the same person served as medical officer in two, and in a few instances in three different regiments; after resigning the service in one regiment, the same medical officer would re-enter the service in a later regiment.

Quite a number of Indiana physicians served as combatants during the Civil war. Some were enlisted as privates and also line officers of regiments. Quite a number of men who served in the Civil war, and, possibly in the Mexican war, took up the study of medicine after their return home and became valuable members of the medical profession.

The following alphabetical list of surgeons who served in Indiana regiments was prepared with diligent care, and was published in Kemper's Medical History of Indiana.

Abbett, Charles H., Asst. Surg., 36th Infantry; Aborn, Orin, Asst. Surg., 40th Infantry; Adams, David, Asst. Surg., 51st Infantry; Adams, James R., Asst. Surg., 58th Infantry; Surgeon, 15th Infantry; Adams,

Marcellus M., Asst. Surg., 116th Infantry; Aichele, Emil, Asst. Surg., 32nd Infantry; Allen, Joseph S., Surgeon, 10th Infantry; Allen, William S., Asst. Surg., 143rd Infantry; Alexander, John H., Asst. Surg., 27th Infantry; Surgeon, 27th Infantry; Anderson, Joseph V., Asst. Surg., 15th Infantry; Anderson, William, Surgeon, 37th Infantry; Applegate, Charles H., Asst. Surg., 73rd Infantry; Archer, Samuel M., Asst. Surg., 133rd Infantry; Armstrong, James B., Surgeon, 31st Infantry; Arnold, Martin B., Asst. Surg., 155th Infantry; Arthur, Christopher S., Surgeon, 75th Infantry; Averdick, Henry G., Surgeon, 35th Infantry; Avery, Increase J., Surgeon, 10th Infantry; Avery, John P., Asst. Surg., 11th Infantry; Austin, Thomas D., Surgeon, 23rd Infantry.

Babbitt, Edward D., Asst. Surg., 34th Infantry; Baker, Braxton, Asst. Surg., 130th Infantry; Ballard, Micajah, Asst. Surg., 140th Infantry; Banks, Ephriam N., Surgeon, 54th Infantry; Bare, Addison W., Asst. Surgeon., 82nd Infantry; Bare, John R., Surgeon, 66th Infantry; Barker, William L., Surgeon, 120th Infantry; Bassett, John Q. A., Asst. Surg., 74th Infantry; Bayse, Thomas S., Surgeon, 36th Infantry; Beachley, Nathaniel J., Asst. Surg., 22nd Infantry; Beck, Elias W. H., Surgeon, 3rd Cavalry; Beck, William H., Surgeon, 145 Infantry; Beckwith, Lod W., Surgeon, 38th Infantry; Beebe, James, Asst. Surg., 148th Infantry; Beeks, Green C., Surgeon, 150th Infantry; Bell, Nathaniel G., Asst. Surg., 35th Infantry; Bence, Robert F., Surgeon, 33rd Infantry; Bennett, Basil B., Asst. Surg., 101st Infantry; Benson, Julius L., Asst. Surg., 7th Cavalry; Berryman, James A., Asst. Surg., 135th Infantry; Bigelow, James K., Surgeon, 8th Infantry; Bigney, Peter M., Asst. Surg., 18th Infantry; Blackwell, John A., Surgeon, 115th Infantry; Blackstone, John K., Asst. Surg., 9th Infantry; Blair, William W., Surgeon, 58th Infantry; Blaser, Felix F., Asst. Surg., 32nd Infantry; Blount, Rufus F., Asst. Surg., 118th Infantry; Bodman, Elam, Asst. Surg., 30th Infantry; Bogart, Henry J., Asst. Surg., 139th Infantry; Bogle, Christopher F., Asst. Surg., 43rd Infantry; Bond, Richard C., Surgeon, 15th Infantry; Boor, William F., Surgeon, 4th Cavalry; Bosworth, Richard, Asst. Surg., 36th Infantry; Bounell, Mathew H., Surgeon, 116th Infantry; Boyd, Samuel S., Surgeon, 84th Infantry; Boynton, Charles S., Surgeon, 24th Infantry; Surgeon, 67th Infantry; Boyse, Thomas F., Asst. Surg., 36th Infantry; Brackett, Charles, Asst. Surg., 1st Cavalry; Bray, Madison J., Surgeon, 60th Infantry; Brazelton, John B., Asst. Surg., 134th Infantry; Brenton, William H., Asst. Surg., 73rd Infantry; Brooks, Mordecai, Asst. Surg., 82nd Infantry; Brown, Clay, Asst. Surg., 11th Infantry; Brown, Jacob R., Asst. Surgeon, 29th Infantry; Brown, Jesse R., Asst. Surg., 57th Infantry; Brown, S. Clay, Asst. Surg., 8th

Infantry; Surgeon, 18th Infantry; Brown, Wilkins B., Surgeon, 59th Infantry; Browne, John T., Asst. Surg., 12th Cavalry; Bruce, George W., Asst. Surg., 1st Cavalry; Asst. Surg., 8th Infantry; Surgeon, 142nd Infantry; Brucker, Magnus, Surgeon, 23rd Infantry; Brusie, Luther, Asst. Surg., 3rd Cavalry; Bryan, George W., Asst. Surg., 67th Infantry; Bryson, Frank T., Surgeon, 48th Infantry; Buck, Robert H., Surgeon, 13th Cavalry; Asst. Surg., 75th Infantry; Surgeon, 118th Infantry; Burton, William A., Asst. Surg., 24th Infantry; Asst. Surg., 57th Infantry; Bushnell, Samuel B., Asst. Surg., 11th Cavalry; Butterworth, William W., Surgeon, 99th Infantry; Buzett, Edward F., Surgeon, 49th Infantry; Byers, Alexander R., Surgeon, 65th Infantry; Byrn, Spencer, Asst. Surg., 23rd Infantry.

Calderwood, James C., Asst. Surg., 23rd Infantry; Campbell, John C. L., Asst. Surg., 21st Infantry; Campfield, John A., Asst. Surg., 12th Infantry; Carley, Rush, Asst. Surg., 146th Infantry; Carr, George W., Asst. Surg., 44th Infantry; Surgeon, 129th Infantry; Casselberry, Isaac, Surgeon, 1st Cavalry; Casterline, Amos B., Asst. Surg., 52nd Infantry; Casterline, Ziba, Asst. Surg., 84th Infantry; Chamberlain, James M., Surgeon, 152nd Infantry; Chamberlain, N. A., Surgeon, 13th Infantry; Champ, George W., Asst. Surg., 139th Infantry; Chandler, Joseph A., Asst. Surg., 155th Infantry; Charlton, Robert, Surgeon, 79th Infantry; Charlton, Samuel H., Asst. Surg., 6th Infantry; Chittenden, George F., Surgeon, 16th Infantry; Chitwood, Joshua, Surgeon, 7th Cavalry; Clapp, William A., Surgeon, 38th Infantry; Clippinger, George W., Surgeon, 14th Infantry; Clowes, David A., Asst. Surg., 12th Cavalry; Cole, William C., Surgeon, 72nd Infantry; Coleman, Asa, Protem Asst. Surg., 46th Infantry; Coleman, Horace, Surgeon., 46th Infantry; Collett, Joseph T., Asst. Surg., 6th Cavalry; Collings, Isaac S., Asst. Surg., 57th Infantry; Surgeon, 57th Infantry; Collins, Erasmus B., Surgeon, 51st Infantry; Collins, George M., Asst. Surg., 17th Infantry; Collins, William A., Asst. Surg., 6th Infantry; Comingor, John A., Surgeon, 11th Infantry; Confer, James M., Surgeon, 29th Infantry; Conn, Isaac T., Asst. Surg., 21st Infantry; Connett, Mahlon C., Asst. Surg., 8th Cavalry; Cook, Robert H., Asst. Surg., 12th Infantry; Cooper, Joel S., Asst. Surg., 115th Infantry; Cox, Jesse T., Asst. Surg., 89th Infantry; Craig, Isaac N., Surgeon, 13th Infantry; Craig, John M., Asst. Surg., 134th Infantry; Asst. Surg., 146th Infantry; Cravens, James W., Asst. Surg., 1st Cavalry; Cresap, William S., Asst. Surg., 135th Infantry; Asst. Surg., 154th Infantry; Crosby, Thomas H., Asst. Surg., 47th Infantry; Crouse, Henry M., Surgeon, 57th Infantry; Crowder, Robert H., Surgeon, 11th Cavalry; Culbertson, David P., Asst. Surg., 43rd Infantry; Culbertson, Joseph R., Asst. Surg., 10th Cavalry;

Culbertson, Robert H., Asst. Surg., 80th Infantry; Cullen, John C., Surgeon, 16th Infantry; Curry, John, Surgeon, 38th Infantry; Cyrus, William H., Asst. Surg., 54th Infantry.

Daly, George P., Asst. Surg., 78th Infantry; Darnell, Milton B., Asst. Surg., 43rd Infantry; Surgeon, 43rd Infantry; Daughters, Andrew P., Surgeon, 18th Infantry; Davis, John B., Asst. Surg., 21st Infantry; Davis, John W., Asst. Surg., 6th Infantry; Asst. Surg., 24th Infantry; Davis, Joseph H., Asst. Surg., 145th Infantry; Davis, Robert P., Asst. Surg., 84th Infantry; Davis, Samuel, Surgeon, 83rd Infantry; Davis, Solomon, Surgeon, 10th Cavalry; Surgeon, 53rd Infantry; Davidson, Benjamin F., Asst. Surg., 143rd Infantry; Davidson, William, Asst. Surg., 76th Infantry; Davisson, Henry C., Asst. Surg., 54th Infantry; Dewey, Annin W., Surgeon, 101st Infantry; Dicken, James L., Surgeon, 47th Infantry; Dixon, William H., Asst. Surg., 59th Infantry; Doane, George M., Asst. Surg., 46th Infantry; Dodd, James, Asst. Surg., 67th Infantry; Dodge, Henry C., Asst. Surg., 74th Infantry; Dodson, Jonas H., Asst. Surg., 4th Cavalry; Dome, David C., Asst. Surgeon, 17th Infantry; Downey, William A., Asst. Surg., 58th Infantry; Duffield, James T., Asst. Surg., 7th Infantry; Surgeon, 76th Infantry; Duffy, John S., Asst. Surg., 145th Infantry; Dukate, John S., Asst. Surg., 53rd Infantry; Dunn, Williamson P., Asst. Surg., 40th Infantry; Dunn, Williamson D., Asst. Surg., 21st Infantry, 1st Heavy Artillery; Durand, Amos M., Asst. Surg., 50th Infantry; Asst. Surg., 52nd Infantry; Dutton, Daniel B., Asst. Surg., 123rd Infantry.

Easterling, Amos, Asst. Surg., 51st Infantry; Ebersole, Jacob, Surgeon, 19th Infantry; Edgerle, George W., Asst. Surg., 8th Infantry; Edwins, Stanley W., Asst. Surg., 124th Infantry; Eliott, James S., Surgeon, 86th Infantry; Ellis, Hamilton E., Surgeon, 43rd Infantry; Elston, William T., Asst. Surg., 151st Infantry; Eno, Newton G., Asst. Surg., 88th Infantry; Evans, David S., Surgeon, 69th Infantry; Everts, Orpheus, Surgeon, 20th Infantry.

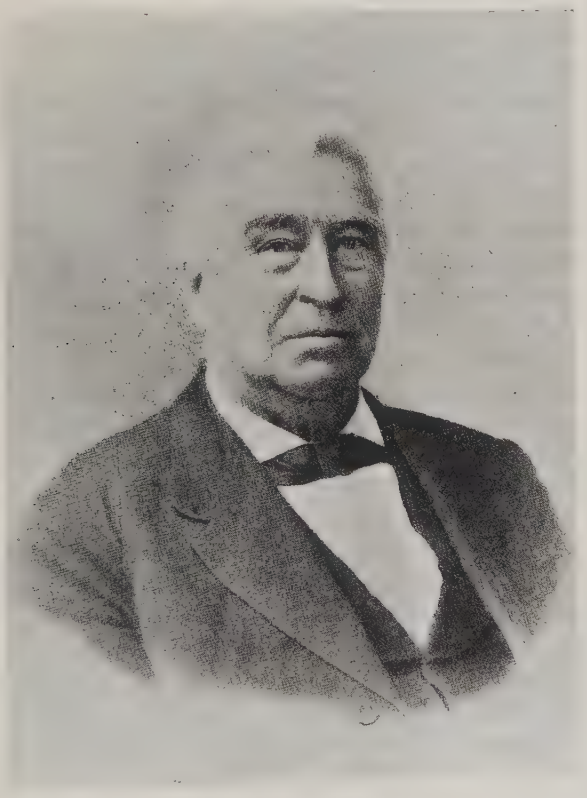
Ferguson, William T., Asst. Surg., 142nd Infantry; Field, Nathaniel, Surgeon, 66th Infantry; Fisher, Elias, Surgeon, 16th Infantry; Fitzgerald, David A., Asst. Surgeon., 47th Infantry; Fitzgerald Jenkins A., Asst. Surg., 70th Infantry; Flack, William C., Surgeon, 50th Infantry; Florer, Thomas W., Surgeon, 26th Infantry; Ford, James, Surgeon, 8th Infantry; Ford, John H., Surgeon, 93rd Infantry; Forstmeyer, Emil, Asst. Surg., 32nd Infantry; Fosdick, Albert C., Surgeon, 5th Cavalry; Foster, William C., Asst. Surg., 13th Infantry; Fouts, William D., Surgeon, 81st Infantry; France, Samuel, Surgeon, 100th Infantry; Freeman, Samuel A., Asst. Surg., 30th Infantry; Freeman, William, Surgeon, 7th Cavalry; Asst. Surg., 52nd Infantry; French, John S., Asst.

Surg., 120th Infantry; Fritts, Thomas J., Asst. Surg., 3rd Cavalry; Asst. Surg., 8th Cavalry; Fry, Thomas W., Sr., Surgeon, 11th Infantry; Fullerton, George W., Asst. Surg., 136th Infantry.

Gall, Alois D., Surgeon, 13th Infantry; Garrett, Anthony, Surgeon, 63rd Infantry; Garrison, Herod D., Asst. Surg., 4th Cavalry; Garrison, James L. F., Surgeon, 52nd Infantry; Garver, Henry F., Asst. Surg., 19th Infantry; Garver, James A., Asst. Surg., 8th Cavalry; Surgeon, 136th Infantry; Gatch, James D., Asst. Surg., 16th Infantry; Gentry, Zachariah B., Surgeon, 154th Infantry; Gerrard, Jerome B., Asst. Surg. 35th Infantry; Asst. Surg., 117th Infantry; Gerrish, James W. F., Surgeon, 67th Infantry; Gillespie, William, Asst. Surg., 7th Infantry; Surgeon, 83rd Infantry; Gillum, James, Asst. Surg., 138th Infantry; Gilmore, Alexander W., Asst. Surg., 9th Infantry; Glick, Elias B., Surgeon, 40th Infantry; Goldsberry, John A., Asst. Surg., 21st Infantry; Goodwin, John R., Asst. Surg., 37th Infantry; Gordon, George W., Surgeon, 18th Infantry; Gorrell, Joseph R., Asst. Surg. 129th Infantry; Goss, James M., Asst. Surg., 149th Infantry; Gould, Vernon, Asst. Surg., 87th Infantry; Graham, William B., Surgeon, 101st Infantry; Gray, Arthur W., Surgeon, 24th Infantry; Gray, John M., Surgeon, 8th Cavalry; Gregg, James S., Surgeon, 88th Infantry; Gregg, Vincent H., Surgeon, 124th Infantry; Green, Hiram S., Asst. Surg., 73rd Infantry; Green, John N., Asst. Surg., 19th Infantry; Griffith, John C., Asst. Surg., 29th Infantry; Grinwell, John L., Asst. Surg., 34th Infantry; Grove, Jasper M., Asst. Surg., 7th Cavalry; Grover, Henry C., Asst. Surg., 20th Infantry; Guffin, John, Asst. Surg., 20th Infantry; Surgeon, 156th.

Haines, Abram B., Asst. Surg., 19th Infantry; Asst. Surg., 20th Infantry; Surgeon, 146th Infantry; Hall, Daniel D., Asst. Surg., 36th Infantry; Ham, Levi J., Surgeon, 48th Infantry; Harriman, Simeon B., Asst. Surg., 34th Infantry; Harris, William B., Asst. Surg., 82nd Infantry; Harrison, Robert G., Asst. Surg., 120th Infantry; Harrison, Thomas H., Asst. Surg., 150th Infantry; Hawn, Emanuel R., Asst. Surg., 21st Infantry, 1st Heavy Artillery; Surgeon, 49th Infantry; Surgeon, 144th Infantry; Hayes, Samuel M., Asst. Surg., 30th Infantry; Haymond, William S., Asst. Surg., 46th Infantry; Heaton, Johnson F., Asst. Surg., 29th Infantry; Helmer, Orlando H., Asst. Surg., 43rd Infantry; Henderson, John F., Surgeon, 89th Infantry; Hendricks, William C., Surgeon, 31st Infantry; Surgeon, 147th Infantry; Henry, David H., Asst. Surg., 17th Infantry; Henry, Robert, Asst. Surg., 65th Infantry; Hervey, James W., Asst. Surg., 50th Infantry; Hervey, Thomas P., Asst. Surg., 50th Infantry; Hiatt, Christopher C., Asst. Surg., 5th Cavalry; Surgeon, 6th Cavalry; Higbee, Edward S., Surgeon, 74th Infantry;

Higinbotham, Samuel, Surgeon, 87th Infantry; Hilburn, Jabez C., Surgeon, 97th Infantry; Hitchcock, John W., Surgeon, 18th Infantry; Surgeon, 133rd Infantry; Hitt, John Y., Surgeon, 17th Infantry; Hoagland, John S., Asst. Surg., 53rd Infantry; Hobbs, William P., Asst. Surg., 85th Infantry; Hobbs, Wilson, Surg., 85th Infantry; Hochstetter, Jacob P., Surgeon, 57th Infantry; Hodgkins, Lewis W., Asst. Surg., 68th



Dr. Madison J. Bray

Infantry; Hoffman, Max F. A., Asst. Surg., 9th Infantry; Surgeon, 128th Infantry; Holtzman, Samuel E., Surgeon, 58th Infantry; Hornbrook, William P., Asst. Surg., 42nd Infantry; Horner, Jacob S., Surgeon, 53rd Infantry; Houghland, William T., Asst. Surg., 25th Infantry; Houser, Jacob H., Asst. Surg., 10th Cavalry; Howard, Noble P., Asst. Surg., 12th Infantry; Humphreys, Louis, Surgeon, 29th Infantry; Hunt, Andrew M., Asst. Surgeon, 33rd Infantry; Hunter, James B., Surgeon, 60th In-

fantry; Hurd, Anson, Surgeon, 14th Infantry; Asst. Surg., 20th Infantry; Hutchinson, David, Surgeon, 30th Infantry.

Ireland, William H., Asst. Surg., 22nd Infantry; Irwin, George E., Asst. Surg., 93rd Infantry.

Jaquess, George D., Surgeon, 80th Infantry; Jay, James C., Asst. Surg., 7th Cavalry; Jeancon, John Allard, Surgeon, 32nd Infantry; Jessup, Robert B., Surgeon, 24th Infantry; Johnson, Isaac C., Asst. Surg., 153rd Infantry; Johnson, Jarvis J., Surgeon, 27th Infantry; Johnson, John B., Asst. Surg., 72nd Infantry; Johnson, Samuel F., Surgeon, 65th Infantry; Johnson, Thomas J., Asst. Surg., 25th Infantry; Johnson, William W., Asst. Surg., 85th Infantry; Jones, Caleb V., Surgeon, 63rd Infantry; Jones, George W., Asst. Surg., 63rd Infantry; Jones, Harry, Asst. Surg., 57th Infantry; Jones, James T., Asst. Surg., 132nd Infantry; Jones, John H., Asst. Surg., 13th Cavalry; Jones, Joseph, Surgeon, 86th Infantry; Jones, Thomas N., Asst. Surg., 2nd Cavalry; Surgeon, 130th Infantry; Jones, William B., Surgeon, 149th Infantry; Josse, John M., Surgeon, 32nd Infantry.

Kay, Robert, Asst. Surg., 23rd Infantry; Asst. Surg., 144th Infantry; Kay, David G., Surgeon, 81st Infantry; Keen, Lorenzo S., Surgeon, 29th Infantry; Keiser, Alfred, Asst. Surg., 124th Infantry; Kelly, Mathew, Asst. Surg., 82nd Infantry; Kelso, William H., Asst. Surg., 81st Infantry; Kemper, General W. H., Asst. Surg., 17th Infantry; Kendrick, William H., Asst. Surg., 19th Infantry; Kennedy, Hamlet K., Asst. Surg., 13th Infantry; Kennedy, Leroy H., Asst. Surg., 70th Infantry; Kersey, Silas H., Asst. Surg., 36th Infantry; Surgeon, 36th Infantry; Kilgore, Tecumseh, Asst. Surg., 84th Infantry; Asst. Surg., 13th Cavalry; Surgeon, 13th Cavalry; Killen, James, Asst. Surg., 10th Infantry; Kimball, Abner D., Asst. Surg., 48th Infantry; King, Henry R., Asst. Surg., 51st Infantry; King, William F., Asst. Surg., 124th Infantry; Surgeon, 147th Infantry; Kirby, Henry, Surgeon, 84th Infantry; Kirkpatrick, George W., Asst. Surg., 72nd Infantry; Knight, James H., Asst. Surg., 3rd Cavalry; Krauth, Ferdinand, Surgeon, 32nd Infantry; Kuester, Charles E., Asst. Surg., 133rd Infantry; Surgeon, 156th Infantry; Kunkler, Gustave A., Surgeon, 32nd Infantry; Lambey, Louis, Asst. Surg., 14th Infantry; Lansing, Sylvester, Asst. Surg., 48th Infantry; Asst. Surg., 49th U. S. C. T.; Larkin, John B., Asst. Surg., 17th Infantry; Surgeon, 17th Infantry; Lattimore, Finley C., Asst. Surg., 6th Infantry; Leavitt, Philander C., Surgeon, 100th Infantry; Leech, Elliott W., Asst. Surg., 123rd Infantry; Leedy, John K., Surgeon, 74th Infantry; Lemon, William H., Surgeon, 82nd Infantry; Lent, Cyrus V. N., Surgeon, 101st Infantry; Surgeon, 138th Infantry; Lewis, Eli, Surgeon, 65th Infantry; Lewis, Samuel B., Surgeon, 10th Cavalry; Liddall, James

P., Asst. Surg., 22nd Infantry; Lininger, Daniel P., Asst. Surg., 7th Infantry; Lomax, William, Surgeon, 12th Infantry.

McCarthy, John F., Surgeon, 29th Infantry; McChristie, John, Asst. Surg., 9th Cavalry; McClelland, James S., Surgeon, 135th Infantry; McClure, Samuel M., Asst. Surg., 37th Infantry; McCoy, George K., Asst. Surg., 35th Infantry; McCoy, James A. C., Asst. Surg., 49th Infantry; McCoy, John, Surgeon, 139th Infantry; McCrea, Thomas P., Surgeon, 10th Infantry; McCune, George W., Surgeon, 14th Infantry; McFadden, William G., Surgeon, 79th Infantry; McGee, Richard, Asst. Surg., 100th Infantry; McKinney, Asa W., Surgeon, 31st Infantry; McNutt, James H., Asst. Surg., 97th Infantry; McPheeters, John S., Surgeon, 23rd Infantry; McPheeters, Joseph G., Surgeon, 14th Infantry; Surgeon, 33rd Infantry; Magann, Edwin W., Asst. Surg., 9th Cavalry; Mageniss, John, Asst. Surg., 42nd Infantry; Manker, Lewis, Surgeon, 79th Infantry; Martin, James W., Surgeon, 52nd Infantry; Martin, Samuel F., Asst. Surg., 66th Infantry; Martin, William H., Surgeon, 10th Infantry; Martin, W. W., Surgeon, 44th Infantry; Mason, Ferdinand, Surgeon, 13th Infantry; Meek, John A., Asst. Surg. 89th Infantry; Meeker, Daniel, Surgeon, 9th Infantry; Meeker, Lysander, Asst. Surg., 128th Infantry; Melscheimer, Charles T., Asst. Surg., 101st Infantry; Mendenhall, William T., Asst. Surg., 57th Infantry; Mercer, William M., Asst. Surg., 152nd Infantry; Meredith, Marion, Asst. Surg., 68th Infantry; Merit, Nathaniel P., Asst. Surg., 31st Infantry; Messner, Samuel F., Asst. Surg., 116th Infantry; Miller, James, Asst. Surg., 30th Infantry; Mills, James R., Asst. Surg., 47th Infantry; Milner, Isaac N., Asst. Surg. 53rd Infantry; Mitchell, Elisha V., Surgeon, 91st Infantry; Mitchell, Robert, Asst. Surg., 38th Infantry; Mitchell, Robert S., Asst. Surg., 57th Infantry; Moffit, John, Asst. Surg., 33rd Infantry; Monroe, Jasper R., Surgeon, 49th Infantry; Monteith, Jacob S., Asst. Surg., 69th Infantry; Montgomery, George B., Surgeon, 24th Infantry; Morgan, James W., Asst. Surg., 31st Infantry; Morrow, Doctor F., Asst. Surg., 13th Cavalry; Morrow, James L., Surgeon, 72nd Infantry; Moss, Gordon A., Asst. Surg., 87th Infantry; Surgeon, 151st Infantry; Mullen, Alexander J., Surgeon, 35th Infantry; Mullinix, Maston G., Asst. Surg., 149th Infantry; Munford, Samuel E., Asst. Surg., 17th Infantry; Surgeon 17th Infantry; Murphy, Alexander D., Asst. Surg., 97th Infantry; Murphy, Alexander M., Asst. Surg., 97th Infantry; Surgeon, 97th Infantry; Murray, Ralph V., Asst. Surg., 137th Infantry; Myers, Seth F., Surgeon, 73rd Infantry; Myers, William D., Surgeon, 88th Infantry; Myers, William H., Asst. Surg., 10th Infantry; Surgeon, 30th Infantry.

Neat, Thomas C., Asst. Surg., 144th Infantry; Neely, John M., Surgeon, 120th Infantry; Nelson, William Y., Asst. Surg., 128th Infantry;

New, George W., Surgeon, 7th Infantry; Newland, Benjamin, Surgeon, 22nd Infantry; Nichols, John D., Asst. Surg., 38th Infantry.

O'Ferrell, Robert M., Surgeon, 40th Infantry; Olds, Joseph H., Asst. Surg., 6th Cavalry; O'Neal, Laughlin, Surgeon, 153rd Infantry; Orr, James P., Asst. Surg., 36th Infantry; Osgood, Howard G., Asst. Surg., 5th Cavalry.

Parks, Edward R., Surgeon, 30th Infantry; Parsons, George W., Asst. Surg., 35th Infantry; Patten, James C., Asst. Surg., 1st Cavalry; Asst. Surg., 58th Infantry; Patterson, John J., Asst. Surg., 1st Cavalry; Pattison, George W., Surgeon, 130th Infantry; Pearce, John W., Asst Surg., 51st Infantry; Pearman, Francis M., Surgeon, 30th Infantry; Pearson, Charles D., Surgeon, 49th Infantry; Surgeon, 82nd Infantry; Peck, Samuel W., Surgeon, 18th Infantry; Pegann, Emanuel, Surgeon, 155th Infantry; Perkins, Conrad S., Asst. Surg., 10th Infantry; Phipps, John M., Surgeon, 132nd Infantry; Piatt, William C., Asst. Surg., 140th Infantry; Pickthall, Arthur, Asst. Surg., 49th Infantry; Pitcher, Stewart C., Surgeon, 143rd Infantry; Plummer, Isaac N., Asst. Surg., 44th Infantry; Poffenberger, Isaiah, Asst. Surg., 99th Infantry; Pope, Henry E., Asst. Surg., 54th Infantry; Porter, John P., Asst. Surg., 89th Infantry; Pottenger, Wilson, Asst. Surg., 73rd Infantry; Potts, John, Asst. Surg., 40th Infantry; Pratt, Samuel R., Surgeon, 12th Cavalry; Surgeon, 87th Infantry; Preston, Albert G., Surgeon, 55th Infantry; Prichet, John, Surgeon, 57th Infantry; Prunk, Daniel H., Asst. Surg., 20th Infantry; Ralston, William G., Surgeon, 81st Infantry; Read, Ezra, Surgeon, 11th Cavalry; Surgeon, 21st Infantry, 1st Heavy Artillery; Reagan, Amos W., Surgeon, 70th Infantry; Reagan, Jesse, Surgeon, 148th Infantry; Reed Albert S., Asst. Surg., 147th Infantry; Rerick, John H., Surgeon, 44th Infantry; Reynolds, Robert C., Asst. Surg., 43rd Infantry; Richards, Samuel D., Surgeon, 59th Infantry; Richardson, Adamson, G., Asst. Surg., 154th Infantry; Riffle, John S., Asst. Surg., 40th Infantry; Ritter, John A., Surgeon, 49th Infantry; Robinson, John A., Asst. Surg., 11th Cavalry; Robinson, Lawson D., Asst. Surg., 99th Infantry; Robson, John R., Asst. Surg., 1st Cavalry; Asst. Surg., 91st Infantry; Robson, Robert, Surgeon, 91st Infantry; Rockwell, William, Asst. Surg., 11th Infantry; Roe, John L., Surgeon, 137th Infantry; Roether, Daniel B., Asst. Surg., 7th Cavalry; Rogers, Dudley, Surgeon, 59th Infantry; Rooker, James I., Asst. Surg., 11th Infantry; Rose, Madison H., Surgeon, 53rd Infantry; Rupert, Delos W., Asst. Surg., 30th Infantry; Russell, George H., Asst. Surg., 5th Cavalry; Russell, Isaac S., Asst. Surg., 99th Infantry; Ruter, Rinaldo R., Surgeon, 93rd Infantry; Rutledge, William, Asst. Surg., 2nd Cavalry; Ryan, Townsend, Surgeon, 54th Infantry.

Sabin, Elias H., Asst. Surg., 14th Infantry; Sadler, Joseph J., Asst. Surg., 16th Infantry; Salisbury, David, Asst. Surg., 128th Infantry; Scearce, John C., Surgeon, 11th Infantry; Schell, Frederick A., Asst. Surg., 6th Cavalry; Schmidt, Gustavus A., Asst. Surg., 6th Cavalry; Schussler, Charles, Surgeon, 6th Infantry; Scott, William, Surgeon, 89th Infantry; Scott, William G., Asst. Surg., 8th Cavalry; Scudder,

Dr. Abram O. Miller

John A., Asst. Surg., 65th Infantry; Sexton, Marshall, Surgeon, 52nd Infantry; Shaffer, Abner H., Surgeon, 75th Infantry; Shapley, William W., Surgeon, 42nd Infantry; Sheldon, George W., Surgeon, 74th Infantry; Sherman, Mason G., Surgeon, 9th Infantry; Sherrod, William F., Surgeon, 21st Infantry; Sherwin, Herman H., Asst. Surg., 152nd Infantry; Short, Wesley, Asst. Surg., 26th Infantry; Simms, John M., Asst. Surg., 76th Infantry; Simonson, James C., Surgeon, 66th Infantry; Slaughter, Robert C., Asst. Surg., 25th Infantry; Surgeon, 53rd

Infantry; Slaughter, William W., Surgeon, 60th Infantry; Slavens, Zenas L., Asst. Surg., 115th Infantry; Smith, Andrew J., Asst. Surg., 2nd Cavalry; Smith, John W., Surgeon, 155th Infantry; Smith, William R., Asst. Surg., 70th Infantry; Smith, William Z., Asst. Surg., 49th Infantry; Smydth, William C., Surgeon, 43rd Infantry; Smythe, Gonsolvo, C., Surgeon, 43rd Infantry; Spain, Archibald W., Asst. Surg., 80th Infantry; Asst. Surg., 136th Infantry; Sparks, Nathan B., Asst. Surg., 6th Infantry; Speed, Edward B., Asst. Surg., 44th Infantry; Spencer, Robert, Surgeon, 73rd Infantry; Spencer, William, Asst. Surg., 46th Infantry; Asst. Surg., 73rd Infantry; Spottswood, Edmund T., Surgeon, 6th Cavalry; Spurrier, John H., Asst. Surg., 16th Infantry; Surgeon, 123rd Infantry; Squire, William B., Asst. Surg., 14th Infantry; St. Clair, Owen, Asst. Surg., 142nd Infantry; Stearns, Elias P., Asst. Surg., 72nd Infantry; Stewart, William J., Asst. Surg., 47th Infantry; Stillwell, Joseph A., Surgeon, 22nd Infantry; Stucky, John M., Asst. Surg., 59th Infantry; Swafford, Benjamin F., Surgeon, 11th Cavalry; Swartz, David J., Asst. Surg., 100th Infantry; Sweeny, Thomas J., Asst. Surg., 43rd Infantry; Sweezy, William C., Surgeon, 140th Infantry.

Taggart, John F., Surgeon, 4th Cavalry; Taylor, Alfred B., Asst. Surgeon, 12th Infantry; Taylor, Daniel W., Surgeon, 34th Infantry; Taylor, William D., Surgeon, 42nd Infantry; Teal, Norman, Asst. Surg., 88th Infantry; Thomas, Charles L., Surgeon, 25th Infantry; Thomas, Elias B., Asst. Surg., 4th Cavalry; Thomas, James H., Asst. Surg., 117th Infantry; Thomas, John H., Asst. Surg., 49th Infantry; Thompson, John C., Surgeon, 11th Infantry; Tilford, John H., Asst. Surg., 79th Infantry; Tillson, Hosea, Asst. Surg., and Surgeon, 57th Infantry; Tilman, Jonathan R., Asst. Surg., 60th Infantry; Todd, Robert N., Surgeon, 26th Infantry; Todd, William A., Asst. Surg., 11th Infantry; Tolerton, James, Surgeon 129th Infantry; Torbet, George A., Asst. Surg., 26th Infantry; Triplett, Charles E., Surgeon, 87th Infantry; Twiford, Willis H., Surgeon, 27th Infantry; Tyner, Samuel L., Asst. Surg., 42nd Infantry.

Underhill, Joshua W., Surgeon, 46th Infantry.

Vaile, Joel, Surgeon, 2nd Cavalry; Van Voris, Flavius J., Asst. Surg., 86th Infantry; Vincent, Henry C., Asst. Surg., 83rd Infantry; Vincent, Jeremiah K., Asst. Surg., 33rd Infantry; Voyles, David W., Surgeon, 66th Infantry.

Walker, Augustus C., Asst. Surg., 63rd Infantry; Walker, John T., Surgeon, 25th Infantry; Wallace, James P., Asst. Surg., 150th Infantry; Walton, Allen M., Surgeon, 13th Cavalry; Asst. Surg., 86th Infantry; Washburn, Israel B., Surgeon, 46th Infantry; Waterman, Luther D., Surgeon, 8th Cavalry; Weaver, Samuel M., Asst. Surg., 83rd Infan-

try; Webb, William A., Asst. Surg., 70th Infantry; Weddington, Samuel C., Asst. Surg., 147th Infantry; Weir, Andrew N., Surgeon, 6th Cavalry; Welborn, William P., Surgeon, 80th Infantry; Wells, James C., Asst. Surg., 50th Infantry; Welman, Richmond M., Surgeon, 9th Cavalry; Whitaker, Eli D., Surgeon, 38th Infantry; White, Arthur, Asst. Surg., 25th Infantry; White, Jacob S., Surgeon, 34th Infantry; White, James B., Asst. Surg., 75th Infantry; White, John M., Asst. Surg., 70th Infantry; Whitehall, Alexander L., Asst. Surg., 60th; Whitesell, Joseph M., Asst. Surg., 36th Infantry; Whitesell, Philip P., Surgeon, 101st Infantry; Widmer, John F. B., Asst. Surg., 49th Infantry; Wiles, William V., Asst. Surg., 85th Infantry; Williamson, Eleazer, Asst. Surg., 130th Infantry; Williamson, Robert A., Surgeon, 10th Infantry; Williamson, Thomas W. C., Asst. Surg., 24th Infantry; Wilson, Isaac, Asst. Surg., 137th Infantry; Wilson, Jacob B., Asst. Surg., 123rd Infantry; Wilson, James, Asst. Surg., 11th Infantry; Winans, Richard, Asst. Surg., 17th Infantry; Wishard, Joseph M., Surgeon, 5th Cavalry; Witt, William B., Surgeon, 69th Infantry; Wolf, Harvey S., Surgeon, 81st Infantry; Wonsetler, Gideon, Asst. Surg., 15th Infantry; Wood, James A., Asst. Surg., 12th Cavalry; Wooden, John L., Surgeon, 68th Infantry; Woods, Calvin J., Surgeon, 19th Infantry; Woods, Daniel L., Asst. Surg., 21st Infantry, 1st Heavy Artillery; Asst. Surg., 138 Infantry; Asst. Surg., 153rd Infantry; Woolen, Green V., Asst. Surg., 27th Infantry; Wright, Ivy E., Asst. Surg., 116th Infantry.

Youart, John M., Asst. Surg., 15th Infantry; Surgeon, 15th Infantry.

Surgeons in Colored Regiments

Eastman, Joseph, Asst. Surg., 44th U. S. C. T.; Strong, John T., Surgeon, 44th U. S. C. T.; Thompson, James L., Surgeon, 4th U. S. Heavy Artillery; Weist, Jacob R., Surgeon, 1st U. S. C. T.

Surgeons in Minute Men Regiments

Bounell, Mathew H., Surgeon, 102nd Regiment; Buck, Robert H., Surgeon 103d Regiment; Harrison, Thomas H., Asst. Surg., 102nd Regiment; Thomas, L. C., Surgeon, 104th Regiment; McClain, James, Asst. Surg., 104th Regiment;; Wheeldon, John, Asst. Surg., 104th Regiment; Spurrier, John H., Surgeon, 105th Regiment; Kellog, Norman P., Asst. Surg., 105th Regiment; Chitwood, Joshua, Asst. Surg., 106th Regiment; Parvin, Theophilus, Surgeon, 107th Regiment; Constant, John H., Surgeon, 108th Regiment; Moore, Anderson M., Asst. Surg., 108th Regiment;

May, Willis L., Asst. Surg., 108th Regiment; Johnson, Jarvis J., Surgeon, 109th Regiment; Hall, Daniel D., Surgeon, 111th Regiment; Beard, Ferdinand W., Surgeon, 112th Regiment; Bare, Addison W., Asst. Surg., 112th Regiment; Parmerlee, H. M., Surgeon, 113th Regiment; Wood, Meredith, Asst Surg., 113th Regiment.

NOTE.—No medical officers were supplied to the 110th and 114th regiments.

MEDICAL OFFICERS FROM INDIANA COMMISSIONED BY THE PRESIDENT, VOLUNTEERS, 1861-65

John S. Bibbs, surgeon; William D. Stewart, surgeon; William C. Thompson, surgeon; Charles S. Frink, surgeon; James M. Study, assistant surgeon.

VOLUNTEER NAVY—ACTING ASSISTANT SURGEONS (CIVIL WAR)

Philip H. Barton, George F. Beasley, William Commons, David G. Curtis, William C. Foster, Thomas F. Leech, Jacob J. Smith.

SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

Indiana equipped and sent out five regiments for this war; and furnished them with five regimental surgeons, eleven regimental assistant surgeons, three surgeons in the volunteer army appointed by the President, and fifteen hospital stewards, making a total of thirty-four medical officers. An alphabetical list of their names is given:

Barcus, Paul J., Asst. Surg., 158th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Barnett, Charles E., Asst. Surg., 157th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Barnett, Walter W., Surgeon, 157th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Buehler, Eugene, Asst. Surg., 160th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Charlton, Fred R., Surgeon, 158th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Davis, William S., Asst. Surg., 159th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Foxworthy, Frank W., Asst. Surg., 160th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Garstang, Reginald W., Asst. Surg., 157th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Gerrish, Millard F., Asst. Surg., 161st Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Hawkins, Eugene, Asst. Surg., 159th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Jones, Homer I., Asst. Surg., 158th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Kyle, John J., Surgeon, 160th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Siver, Emmett L., Surgeon, 157th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Smith, Wicliffe, Surgeon, 161st Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Stunkard, Thomas C., Surgeon, 159th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Wilson, James, Asst. Surg., 161st Regiment, Indiana Infantry.

List of Surgeons Appointed by the President in the Volunteer Army of the United States

English, Calvin H., Major and Brigade Surgeon; Kimball, Thomas C., Major and Chief Surgeon; Peyton, David C., Major and Brigade Surgeon.

Hospital Stewards

Espey, James G., 161st Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Hawkins, Robert W., 159th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Langdon, Harry K., 159th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Lewis, John I., 161st Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Moore, Harry S., 158th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Moore, Harvey A., 157th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Newland, Harrod C., 158th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Pfaff, John A., 160th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Rathert, William H., 161st Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Schultz, Guy A., 157th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Shell, Ogden G., 157th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Sommer, Edgar L., 160th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Starrett, Walter K., 160th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Townsend, Terry M., 159th Regiment, Indiana Infantry; Wright, Charles E., 158th Regiment, Indiana Infantry.

Dr. Graham N. Fitch, of Logansport, was born in Le Roy, New York, in 1808, and died in Logansport, November 28, 1892. He served in the Indiana legislature in 1836 and 1839. In 1844 filled a chair in Rush Medical College. From 1848 to 1852 was a member of congress from his district. From 1856 to 1861 was United States senator from Indiana. During the Civil war he was colonel of the 46th Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and for a time commanded a brigade. After the close of the Civil war, he occupied the chair of surgery in several of the medical colleges of Indiana.

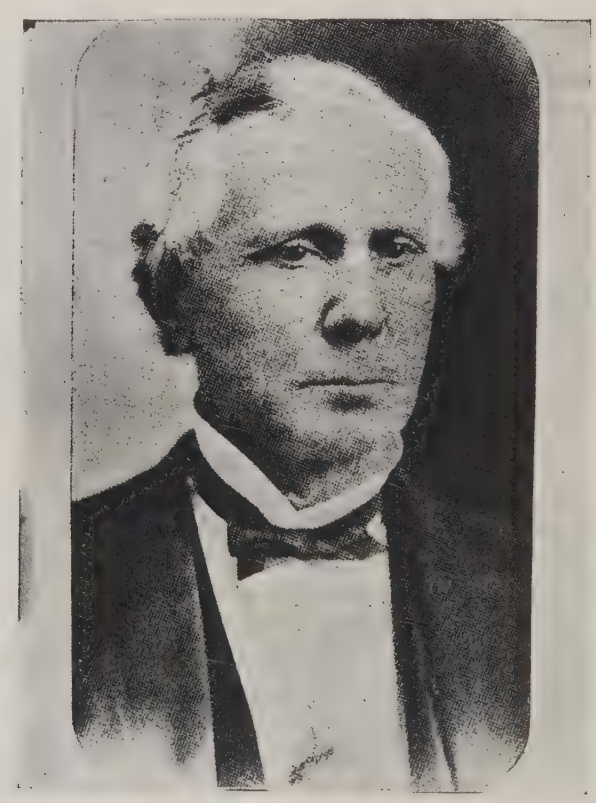
Dr. Abram O. Miller (1827-1901), Lebanon, was colonel of the 72nd Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry (later mounted infantry), and much of the time commanded the famous Wilder's Brigade of Mounted Infantry. At the battle of Selma, Alabama, he received a severe wound, but remained in the service until the close of the war.

Dr. William H. Wishard deserves especial mention. He may be classed as physician, soldier, and historian. While he was not mustered into the army as a soldier, yet he rendered faithful service in many a military camp.

Dr. Wishard was born in Nicholas County, Ky., January 17, 1816, and came with his parents at an early age to Indiana. He graduated at the Laporte College at its early career. Began practice at Waverly,

April 22, 1840. Afterwards moved to Greenwood,—later at Southport, and to Indianapolis in 1876.

He was present at the medical convention held at Indianapolis in 1849, and was the last member of that band to pass away. He rendered service to Indiana soldiers on numerous occasions. The author first met Dr. Wishard on the battlefield of Shiloh, in April, 1862.



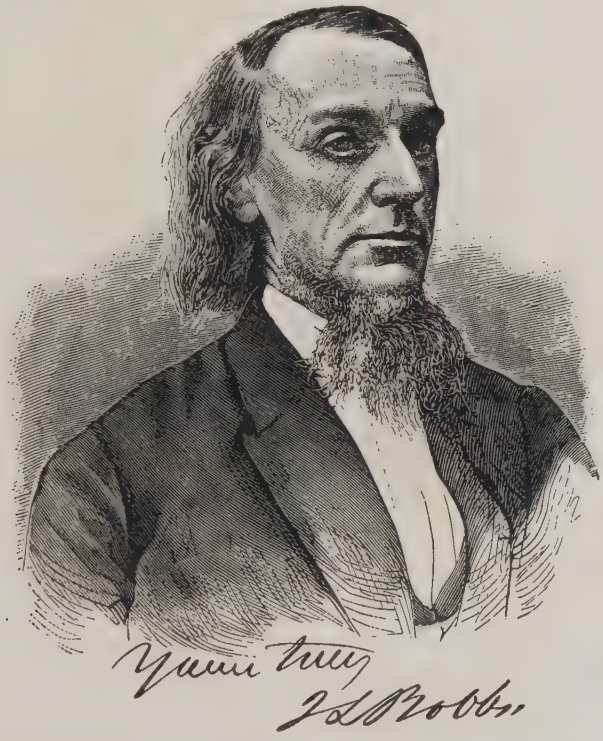
Dr. Graham N. Fitch
(U. S. Senator 1857-61)

Probably he met face to face more Indiana physicians than any other practitioner in the state, and saw more of the public men of the state. His sketches of early Indiana physicians, and early medicine of Indiana have been invaluable to our state medical history.

He died at Indianapolis, December 9, 1913; having almost reached the century mark.

Dr. Bobbs and the Story of Cholecystotomy

Dr. John Stough Bobbs was born in Greenvillage, Pa., December 28, 1809. He located at Indianapolis in 1835; died in that city May 1, 1870. Prior to the Civil war he was a state senator one term. During the Civil war he was commissioned by the President a brigade surgeon and served on the staff of Gen. T. A. Morris.



Dr. Bobbs is especially known, honored, and recognized as the first surgeon to open the human gall bladder in the living subject,—an operation quite common at the present day, and known as "cholecystotomy." Dr. Bobbs never saw that word in print, and he named his operation: "Lithotomy of the Gallbladder."[18]

The patient was Miss Mary S. Wiggins, of Indianapolis, aged 30 years. Later she married and was known as Mrs. Z. Burnsworth, and

[18] "Lithotomy of the Gallbladder." Transactions of the Indiana State Medical Society, 1868, p. 68. To the laity I may say by way of explanation, that Lithotomy signifies, "Incision into the bladder to remove a calculus" (Gould).

lived and died at McCordsville, Indiana. She died April 22, 1913, She outlived Dr. Bobbs and all who assisted him in the operation:[19] surviving forty-six years.

The operation was performed June 15, 1867, Dr. Bobbs being assisted by "Drs. Newcomer, Todd, Comingor, Mears, Moore, Avery, and a medical student." The patient soon recovered, Dr. Bobbs died three years later; doctors quit talking about the case, and everybody else, apparently, forgot its history. The story of the case slumbered twelve years,—1879, when the author of this paper, in preparing material for an article brought the case to light.[20]

MRS. Z. BURNSWORTH, FORMERLY MISS MARY E. WIGGINS
First person operated on for gall stones in the world

In closing my article referred to, I said: "It is a pleasing duty to pay this small tribute to the memory of our departed fellow and brother (Dr. Bobbs). While several European and American surgeons are discussing the feasibility and priority of the operation of cholecystotomy, with as yet no complete results, but only the promise of success for the

[19] It is interesting as a bit of medical history to know that in June, 1909, Sir Alexander R. Simpson, for thirty-five years professor of midwifery and diseases of women in the University of Edinburgh, was visiting in Indianapolis, and expressed a desire to visit Mrs. Burnsworth in order to see this remarkable patient. Accordingly, on June 12, 1909, Drs. O. G. Pfaff, A. C. Kimberlin, and A. W. Brayton, accompanied Sir Alexander to the home of that lady, where the distinguished physician and celebrated patient met. Sir Alexander died at Edinburgh, Scotland, April 7, 1916.

[20] "Affections of the Gallbladder Tending to Result in Cutaneous Biliary Fistula."—Transactions of the Indiana State Medical Society, 1879, p. 120.

future, they are astonished to learn that the operation was successfully performed by a surgeon of Indiana, twelve years ago.''—page 136.

At Indianapolis, October 11, 1917, in the medical section of the new $6,000,000 library building a bronze tablet was erected in honor of the memory of Dr. Bobbs. This bronze tablet executed by Gutzon Borglum, is six feet by three and a half feet in size, bears in bas relief the figure of Dr. Bobbs, and the following inscription: ''Illustrious Surgeon, Patriotic Citizen, Self-sacrificing Benefactor, Servant of God through service to Mankind. First to perform the operation of cholecystotomy.''

Individual Donations

Dr. John S. Bobbs in 1870 gave a gift to the poor of Indianapolis, which was made the nucleus for the establishment of Bobbs' Free Dispensary, now known as the City Dispensary.

His medical library was bequeathed to the physicians of Indianapolis. Later, when the medical college burned, these books were destroyed.

Dr. William Lomax, of Marion, gave, in 1890, to Indiana Medical College, farm lands, and property in the city of Marion that were valued at approximately ten thousand ($10,000) dollars.

Dr. William Flynn, deceased, of Marion, gave to the Indiana Medical College, a gift of money that was realized after his death, amounting to five thousand five hundred ($5,500) dollars.

Dr. Luther D. Waterman, who resided at Indianapolis, recently conveyed and donated to Indiana University, the bulk of his estate, of the probable value of one hundred and fifty thousand ($150,000) dollars, for the establishment of a department of research work.

Mineral Waters of Indiana

This article will not attempt to enter into a scientific discussion of local mineral waters. Persons seeking aid for special diseases will do well to consult intelligent physicians for proper knowledge relating to waters adapted to their particular disease. The principal ones only will be mentioned historically.

Medical experts do not hesitate to assert that we have in Indiana mineral waters which will compare favorably with those of some of the best known spas of America and Europe.

The French Lick and West Baden springs are the better known of all our medicinal waters, and are usually considered the most important in a therapeutic sense.

The natural mineral waters of Orange County are similar to those of the Baden-Lick valley in their chemical constitution.

Martinsville is a mecca for hundreds of invalids who annually resort thither for various diseases,—especially rheumatism.

Mudlavia, near Attica, promises a similar water, but is especially renowned for its mud baths; this mud being a very black loam of vegetable decomposition and seems particularly adapted to chronic diseases and rheumatism.

Drilled wells have been constructed at several places, and attract sick persons seeking relief from various ailments. The waters of Greenwood, Shelbyville, Winona, and some other points, present their claims to a less or greater degree.

Commodious hotels and sanitariums have been erected at all of these points so that those seeking relief from ailments, or desiring a haven for rest and retirement, will find all needful conveniences for comfort and treatment.

Closing Words

The growing figures at the top of my pages admonish me that I should bring my paper to a close. It was with some hesitation that I consented to prepare the medical chapter for the forthcoming History of Indiana. I am now in my seventy-ninth year,—past that period when ideas and words come flocking to the mind; my old brain fatigues more easily than when I was younger. I crave the indulgence of the reader. I may have said words that I should not have said; still worse, I have failed to record words that deserve to be written.

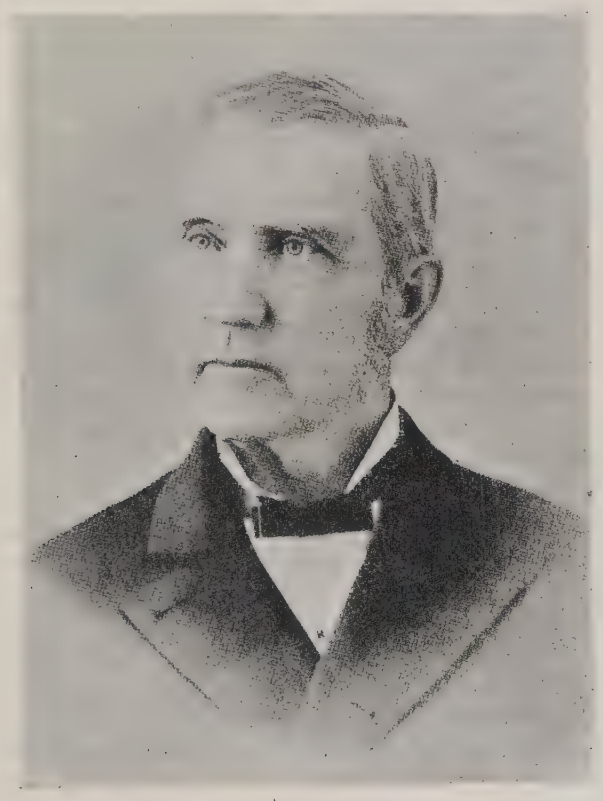
The physicians of Indiana have acted well their part,—whether at the bedside, in the hospital, in the lecture hall, or in the domain of medical literature, their work has been creditable. The early physicians of Indiana were honest, faithful, and did the best they knew how. As I have recorded the names of these early physicians I have been struck with the large number of Christian names derived from the scriptures. They were born in homes where father and mother read the Bible.

The medical men of the present day are no better men than were the earlier physicians, but they are better physicians. These have had greater facilities, and where much is given much will be required.

If the physicians whom I met in Delaware County fifty-three years ago were to rise from the dead and appear upon our streets today, they would be startled at our speeding automobiles, but no less surprised if they should enter a modern medical meeting and hear doctors talking about asepsis, antiseptics, listerism, antitoxins, serums, and germs. They would not understand the meaning of these terms and would be compelled to consult a modern medical dictionary!

The changes in physicians and medical practice during the past one hundred years have been incidentally touched upon in the preceding pages of this paper. The changes are all the more striking to us physicians who have lived for many years amid these revolutions and participated in the transformations.

I began my practice amid the carnage of the Civil war; after fifty-



Dr. James F. Hibberd

seven years, when ready to lay my burden down, our country is again engaged in war.

On November 6, 1861, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes delivered before the medical class of Harvard University, an introductory lecture in which he closed with a stirring appeal to the young medical men. They are applicable today when our country is again in peril, and I shall quote them: "The young man who has not heard the clarion-voices of honor and of duty now sounding throughout the land, will heed no word of

mine. In the camp or the city, in the field or the hospital, under sheltering roof, or half-protecting canvas, or open sky, shedding our own blood or stanching that of our wounded defenders, students or teachers,—whatever our calling and our ability, we belong, not to ourselves, but to our imperilled country, whose danger is our calamity, whose ruin would be our enslavement, whose rescue shall be our earthly salvation!''

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Dunn's "History of Greater Indianapolis," chapter 41, and Sulgrove's "History of Indianapolis and Marion County," chapter 12, will give considerable information concerning the physicians of Marion County.

CHAPTER XV

EDUCATION

The beginnings of education in Indiana are involved in some obscurity. The first direct witness is Count Volney, who visited the French settlers of Vincennes in 1796, and wrote: "Nobody ever opened a school among them till it was done by the abbe R. a polite, well educated, and liberal minded missionary, banished hither by the French revolution. Out of nine of the French, scarcely six could read or write, whereas nine-tenths of the Americans, or emigrants from the East could do both:"[1] This school could not have existed many months before Volney's visit; for the Abbé Rivet, to whom he refers, succeeded Father Flaget as parish priest at Vincennes, and he did not leave until the spring of 1795. The next direct witness is brought forward by Rev. F. C. Holliday, as follows: "The first school of any kind held in the territory of Indiana was taught one-and-a-half miles south of Charlestown, the present county seat of Clark County, in 1803. Rev. Geo. K. Hester, who was a pupil in this school in 1804, says: 'Our first books were generally very far from facilitating an education, or affording material for the mental culture of youth. My first two reading books were "Gulliver's Travels" and a "Dream Book." We had to commence the first rudiments of language in "Dilworth's Spelling-Book." The rigid discipline exercised, the cruelty practiced on delinquent scholars, as well as the long confinement of children to their books, from soon after sunrise to sunset, with only vacation at noon, was detrimental to their advancement in learning.'"[2]

This positive statement seems hardly credible. It is stated that, "Gen. Henry Dodge taught school in the Goodwin neighborhood, in the early part of 1800."[3] This was in Clark County, and Gen. Dodge was later the noted Governor of Wisconsin. Judge Banta, who gave the subject much study, says that providing schools for the children as soon as there were enough families in a settlement to call for a school, "I believe to

[1] View of the Climate and Soil of the United States, p. 335.

[2] Indiana Methodism, p. 36.

[3] Hist. Ohio Falls Cos., Vol. 2, p. 351.

have been the unvarying American practice.'' On this basis he surmises that there was a school at the Falls of the Ohio not later than 1785, and one in Dearborn County prior to 1802. As to the custom, Judge Banta is supported by Timothy Flint, who was familiar with the State from 1816, and says: ''That spirit of regard for schools, religious societies and institutions, connected with them, which has so honorably distinguished the commencing institutions of Ohio, has displayed itself also in this state. There are districts, no doubt, where people have but just made beginnings; and where they are more anxious about carrying on the first operations of making a new establishment, than about educating their children. But it ought to be recorded to the honor of the people in this state, that among the first public works in an incipient village, is a school house, and among the first associations, that for establishing a school. Schools are of course established in all the considerable towns and villages of the state. In many of the compact villages, there is a reading room, and a social library. * * * The only endowed college, with which we are acquainted, is fixed at Vincennes.''[4] The one thing that is certain is that these early schools were ephemeral private schools, with the exception of Vincennes University. The township granted for its support was selected in October, 1806, and the same year the University was incorporated, its trustees being authorized to sell 4,000 acres of the land. The common school lands, one section in each township, could not be sold; and in 1808 the county courts were authorized to lease them for not more than five years, the lessee being required to put at least ten acres under cultivation in each quarter section. In 1810, the school fever had been awakened, and Governor Harrison made his famous recommendations for military instruction in the schools. In that year the legislature provided for a township trustee for school lands, with power to lease not over 160 acres to one person, and, singularly enough, prohibiting the destruction of timber. There was little encouragement to anyone to lease school lands, when they could enter lands for themselves, and why anyone should want timber lands that could not be cleared, is a puzzle. At any rate the income from the school lands at that period was a mere pittance, and the expense of maintaining the schools fell upon the patrons.

In reality, the public school system, in 1810, was all university, for out of the proceeds of the lands sold, the trustees had erected a brick building, at a cost of some six thousand dollars, and the institution was opened in 1810 as a ''grammar school'' with Rev. Samuel Scott as ''President.'' But even this was a ''vision,'' for David Thomas who

[4] Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers, p. 460.

visited Vincennes in 1816-7, recorded: "The Academy stands east of the town. It can be seen a considerable distance in every direction, and makes a very handsome appearance. It was erected in 1807. The walls are brick; the length is sixty-five feet, the width forty-four feet, and the height three stories. It was designed for eighteen rooms. Ten thousand dollars have been expended, and it stands unfinished. The fund consists of land, twenty-five miles south of this place. The Legisla-

First Building of Indiana University

ture authorized the sale of a part of this tract, and appointed twenty-one trustees to govern the Institution; but the hopes of its founders have not been realized. Only a common school has been kept in it." This was the situation when the Constitutional Convention of 1816 met; and this situation is of importance in considering the action of the Convention. Rev. Samuel Thornton Scott, who taught this school, was born in Kentucky in 1780. He studied at Transylvania, but before completing his course, was called to Vincennes as a teacher, by some of the Kentucky families that had settled there. He went back to Kentucky, and was licensed to preach in 1803. He officiated in Kentucky, making occasional missionary visits to Indiana, until 1808, when he was called

to the Presbyterian church at Vincennes.[5] He preached and taught there until his death on December 30, 1827. The old Vincennes University building was sold on execution, in 1839, to John A. Vabret, for $6,500; and for a time was occupied by Ste. Rose Academy for Girls. It was sold again in 1841 to Peter Bellier, who occupied it with St. Gabriel College; and after him, it was bought by the County Trustees.

The Constitutional Convention of 1816 created a committee on "Education and universal dissemination of useful knowledge, and other objects which it may be proper to enjoin or recommend the Legislature to provide for," composed of James Scott, of Clark, chairman, John Badollett and William Polke of Knox, Dann Lynn of Posey, and John Boone of Harrison. This committee was remarkably of Vincennes, anti-Jennings make-up, the first four members voting on the slavery side in the divisions made in the Convention. Scott, Badollett and Polke were men of more than ordinary education. As Vincennes was specially interested in the educational provisions, and Badollett and Polke were directly interested in Vincennes, with Scott and Lynn both personally and politically friendly to them, it would seem that Jennings had followed his usual policy of placating by giving them control of this committee. It did not report until June 25, fours days before the adjournment; and then Scott reported Article 9 of the Constitution, which was slightly, but not materially amended on the 26th, and engrossed on the 27th. With the exception of Section 4, which refers only to penal and charitable legislation, the Article is as follows:

"Sec. 1. Knowledge and learning, generally diffused through a community, being essential to the preservation of a free Government, and spreading the opportunities and advantages of education through the various parts of the country being highly conducive to this end, it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to provide by law for the improvement of such lands as are, or hereafter may be, granted by the United States to this State for the use of schools, and to apply any funds which may be raised from such lands, or from any other quarter, to the accomplishment of the grand object for which they are or may be intended. But no lands granted for the use of schools or seminaries of learning shall be sold, by authority of this State, prior to the year eighteen hundred and twenty; and the moneys which may be raised out of the sale of any such lands, or otherwise obtained for the purpose aforesaid, shall be and remain a fund for the exclusive purpose of promoting the interest of literature and the sciences, and for the support of seminaries and

[5] Edson's Hist. Pres. Church, p. 42.

Student Building, Indiana University.

public schools. The General Assembly shall from time to time pass such laws as shall be calculated to encourage intellectual, scientifical, and agricultural improvements, by allowing rewards and immunities, for the promotion and improvement of the arts, sciences, commerce, manufactures, and natural history; and to countenance and encourage the principles of humanity, honesty, industry, and morality.

"Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of the General Assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in a regular graduation from township schools to a State University, wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all.

"Sec. 3. And, for the promotion of such salutary end, the money which shall be paid as an equivalent by persons exempt from militia duty, except in times of war, shall be exclusively and in equal proportion applied to the support of county seminaries; also, all fines assessed for any breach of the penal laws shall be applied to said seminaries in the counties wherein they shall be assessed.

"Sec. 5. The General Assembly, at the time they lay off a new county, shall cause at least ten percent to be reserved out of the proceeds of the sale of town lots, in the seat of justice of such county, for the use of a public library for such county; and at the same session they shall incorporate a library company, under such rules and regulations as will best secure its permanence and extend its benefits."

In 1844, the State University held its commencement on September 30, and the accounts of it published in the Indianapolis papers state that the degree of LL.D. was conferred "on the Hon. James Scott, formerly a Justice of the Supreme Court, and the author of that part of the Constitution of the State of Indiana, which relates to education."[6] The statement is presumably correct. He was chairman of the committee, and he was somewhat flamboyant in style, as may be seen from his reply, as the Speaker of the House of Representatives, of 1813, to the address of the Governor.[7] This would account for the fact that the provision for the application of the school funds is that they shall be applied "to the accomplishment of the grand object for which they are or may be intended."

It is astonishing that there is no biographical record of so prominent a man in any State or local history, or even history of the bench and bar. But there was a tradition that he died at Carlisle, Indiana; and Mrs. Luella B. Wagner, of the Public Library there, found on the tombstone of a neglected grave in the old cemetery of that place the following inscription:

[6] Sentinel, Oct. 3; Journal, Oct. 5, 1844.

[7] Western Sun, March 6, 1813.

JAMES SCOTT, LL.D.

A Native of Pennsylvania
Died
March 2, 1855
Aged
87 years, 9 months, 4 days

He was for eighteen years a Judge of the Supreme Court of the Territory and State of Indiana.

With men he was a man,
With God, a child.

Judge Scott was appointed Prosecuting Attorney for Clark County in 1810, and resided at Charlestown, where he was one of the founders of the Sunday School in 1812. He was Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1813, and resigned on being appointed Chancellor of the Territory. He served on the Supreme Bench from 1816 to 1831; and was candidate for Governor on the Anti-Masonic ticket in 1832. After retiring from the Supreme Bench, he made an unsuccessful effort to resume the practice of his profession at Charlestown. For a short time he published a newspaper called "The Comet"; and then opened a school for young ladies. After the election of Gen. Harrison to the Presidency, he was appointed Receiver of the Land Office at Jeffersonville; and after the expiration of his term, being advanced in years, he went to live with an adopted daughter at Carlisle.

A careful examination of the provisions of Article 9 will show that they are framed with reference to existing conditions. Indiana had its university already, at Vincennes, with a township of land for endowment. It also had land for public schools. The care of these was provided for, but there is also special provision made for seminaries in all of the counties, which would give them something of the higher education that had been provided for at Vincennes. Presumably this was what reconciled the other delegates to fastening Vincennes University to the public school system, with State responsibility for instruction in it being gratis. On the other hand, it is possible that Jennings was even then figuring on the removal of the University, and was entirely willing to have it put under State supervision by the Constitution. But these provisions made a top-heavy system, which did not promote the establishment of common, or elementary schools. On December 28,

1825, John Ewing, of the Senate Committee on Education, reported: "With the exception of county seminaries deriving some aid from the penal code, and the township rents accruing to the State University, there exists no active fund for education to which resort could be had; and the pittance of rent from some sixteenth sections is entirely inadequate to effect the object at this time." The makers of the Constitution of 1816 had superb "vision" of what was going to result from the land grants for schools, but the financial results they contemplated were never realized; and furthermore there was a damper on support by taxation in the provision of the Enabling Act, under which the State was admitted, exempting all public lands sold after 1816 from taxation for five years from the date of sale; but this was not so serious as might be imagined, because there was no effort to raise school money by taxation, except to provide school-houses, for many years afterward. It was a beautiful school system, without funds to carry it into effect. In fact it was designed for futurity, rather than for immediate use. There were no really free schools in Indiana, except at New Harmony, and indeed, none in the United States outside of New England.

In fact, no law was adopted, or even contemplated, for carrying the provisions of the Constitution into effect, until, on January 9, 1821, a resolution was adopted, "that John Badollett, and David Hart, of Knox County, William W. Martin, of Washington County, James Welch, of Switzerland County, Daniel S. Caswell, of Franklin County, Thomas C. Searle, of Jefferson County, and John Todd, of Clark County, be and they are hereby appointed a committee to draft and report to the next General Assembly of this State a bill providing for a general system of education ascending in regular gradation from township schools to a State university, wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all; and particularly to guard against any distinctions existing in any of the said institutions between the rich and the poor." It will be noted that his resolution is in the words of the Constitution, except the concluding clause; and Prof. Boone says of it: "The significance of the last clause appears in the peculiar educational notions and social standards prevalent at that time. The Literary Fund of Virginia had just been set apart (1810), as had that of Georgia also (1817), for the exclusive benefit of the poor. New Jersey about the same date legalized township taxation 'for the education of paupers'; and Ohio, but a few days before the appointment of the Indiana committee, had, in an otherwise liberal act, provided for schools, 'open first to the needy and dependent, then, if means and accommodations afforded, to others.' American public schools have frequently been, East and West, North and South, even among the New England States, 'pauper' or 'charity'

schools; and it is greatly to the credit of the Indiana Legislature that, as early as 1821, when her sister states saw no way to make elementary education both free and universal, the Assembly of one Western State, taking counsel of progress, saw and was ready to affirm the right of every child, of whatever rank or social condition, to an education at public expense. This was theory; and it may be held as sound educa-

Early Log School House in Wayne County

tional doctrine to-day. Such wise faith dignifies even the failure of the fathers."[8]

There are two other things about this committee that are noteworthy. One is that no one of them was a member of the legislature at the time, which was a very unusual proceeding for an Indiana legislature. They were selected from the citizens of the State on account of their interest in education. The other was their optimistic dispositions, although in that they probably shared a very general impression at the time of the value of the school lands. By an elaborate computation they reached the conclusion that in six years the annual revenues from the school

[8] Hist. of Education in Indiana, p. 24.

lands would be sufficient to maintain a school in each school district of the State for three months. They also computed that in the same time the university would have accumulated from its lands $260,772; and they thought it would then be safe to invest $40,000 of this in a building, and $20,772 in apparatus, library, etc., reserving the remainder as a permanent endowment. They recommended at that time a liberal increase of the members of the faculty.

The committee called Judge Benjamin Parke to its aid, and a bill was prepared which was finally adopted, after some amendment, and approved January 31, 1824. It is entirely permissory. In any township, three freeholders or householders could call a meeting, and if twenty of like qualification attended, they could elect three trustees, who should have charge of the school lands. The trustees were to make school districts, and appoint a "sub-trustee" for each district. The sub-trustee was to call a meeting of the freeholders and householders of his district, and take a vote whether they would support a school for not less than three months in the year. If they agreed to do so, he was to call a meeting of all the inhabitants of the district to meet at the site, which the former meeting had selected, and commence work. Then came a mandatory provision that, "Every able bodied male person of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, being a freeholder or householder as aforesaid, residing within the bounds of such school district, shall be liable equally to work one day in each week, until such building may be completed, or pay the sum of thirty-seven and a half cents for every day he may so fail to work." The house was to be built "of brick, stone, hewn timber, or frame" as the majority might desire; but with the requirement, "That in all cases, such school house shall be eight feet between the floors, and at least one foot from the surface of the ground to the first floor, and finished in a manner calculated to render comfortable the teacher and pupils; with a suitable number of seats, tables, lights and every other thing necessary for the convenience of such school; which shall forever be open for the education of all children within the district without distinction." After the schoolhouse was built, the sub-trustee called another meeting, which decided how many months of school they wanted, and "whether they will suffer any portion of the tax for the support of such school to be raised in money, and, if so, what proportion." This was certified to the township trustees, who were then to employ a teacher, "Provided, however, that no person shall be employed as a teacher as aforesaid, until he shall produce the certificate of the township trustees, that they have examined him touching his qualifications, and particularly as respects his knowledge of the English language, writing, and arithmetic, and that in their opinion,

he will be a useful person to be employed as a teacher in said school." This was substantially the system followed until the adoption of the school law of 1852, with some amendments, such as provision for "examiners" for teachers, in 1837. These were to be appointed by the Judge of the Circuit Court, but their cooperation might be declined by the trustees if they so wished.

The only "free" feature of the system was the schoolhouse. The patrons paid the teacher, or rather underpaid him, and it was largely a matter of chance if they got their money's worth. Barnabas C. Hobbs related that when he came before the examiner, the first question asked was, "What is the product of 25 cents by 25 cents?" It was a stumper. There was no such "sum" in Pike's Arithmetic, which he had studied. He started a discussion, and found that the examiner thought it would be 6¼ cents, with which he gracefully coincided; and after an hour's further conversation, in which no more questions were asked, he was granted his license; and one of the best teachers Indiana ever had was saved to the State. Some of the teachers were people who could not earn a living any other way, on account of physical disability, age, or even intemperance. Judge Banta, who made a very full investigation of the subject, says: "All sorts of teachers were employed in Johnson County. There was the 'one-eyed teacher'; the 'one-legged teacher'; the 'lame teacher'; the 'single-handed teacher'; the teacher who had 'fits'; the teacher who had been educated for the ministry, but owing to his habits of hard drink had turned pedagogue; the teacher who got drunk on Saturday and whipped the entire school on Monday. Some are remembered for the excellence of their teaching, and some for their rigorous government. Some are remembered for their good scholarship and some for their incompetency."[9] It was much the same everywhere. Their wages were poor, $10 to $20 a month, and "boarded around," for men, and half of that for women, who were seldom employed at all. In 1827, Rev. Isaac Reed wrote: "The State is not districted; and the common schools are generally of a low character, when compared with the schools of the Northern States. Here and there is found a district, where the school is well supported, and well taught. The schools are nearly all taught by men. It is a rare thing to see a woman teaching school."[10] Most of the parents believed in whipping, and did not think that women could control the larger pupils.

The women who did teach usually had special schools for girls, or were assistants in larger schools, as at New Harmony. It is a relief to

[9] History Johnson County, p. 365; see also articles by Judge Banta in Ind. Mag. of History, Vol. 2.

[10] Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers, p. 501.

turn from the usual condition to the record of a woman teacher who was ideal. At Vevay, Mrs. Julia L. Dumont was the teacher. Years afterward, one of her pupils, who never knew but two men teachers who did not believe in corporal punishment, wrote of this woman, who never resorted to it: "As a school-mistress, Mrs. Dumont deserves immortality. She knew nothing of systems, but she went unerringly to

Mrs. Julia L. Dumont

the goal by pure force of native genius. In all her early life she taught because she was poor, but after her husband's increasing property relieved her from necessity, she still taught school from love of it. When she was past sixty years old, a school-room was built for her alongside her residence, which was one of the best in the town. It was here that I first knew her, after she had already taught two generations in the place. The 'graded' schools had been newly introduced, and no man was found who could, either in acquirements or ability, take precedence of the venerable school-mistress; so the high-school was given to her. I can see the wonderful old lady now, as she was then, with her cape

pinned awry, rocking her splint-bottom chair nervously while she talked. Full of all manner of knowledge, gifted with something very like eloquence in speech, abounding in affection for her pupils and enthusiasm in teaching, she moved us strangely. Being infatuated with her, we became fanatic in our pursuit of knowledge, so that the school hours were not enough, and we had a 'lyceum' in the evening for reading 'compositions,' and a club for the study of history. If a recitation became very interesting, the entire school would sometimes be drawn into the discussion of the subject; all other lessons went to the wall, books of reference were brought out of her library, hours were consumed, and many a time the school session was prolonged until darkness forced us reluctantly to adjourn.

"Mrs. Dumont was the ideal of a teacher because she succeeded in forming character. She gave her pupils unstinted praise, not hypocritically, but because she lovingly saw the best in every one. We worked in the sunshine. A dull but industrious pupil was praised for diligence, a bright pupil for ability, a good one for general excellence. The dullards got more than their share, for knowing how easily such an one is disheartened, Mrs. Dumont went out of her way to praise the first show of success in a slow scholar. She treated no two alike. She was full of all sorts of knack and tact, a person of infinite resource for calling out the human spirit. She could be incredibly severe when it was needful, and no overgrown boy whose meanness had once been analyzed by Mrs. Dumont ever forgot it. I remember one boy with whom she had taken some pains. One day he wrote an insulting word about one of the girls of the school on the door of a deserted house. Two of us were deputized by the other boys to defend the girl by complaining of him. Mrs. Dumont took her seat and began to talk to him before the school. The talking was all there was of it, but I think I never pitied any human being more than I did that boy as she showed him his vulgarity and his meanness, and, as at last in the climax of her indignation, she called him 'a miserable hawbuck.' At another time when she had picked a piece of paper from the floor with a bit of profanity written on it, she talked about it until the whole school detected the author by the beads of perspiration on his forehead." [11]

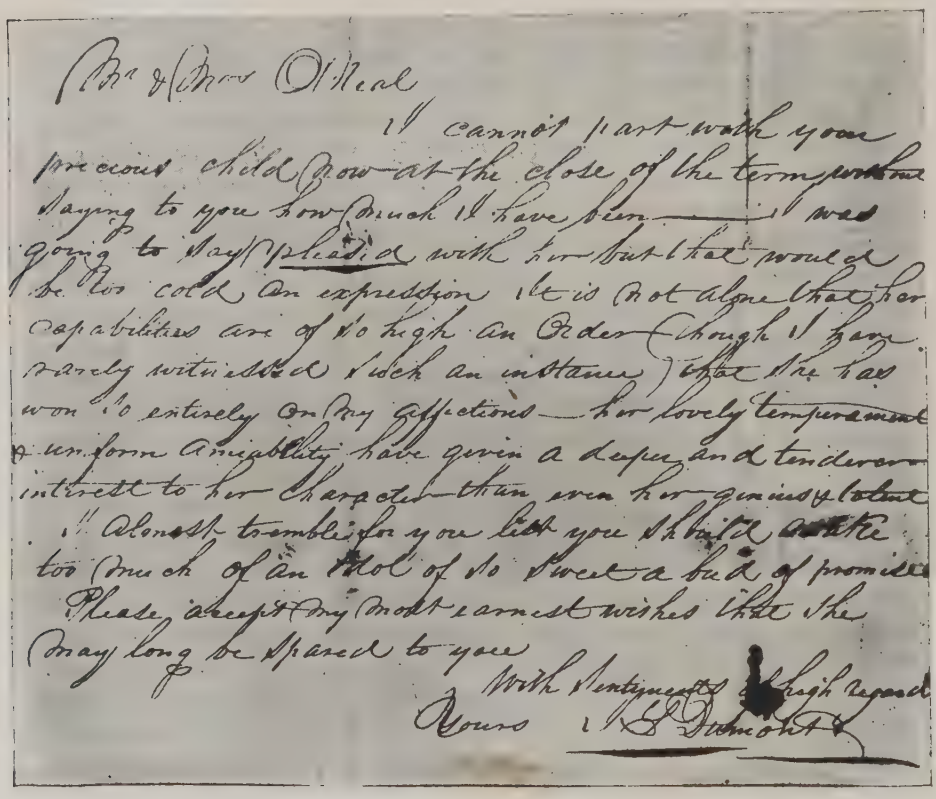
It should be added also that much of the school teaching was by young men who had no idea of remaining teachers, but needed money to continue their education for lawyers, or doctors, or preachers. In 1861, James Sutherland made the first collection of biographical sketches of an Indiana legislature, and in that body there were 26

[11] Some Western Schoolmasters, in Scribner's Magazine, Vol. 17, p. 747.

members who had at some time taught school, and mentioned it. There were probably more than that, as many of the sketches were evidently based on scant information. There was early a widespread call for better teachers. In his message of December 3, 1833, Governor Noble said: "The want of competent persons to instruct in our schools, is a cause of complaint in many sections of the State. And it is to be regretted that in employing transient persons from other States, combining but little of qualification or moral character, the profession is not in the repute it should be." Possibly this was an echo of a movement that was already on foot for raising the professional standard. It began as a New England missionary movement, awakened by the appeals of Isaac Reed and others to "come over into Macedonia and help us," and was backed by the Beechers and others at Cincinnati, which was the educational, as well as the literary center of the Ohio Valley in early days. There was organized there, in 1829, the "Academic Institute," a teachers' association, which in June, 1831, called a convention of professional teachers of the Ohio Valley; and this Convention organized "The Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers," whose stated object was announced thus: "Its objects shall be to promote, by every laudable means, the diffusion of knowledge in regard to Education, and especially by aiming at the elevation of the character of Teachers who shall have adopted Instruction as their regular profession." This organization had five directors from each of the States connected with it. The first records to which I have had access are for 1834, when the Indiana directors were Rev. M. A. H. Niles, Professor of Languages at Hanover; Prof. John H. Harney, of Hanover, William McKee Dunn, who was then an instructor at Bloomington; John I. Morrison, of the Salem Seminary; and Rev. J. U. Parsons, President of the Teachers Seminary at Madison. In 1835 Dunn and Parsons were replaced by Ebenezer N. Elliott of the State University and Moody Park of Madison. In 1837 the directors were increased to six, those from Indiana being J. H. Harney, H. McGuffey, L. H. Parker, J. L. Holman, Edmund O. Hovey of Crawfordsville, and President Andrew Wylie of the State University. In 1838, Wylie and Holman were retained, with J. S. Kemper, A. Keuler, David Stuart, and George W. Julian, who was then teaching. There were other Indiana teachers in the organization, among whom were J. Thompson, Samuel Merrill and J. N. Farnham, in 1835; and Isaac McCoy and William Twining in 1837.

These names introduce the most notable educational activities of Indiana at the time. The State Seminary, as it was then called, was opened at Bloomington, in 1824, with Rev. Baynard R. Hall, as sole

teacher. He was a graduate of Union College and Princeton Theological Seminary. He had 13 pupils the first year, 15 the second, and 21 the third; and taught them Latin and Greek, at a salary of $250 a year. He is best known to the present by his sketch of his Indiana life, "The New Purchase," published in 1846 under the pseudonym of "Robert

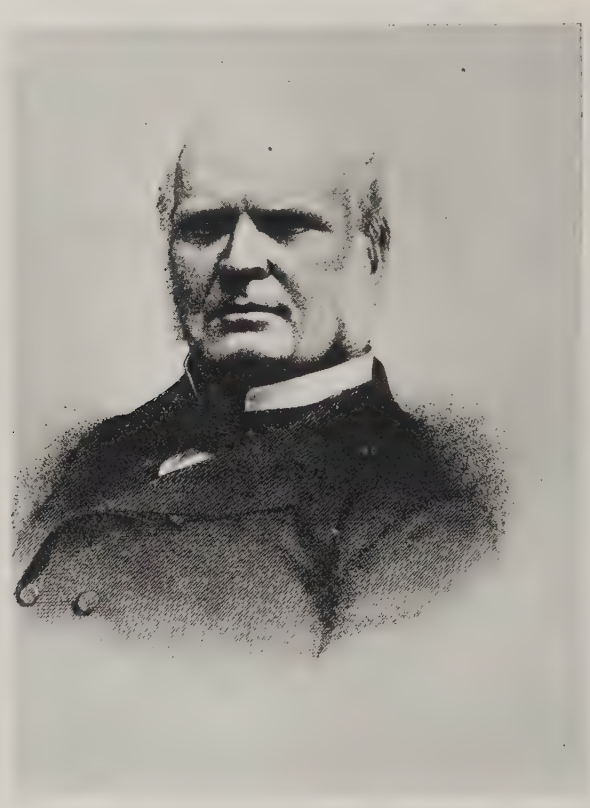


Characteristic Letter of Mrs. Dumont

Carleton." In 1828, the institution was chartered as a college, and Rev. Andrew Wylie, a class-mate of Gov. William Hendricks at Jefferson College, was made President. He had previously been President of Jefferson College, and of Washington College. Hall remained as Professor of Ancient Languages, and John H. Harney was added to the faculty in the chair of Mathematics, Philosophy and Chemistry. The latter two resigned in 1831, and were replaced by Beaumont Parks, and Ebenezer N. Elliott. The delay in getting the State Seminary on a higher basis did not suit those who were calling for education for the

ministry; and they had been moving. The American Annals of Education for June, 1833, contains this item: "South Hanover College. This is a Manual Labor School where the industrious student may defray, by his own hands, the expenses of his education. It comprises a Literary and Theological Department, in which all the ordinary branches of language, science and divinity are taught. It numbers at this time a President and five Professors, and ninety-five students. In 1827, this institution commenced its operations in a log cabin, 16 by 18 feet, with six students under the care of Rev. John F. Crowe, who is properly the originator of the whole plan. It now has several buildings for accommodating students, the largest 40 by 100 feet, and three stories high, with a good farm and suitable workshops." But John Finley Crowe could not have started his institution without the aid of Judge Williamson Dunn, who donated 50 acres of land for it. Judge Dunn took great interest in education. He was born near Danville, Kentucky, December 25, 1781, his father, Samuel Dunn, an Irishman who had fought in Dunmore's War and the Revolution, having emigrated from Virginia. In 1809, Williamson came to Indiana, and located where Hanover now is, bringing with him three slaves, whom he freed. He was made a Justice of the Peace and Judge of the Common Pleas in 1811; and in 1812 was made captain of a company of Rangers, in which were included two of his brothers, and two brothers-in-law. They did valuable service through the war. In 1814, he was made Associate Judge of the Circuit Court. After the admission of the State he was a member of the first four legislatures. In 1820 he was made Register of the Land Office, for the Terre Haute district. He and Major Whitlock laid out the town of Crawfordsville, and the Land Office was removed to that place in 1823. Dunn induced Chester Holbrook to come up from Hanover and open the first school at Crawfordsville, to which he sent his six children. The Presbyterian preachers of the district wanted a theological college, and he offered them 15 acres at Crawfordsville. On November 21, 1832, nine Presbyterian preachers met there and decided to start the school. The next day they held a public meeting to inaugurate the movement; and on December 3, 1833, the Wabash Manual Labor and Teachers Seminary was opened by Caleb Mills, with twelve students. Edmund O. Hovey went east to raise funds, and eventually raised $29,000 for Wabash, which put it in the nabob class. Meanwhile Judge Dunn's sons were being educated at Bloomington, and William McKee Dunn, the most noted of them, was not only a member of the College of Teachers, as mentioned above, but was always a good friend of common schools. William McKee Dunn was born at Hanover December 12, 1814. His elementary education was in a log schoolhouse at that place, with greased

paper windows, and puncheon floors. He said of it, in an address at Hanover, in 1883: "The masters usually were Scotch or Irish, who believed in doing a good day's work themselves, and required the children to do the same. Good beech switches were always on hand, back of the teacher's chair ready for use, and I can bear testimony that they were used. The excitement of the day commenced toward the close of



WILLIAM MCKEE DUNN

school in the afternoon, when all the recitations were over except the spelling lessons, and the children were told to learn them. These lessons we were permitted to learn aloud, and then Babel was turned loose. Every scholar, with his spelling-book in hand, spelled, or pretended to spell, the words at the very top of his voice. We almost made the clapboards on the roof rattle. Sometimes in the evening the older boys would have exercises in dialogues and declamations. I can now almost see the tallow-dips and the lard, Aladdin-shaped, lamps that used dimly to illuminate

the school-house on such occasions." After graduating at the State College, he graduated at Yale, in 1835; and was admitted to the bar, after teaching mathematics at Hanover for a year. He was elected a member of the legislature in 1848, and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1850. He served in Congress from 1859 to 1863, and then became Assistant Judge Advocate General. He died in Maplewood, Virginia, July 24, 1887.

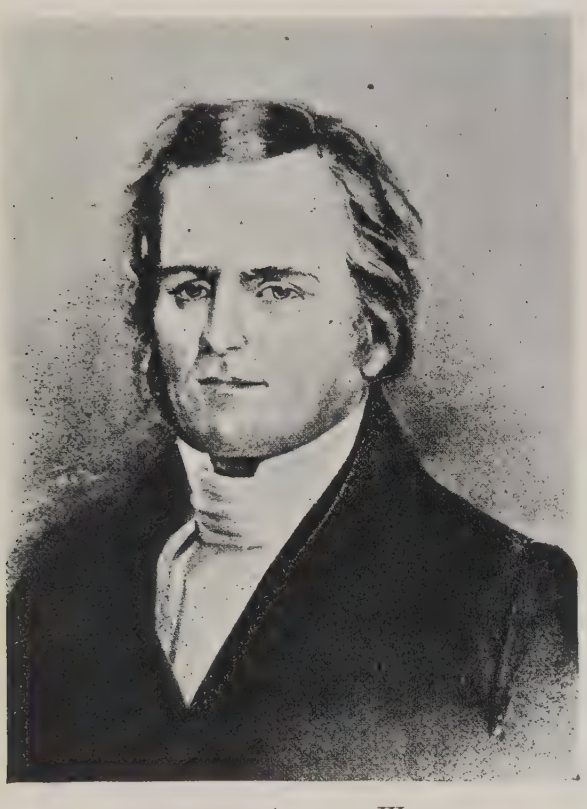
But Hanover was not the only place on the school map. Another live spot was Salem. John I. Morrison had begun teaching in Washington County in 1824, and so had James G. May, and they had good backing. Perhaps the most notable champion of public education there was John H. Farnham, who a few years later distinguished himself as one of the incorporators, and the first Corresponding Secretary of the Indiana Historical Society. He was invited to make the Fourth of July oration at Salem in 1826, and consented on condition that he should speak on "The necessity of a public school system in Indiana." The Fourth was rainy, but the old Presbyterian church was crowded to hear him; and he made a forcible argument for free schools at public expense, that was far in advance of the general sentiment of the day. It was one of Indiana's misfortunes that he was a victim of the cholera epidemic of 1833, for few men of his time displayed so great and intelligent public spirit as he.[12] In January, 1830, Rev. Andrew Wylie, by invitation of the Joint Committee on Education, addressed the Legislature on education, directing his remarks to higher education; and two thousand copies of the discourse were ordered printed, and distributed with the laws. In the same year the Indiana Branch of the Presbyterian Education Society was organized. It was chiefly interested in educating young men for the ministry, and did not publish a report until its annual meeting at Crawfordsville, October 17, 1832. At that time its President was Judge Jeremiah Sullivan, with a long list of Vice Presidents, Directors, and committees. Its receipts, at that time, had been $578.10, and disbursements $503.50. It had over 400 members, and had found "perhaps eleven or twelve" young men who desired to educate themselves for the work. The first step of organized work for common schools, was the meeting, at Madison, Sept. 3d and 4th, 1833, "according to appointment of the Prudential Committee," of the "Association for the Improvement of Common Schools in Indiana." The officers of this pioneer society were, President, Hon. Wm. Hendricks; Vice Presidents, Hon. Jesse L. Holman, Hon. S. C. Stevens, James Blythe, D. D., Dr. E. F. Pabody, Rev. J. M. Dickey, Hon. Benj. Parke, Hon. M. C. Eggleston,

[12] Stevens Hist. Washington County, p. 335.

John Matthews, D. D., and A. Wylie, D. D.; Board of Directors, J. Sullivan, Esq., J. W. Cunningham, J. H. Harney, M. H. Wilder, Dr. W. B. Goodhue, Hon. John Sering, Rev. R. Ransom, A. Andrews, Esq., C. P. J. Arion, M. A. H. Niles, Hon. Williamson Dunn, James Goodhue, Esq., Hon. John Dumont, Rev. S. Gregg, Rev. J. T. Wells, and Jesse Mavity; Corresponding Secretary, Rev. J. U. Parsons; Recording Secretary, Rev. J. H. Johnston; Treasurer, Dr. John Howes. There were speeches by N. B. Palmer and John Dumont, but the most interesting feature was the report from Parsons, who had been making some investigations. Among other things, he reported: "In nine townships from which a full tabular report was returned, containing about 3,000 children between 5 and 15 years of age, only 919 attended school last year, and the larger part of those for three months only. But one in six are able to read; one in nine to write; one in sixteen have studied arithmetic; one in one hundred geography, and one in one hundred and forty-five grammar. By an interesting document received from Judge Parks of Salem, the persevering friend of common education, we are informed that in the three counties of Washington, Jackson and Lawrence, containing a population of 27,000, only 1,521 attend school in summer, and 2,433 in winter." As to the character of the teachers, many of whom were reported as dissipated, profane, or immoral, he waxed eloquent, saying: "Let the drunkard stand in the sacred desk and sport with God's truth, but let not his tainted breath sweep over my children. Let the profane blasphemer mock my devotions, but set a wall of adamant between him and my child. Bring the debauchee to my table and fireside, where parental restraint will curb his licentiousness, but let him never stand accredited before my unprotected little ones."

Organization in behalf of special schools became quite common, the legislature incorporating on request "school societies" of people who desired to establish seminaries and other educational institutions. Governor Noble took an active interest in the subject. In 1836 he appointed John Dumont to prepare a revision of the school law, which he did, and reported on December 20 of that year. A thousand copies were ordered printed, and the report was largely the basis of the amendments of that year, and the general revision of the school law in 1837. Governor Noble also called a convention of the friends of education, which was held on January 3, 1837, with "Gov. Noble as President; Rev. Dr. Wylie and Hon. Isaac Blackford Vice Presidents, and Rev. James W. McKennon and Professor Dunn, Secretaries." Several resolutions were adopted, and "on mention of Mr. Dumont, Senator from Switzerland, who has done more for free schools than any other man in Indiana, they were referred to a committee, to prepare a memorial to the Legislature, based

upon the resolutions, which was afterwards brought in, discussed and adopted." The plan proposed was to have a superintendent of schools in each judicial circuit, who jointly should constitute a Board of Education for the State; reports from the trustees; and the appropriation of the surplus revenues, one-half to the common schools and the other half to the seminaries. The first general taxation for the schools had been



President Andrew Wylie

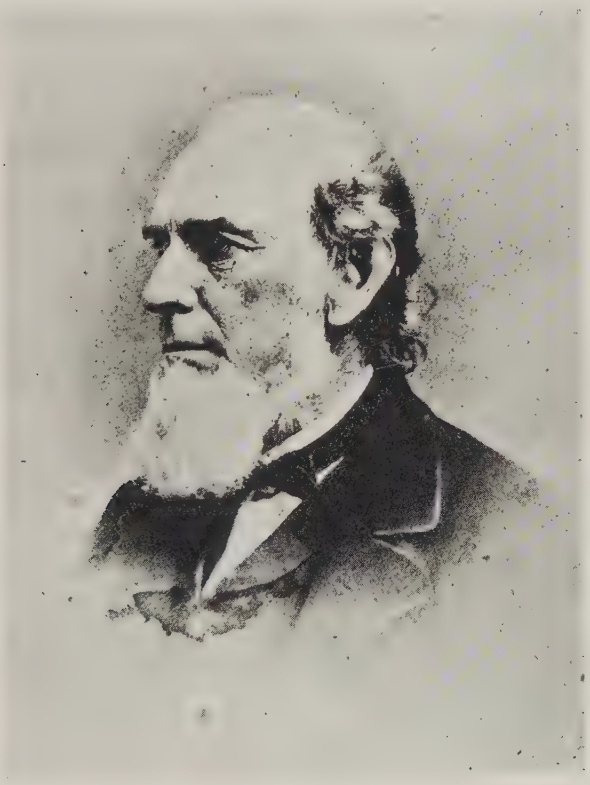
provided by the law of 1836, which imposed a poll tax of 12½ cents, and appropriated 5 per cent of the State revenues, for school purposes. The imposing feature of the 1837 convention, at the time, was an address by Rev. Andrew Wylie on Common School Education; and it is not bad doctrine today, though many would take exception to his ideas of the education of girls, at least in universal application, even if approved for the masses. As to this he said:

"Our females must be taught in the first place how to keep house. I

speak designedly in homely phrase, because it suits my subject, and I want to express myself briefly and yet intelligibly to all. Let those who prefer elegance to comfort, and who can afford the expense of such folly, teach their daughters Languages, ancient and modern, Painting and Instrumental Music, Poetry and Rhetoric, Oratory and Calisthenics —and they may add if they please Mechanics, Mensuration, Trigonometry, Astronomy, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Optics—Natural Philosophy in all its branches—Chemistry, Physiology, Mental and Moral Philosophy, the science of Government, Political Economy, Grammar, Logic, Philology, Sculpture, Architecture and the art of Landscape, Phrenology, and whatever else they please—but since every man who wants a wife, and who has not the stomach of an ostrich, can not long be pleased with a woman who, when he comes home hungry and tired, serves him up a dish of biscuit, in color, form and weight resembling long bullets, with other articles of food, good it may be in the material, but miserably spoiled in the preparation; since, I say, this is clear to a demonstration, then it follows that every young female should know how to bake a loaf of bread. O what virtue there is in a well raised, well baked, three days old wheaten loaf! Blessings on the heart and head and hands of those mothers in Israel, who, when young, learned so much of the art of Chymestry—and disdained not to add thereto so much of the still more needful art of kneading and baking, as is necessary to the production of the precious article. Ladies, I do not trifle. To be poisoned is a serious matter; and poisoned that man is sure to be, and his children too, whose wife is a slattern and unskilled in the culinary art. I need not insist on what every one must have observed, that indigestion, with those numerous diseases which spring from it, and spread misery and death among so many families, has its origin, chiefly, in their habit of feeding on things which kind nature indeed designed for the use of man, but in regard to which nature has been baffled and her designs frustrated by the cook. But on this I do insist, that much of that intemperance, which has broken the heart of so many females throughout the land, may be traced to the same source. The hungry man eats, but he eats indigestibles. The pain of appetite is indeed stayed, but his stomach feels another pain, from having to act upon that, which to master is a task too hard for stomach of man or dog, and the miserable sufferer goes to the bottle for relief, and is undone." Of course we can all see a thread of truth in this; but if Andrew could come back and see the institution over which he presided a coeducational university, his ghost would probably turn a shade paler. The address certainly met full approval when delivered, for the Senate ordered two thousand copies printed.

Contemporary with this convention was another event of great im-

portance—the establishment of an educational journal in Indiana—and indeed the only preserved account of the Convention is in the first number of that journal. This was the Common School Advocate, an eight page monthly quarto, published at Madison, by William Twining. The correspondent who reported the Convention for him wrote: "I ought to have mentioned that your enterprise was recommended by



Prof. William Twining

vote of the Convention, and what was better, by individual pledges for from one to twenty copies of the paper." Among the subscribers was "Uncle Jimmy" Blake, of Indianapolis, who was an untiring worker for free schools, and who took ten copies of the Advocate. It is due to that fact that the only known copy of the paper is preserved in the State Library, as well as some of the other educational documents that have been quoted above. James Blake is amply remembered in local histories for many good works performed in a modest, unobtrusive way, but his

work for schools, and his instrumentality in preserving historical matter, have never been appreciated as they deserve. Strange to say Twining has been entirely overlooked by historians. Prof. Boone, in his extensive and valuable "History of Education in Indiana," does not even mention his name, nor does Prof. Smart, in his "Indiana Schools and the Men who have Worked in Them." As I know of no account of him in any Indiana publication, I give in full the following biographical information, furnished by his granddaughter, Miss Katharine T. Moody, of the St. Louis Public Library:

"Rev. William Twining was the son of Stephen Twining, Treasurer of Yale College, and Almira Catlin. He was born in New Haven, Conn., Dec. 9, 1805; attended Phillips Academy at Andover, Mass., and Yale College, graduating at the latter institution in 1825. His theological training was received at the seminaries at Yale and Andover, 1826-1827. In 1828 he began his ministerial work at Windsor, Vt., and on Jan. 6, 1830, was ordained as evangelist at Great Falls, New Hampshire. At this place a local custom, it seems, conferred upon the most recently married man the honorary title of "Hog Reeve,"—accordingly the marriage of William Twining to Margaret Eliza Johnson, in New York City, June 1, 1830, brought this somewhat doubtful distinction to him. Mrs. Twining was a daughter of Horace Johnson and Catharine Thorn, a granddaughter of Jonathan Thorn and Catharine Livingston, of New York. In 1831 William Twining was called to the pastorate of the Appleton St., now Eliot Congregational Church, at Lowell, Mass. In 1835 he was obliged, on account of failure of his voice, to resign from the ministry, and, in 1836, he moved to Indiana to undertake educational work. His first stopping place, was at Rising Sun, but a little later he settled at Madison, where he conducted a school for girls from 1836 to 1843. He returned in 1843 to New England in the effort to raise money for Wabash College. From 1843 to 1854 he was professor of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in Wabash college. From 1859 to 1863 he acted as temporary pastor of the Congregational Church at Beardstown, Ill., removing, in 1863, to St. Louis, Mo. William Twining was a strong temperance advocate and abolitionist, and was actively interested in the work of the "underground railroad"—frequently giving aid to the unfortunate negroes who passed through the state. His death occurred at Webster Groves, Mo., a suburb of St. Louis, June 5, 1884; Mrs. Twining died there Oct. 15, 1873. He published in 1877, a book of public worship entitled "Antiphonal Psalter and Liturgies." His children were: Almira Catlin, born July 1, 1831, married Rev. Charles Marshall of Crawfordsville and Indianapolis; Edward Henry, born at Lowell, Oct. 3, 1833, married Harriet Sperry, Professor at University of Minnesota

and University of Missouri, Secretary of the Mississippi River Commission, he served as Captain in the Civil War; Catharine Anna, born at Madison, Ind., March 1, 1837, married Charles Dummer Moody;[13] William Johnson, born at Madison, Ind., Aug. 2, 1839, graduated from West Point, was Major of Engineers, served in the Civil War, Acting Astronomer Northern Boundary Survey, one of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia; Helen Elizabeth, born at Madison, Ind., July 26, 1841, married Edwin Joy; Charles Ormond, born at Crawfordsville, Ind., Sept. 28, 1845; Mary Evelyn, born at Crawfordsville, Ind., Dec. 3, 1847.

Twining's paper was not only an early common school journal for Indiana but also for the United States. There were earlier educational journals—the Academician, 1818-23; the American Journal of Education, 1826-30; and the American Annals of Education, 1830-39; but the first journal devoted to common schools was the Common School Assistant, established at Albany, N. Y., by J. Orville Taylor, in 1836. The common school movement was arousing the whole country, and in January, 1837, three papers devoted to their advocacy appeared, one each in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and curiously enough all three took the same name, of the Common School Advocate. The Illinois paper was published at Jacksonville, and stated that it was edited "by a few literary gentlemen who, from their deep interest in the subject, generously volunteered their services for one year without remuneration." The editorship, however, has been ascribed to Rev. Theron Baldwin.[14] In his first number, Twining took a stand against corporal punishment, citing the example of a teacher who had recently died in Germany, of whom it was computed that in fifty-one years of teaching, he had given "911,500 canings, 124,000 floggings, 209,000 custodes, 136,000 tips with the ruler, 10,200 boxes on the ear, and 22,700 tasks to get by heart." It was further calculated that he "had made 700 boys stand on peas, 600 kneel on a sharp edge of wood, 5,000 wear the fool's cap, and 1,708 hold the rod." In February he published an article advocating women teachers, avowing that, "It has been thought by some judicious persons, that females make the best teachers, and that a large supply might be secured in every State and County." This was very advanced doctrine for the time. In the same number he printed the address to the people which had been ordered by the convention in January. In February and March he printed a plan for a public school system, one feature of which was a Secretary of Public Instruction. In April he announced

[13] Catharine Anna Twining had local celebrity as a singer; and appeared in concerts at Indianapolis and elsewhere, see Hist. Indianapolis, p. 530.

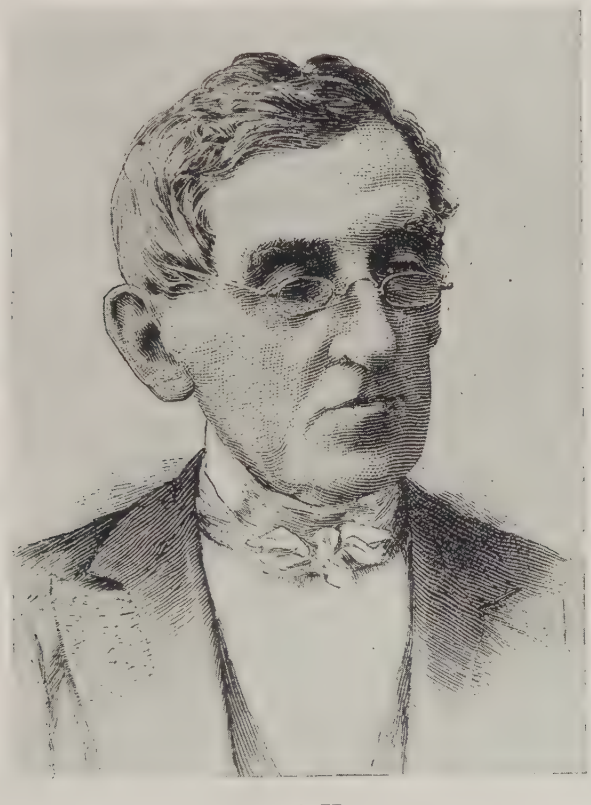
[14] Pubs. Hist. Library, Ill. Vol. 10, p. 333.

that he had undertaken to establish a teachers' seminary at Madison, and said: "The name of the seminary is the Madison Preceptoral Institute; a name chosen to distinguish it from the Indiana Teachers' Seminary, formerly located six miles from this town, now in Rising Sun." In May he printed the proceedings of an Education Convention held at Madison, at which the memorial of the State convention to the legislature was read and discussed. That memorial asked the appointment of a salaried Board of Education. One gentleman presented the status of the common school question, as follows: "This memorial did not receive the attention which it deserved from the Legislature, because the subject of internal improvements occupied the first place, and because certain politicians, whose political existence was identified with the prosecution of the public works, although professedly in favor of education, had suffered it to be passed by as a secondary matter, and had thereby deprived the people, for at least one year, of the benefits of a school system. That there was danger of the same thing another year; that the friends of education should therefore be prepared to unite their efforts, and to urge the plan proposed, if it be the best one, upon the attention of the Legislature, at its next session. That the only point upon which they were likely to differ in the plan proposed in the memorial, was that which related to the appointment of a board of education, in preference to a Secretary of public instruction, or to the continuance of the present system, modified and improved."

There is no room for question that the one great obstacle to a radical improvement of the common schools was the internal improvement system. Twining, and other advocates of education argued that the education of the rising generation was of more importance than digging canals; but their arguments fell on deaf ears. The people wanted better transportation, and were determined to have it. Besides, when the canals and railroads were in operation the State would have revenues from them that would take care of the schools and everything else that was desirable. When the bubble burst, the situation was as bad, or worse. The State was hopelessly in debt, and the burden of taxation was too great to add anything that could be avoided; and so the securing of any effective reform was put off year after year, and the percentage of illiteracy grew slowly but steadily. The only consoling feature of the situation was that it was creating a condition that finally forced the public to act.

Notwithstanding the involved financial condition of the State, on account of the internal improvement system, the friends of education kept up their work for better common schools. On January 2, 1839, they met in convention at Indianapolis, with Gov. Wallace as President, and E. O. Hovey and J. M. Ray as secretaries. On the evening of the

2d addresses were made by Rev. A. F. Tilton, of Indiana Franklin Institute, and Rev. Samuel K. Hoshour, of Centreville Academy; and on the 3d by Rev. Edmund O. Hovey of Wabash, and Prof. Beaumont Parks, of Indiana College. This convention decided to adopt a constitution, and establish a Central Board of Correspondence, which should collect statistics, and report to the next annual convention, to enable



Samuel K. Hoshour

it "to take some definite measures to improve the system of common school education in Indiana." It also appointed a committee to recommend a series of text-books for use in the schools; and a committee to petition the legislature to provide for a Superintendent of Common Schools. The constitution adopted made the Governor of Indiana the President of the association, the Secretary of State Secretary, and the Treasurer of State Treasurer, if these officials would consent to serve. Anyone who desired might enroll as a member, and annual meetings

were to be held on the third Wednesday after the assembling of the legislature. It provided for a committee on ways and means, a committee on correspondence to collect information, and a committee to prepare amendments to the school law.[15] Among the influential citizens of the State who took an active part in the proceedings were Ryland T. Brown, Douglass Maguire, Samuel Merrill, and John Vawter; but there were evidently many others who were not named in the meager report of the convention.

Notwithstanding the labors of the friends of education, nothing material was done for the common schools until the Wabash and Erie debt was adjusted by the legislature of 1845-6. It should not be understood, however, that education was entirely neglected in Indiana. There were numerous very good private schools, and the seminaries were doing excellent work for those who were able and willing to pay tuition. By 1846 there had been forty-five County Seminaries established that were public institutions so far as the buildings were concerned; and there had been forty-two private schools of the higher order, called variously seminaries, academies, colleges, etc. About one-fourth of the latter were for girls. Many of these were high grade schools, depending, of course, largely on the teachers in charge, some of whom were all that could be asked. It was in this period that William Haughton, of Beech Grove Seminary, in Union County, Samuel K. Hoshour, of Cambridge City Academy, Rufus Patch, of La Grange Collegiate Institute, John I. Morrison, of the Salem Female Seminary and also in charge of the Washington County Seminary, Cornelius Perring, of the Monroe County Female Seminary, made lasting impress on Indiana by their efficient instruction. It was in this period that Earlham College had its beginning, as the Friends Boarding School, and Franklin College as the Indiana Baptist Manual Labor Institute. The public elementary schools were the ones that were being neglected. There was one forward step, however, by the school law of 1843, which provided that the Treasurer of State should act as Superintendent of Common Schools, and as such should report to the legislature the condition of the school funds, and the condition of the State University, seminaries, and common schools, together with estimates of expenditures of school moneys, and recommendations for the management of the school fund and the better organization of the common schools. This gave an opening for action later.

George H. Dunn, then Treasurer of State, prepared and sent out blanks for information; but he went out of office in the following year, and was succeeded by Royall Mayhew. Mayhew was born at Bangor,

[15] Journal, Jan. 12, 1839.

Maine, in 1805. He came to Indiana and read law at Shelbyville. He was elected Treasurer as a "dark horse." The Whigs voted for George H. Dunn, and the Democrats could not get together. They first tried Frederick E. Goodsell, and then Nathan B. Palmer, but neither could muster over 69 votes. Finally, on the 22d ballot, Mayhew received 83 votes, and was elected. This was his one appearance in politics. In later years he had a general store in Indianapolis. He died March 11, 1865. His report as Superintendent of Schools in 1844 was brief, but in 1845, he made a number of minor recommendations, the most important being that, "some person other than the State Treasurer, should be selected as the superintendent of common schools" as the duties imposed on that official "might very reasonably demand and occupy a large portion of the time of one individual,—much more time than the State Treasurer can properly devote to these objects." He included in his report the following very unusual and historically valuable information:

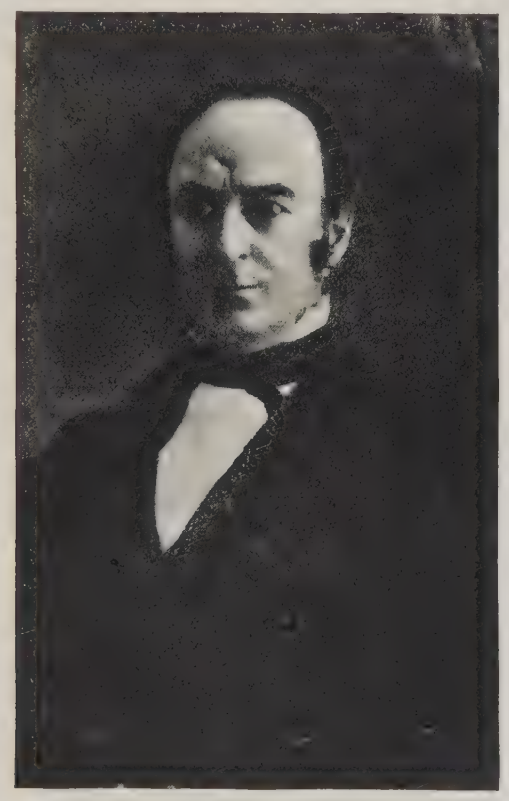
"I have been much aided in arriving at general conclusions as to our common schools, by conversing with, and communication from Mr. H. F. West, a gentleman who has been travelling through our State, and visiting its schools during the past year. At my request he has communicated to me the result of his observations and experience; he has been travelling in part for the purpose of introducing a new and improved series of books for children and youth in the primary departments, 'Sanders's Series of School Books,' of the excellence of which I have no doubt. It has long been a matter of serious inconvenience and annoyance to parents and teachers, that so many different kinds of books for primary instruction were in use. Though some of these possessed much merit, the fact that in half a dozen different schools, you might not find any two of the teachers agreeing in their preference for books; and that in each school you might find three or four kinds of publications, all designed for the same purpose, exemplifies the difficulties heretofore experienced. I have no doubt that the travels of Mr. West, and his introduction of a superior progressive series of books, have been of great importance, and will work a beneficial result.

"In a communication from Mr. West of the 23d Nov. (from which I shall give some extracts), he states that within the last six months he has visited near three hundred schools in this State, gives his views of their general character, the causes of the great indifference and neglect of the cause of education, and the remedy, or what would have a tendency to produce a reformation. He considers one great cause which operates so prejudicially to common schools to be, the incompetency of teachers. That they are employed on account of the cheap rate at which

they will serve—having obtained certificates of qualification on the ground of expediency, and not of merit. That with such instructors parents become negligent and indifferent, the comfort and convenience of school-houses neglected—teachers only pretending to instruct in reading, writing and arithmetic, and sadly deficient in the qualifications for these. He describes another class of schools which I give in his own language: 'I visited another school the same week in a contiguous district, with the same natural advantages, which presented a difference almost incredible; and which cannot be accounted for upon any other principle, than the qualifications of the two teachers. I found the parents aroused to the importance of education—their children growing up—intelligent—a small, but well selected library in the district, and on visiting the school, a living teacher; one who was qualified, and whose whole soul was engaged in his profession. He informed me that he labored with all his mental and physical energies for more than one year before he got parents at all aroused on the subject of educating their children. His larger scholars were instructed in History, Geography, Grammar, Algebra, Natural Philosophy and Astronomy. And this was not all. A refinement of manners, a courteous civility, the very essence of good instruction, and a high tone of morals had been made a special part of their instruction. These two schools I have described are probably about the extremes, but there are but few that approximate the latter, to what there are to the former; I should judge the proportion to be about one in five.'

"Among the objections and evils existing in our system, Mr. West enumerates the want of a regular system of instruction, of government and discipline in schools. The want of communication between schools. The want of a regular progressive series of school books, adapted to the capacities of the scholar, and on this point he says—'this evil is being remedied by the introduction of Sanders's series of school books, which are admirably adapted to every stage of instruction in primary schools. They are introduced under the sanction and approval of a great number of the most learned and talented men in the State,' &c. * * * He further says: 'Within the last five years there has been a great improvement in the manner of communicating instruction, as well as in the system of government in common schools; and why should not the schools of Indiana be benefitted by these improvements? There is no copyright for them—They are free. If they have revolutionized New York, and done so much good in Ohio; why may not Indiana reap the benefit of their experience? Men of enlightened minds feel deeply upon this subject; for they know that the very condition of our political existence as a free people depends upon our intelligence and virtue;

and every citizen of Indiana should feel deeply in this matter, for they know that very soon the destinies of this great State, either for weal or woe, will be entrusted to those who are now receiving instructions at the primary schools.' These remarks of Mr. West being given from his personal and critical observation, and from his experience in matters



HENRY F. WEST
(Fifth Mayor of Indianapolis)

of instruction, I have deemed worthy of consideration, in connexion with the few changes of the law herein recommended.''

Henry F. West was indeed a valuable addition to the educational forces of Indiana. He was born at Pittsfield, Mass., March 14, 1796, and was early attracted to educational work. After his marriage, in 1820, he moved to New York, and later to Ohio, becoming acquainted with the educational progress of those states. In Ohio he edited a newspaper for a time. In 1845 he came to Indiana, and on October 1, 1846,

he published at Indianapolis the first number of the Common School Advocate. He had in the meantime been writing articles for the Indianapolis newspapers over the name of "Viator," which have by some been ascribed to Caleb Mills, on account of the attention given in them to schools. Treasurer Mayhew's report was not the only public document of 1846 in which he was mentioned. In his message to the Legislature, of Dec. 7, Gov. Whitcomb says, in speaking of education:

"But under this comprehensive topic, there is another subject which challenges our attention by its far greater importance. I allude to the condition of our common schools. Under our simple and sublime institutions, all citizens are regarded as politically equal. But to enable the citizen to protect himself in the enjoyment of his full share of political rights, he must be armed with at least an elementary education. He must know how to read and write his mother tongue. This is too frequently regarded merely as a question of expediency. But it should never be forgotten that it is a sacred *debt* which we owe to every son and daughter of Indiana, however poor they may be, to place them upon an equality with their more favored associates, as to the means of acquiring a common school education. Until this is done, they are not as *equal* as they ought to be, nor as we have it in our power to make them.

"By this means, they will be better enabled to 'know their own rights and knowing, to maintain them.' They will be better prepared to sift and analyze public questions—to scrutinize the conduct of their public officers, and to hold them to a proper accountability.

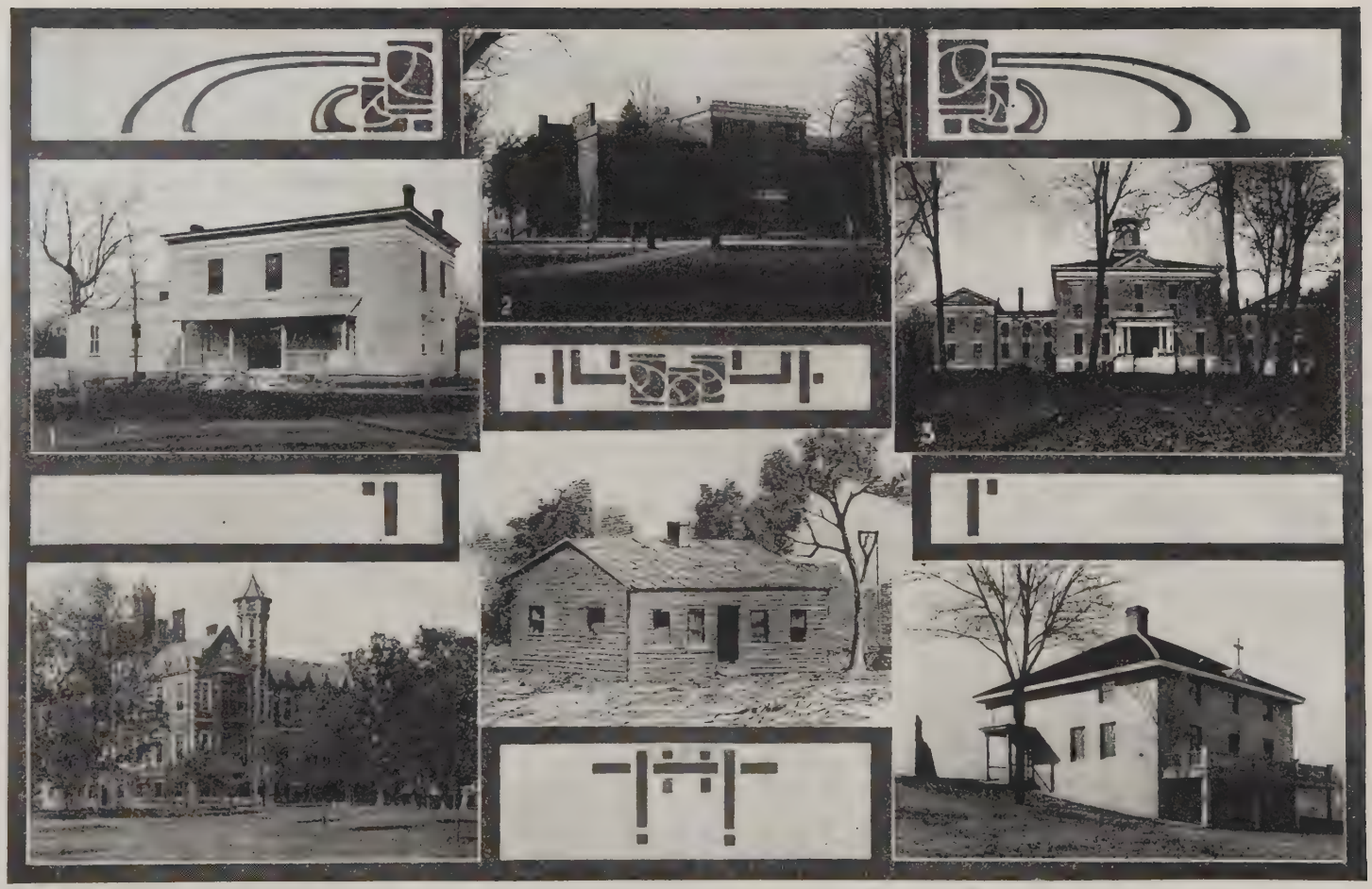
"Very general dissatisfaction is expressed with our present school law. It is objected, that it is incoherent, and that its provisions are vague and conflicting. A careful revision of the entire school system, is respectfully recommended. Great advantage would arise from the adoption into our system of such provision, as the experience of other states has shown to be productive of happy results.

"An obvious mode of accomplishing this object would be, the appointment of a suitable person to examine into the condition of the schools of some of the older states, by correspondence, travel, and personal inspection, and to report to a future legislature. I am informed, however, that Mr. H. F. West, a gentleman who has recently become a citizen of this place, has for several years devoted his attention to this philanthropic object, and is ready to communicate the results of his investigation. It is very probable that this will obviate the necessity of resorting to the measure above indicated, and will facilitate action on this subject.

"Whatever system you may see fit to adopt, it is recommended, that

provision be made for the appointment of a State Superintendent, who shall be charged with the supervision of the entire school system, and particularly, with procuring full and prompt reports of the condition and management of the schools and school funds in the State."

West's Common School Advocate, a semi-monthly, had now reached its fifth number, and was commanding public respect on account of the ability with which it was edited and the information it furnished. There was also another recruit to the school movement at this time, in the person of Caleb Mills, whose first "message to the legislature" appeared in the Indianapolis Journal on Dec. 8, the day after the delivery of Governor Whitcomb's message, quoted above. It called attention to the illiteracy of the State, as shown by the census of 1840, there being about one-seventh of the adult population unable to read or write. He advocated taxation for the support of the common schools and recommended the New York plan for the university, i. e., that no one institution be made the university, but that the university funds be divided among the colleges that came up to a certain standard. If a majority of the legislators were friendly to education, they were prevented from action by the diversity of sentiment as to details among the outside advocates of better schools, and so nothing was done at this session, in the way of general legislation. There was, however, one bill passed which served as a test of public sentiment on the subject. Indianapolis wanted a city charter, and a bill for that purpose was drawn by Oliver H. Smith. To his draft, S. V. B. Noel added section 29, which gave the council power to make school districts, erect buildings, and appoint "suitable teachers and superintendents," and to levy a school tax of not over one-eighth of one per cent on all city property. Noel was then editor and proprietor of the Indianapolis Journal, and a member of the House of Representatives. He got the bill through the House without amendment, but in the Senate section 48 was added, which provided that no school tax should be levied unless the voters of the city voted for "free schools" at the first city election under the charter, which was to be held on the last Saturday in April. This was in accordance with the past policy of the legislature of allowing local option in regard to school taxes. The House of Representatives also, on January 8, adopted a resolution recommending "to the friends of education the holding of a State Common School Convention at Indianapolis on the fourth Wednesday of May next, for the purpose of consulting and devising the best course to be pursued to promote common school education in our state"; and on January 26 it granted the use of the hall of the House for this purpose. In connection with the diverse ideas advocated at the time, it may be noted that there were presented to this session of the legis-



FIRST BUILDINGS

1. Wabash College
2. Earlham College
3. Hanover College
4. Northwestern Christian (Butler)
5. Franklin College
6. Notre Dame

lature several petitions from Germans asking that their language be taught in the schools; and two from negroes, asking for some part of the public fund for their schools, which were then wholly separate and private. Also, a resolution was introduced to inquire into the expediency of permitting women to be employed in the public schools, if they passed as good examinations as men.[16]

A public meeting was promptly held at Indianapolis on Jan. 25, and a committee appointed to call the convention, with Henry Ward Beecher as chairman, Rev. E. R. Ames, J. S. Bayless, J. M. Ray and Ovid Butler. Ex-Governor Slade, of Vermont, was present at this meeting, and delivered an address on common school education. The Committee reported on the 27th, recommending a committee of seven on correspondence, with the special duty of reporting resolutions to the convention; and it was itself continued for this purpose, with N. T. Bolton and T. R. Cressey added. On account of the absence of some of the members from the city, Royall Mayhew, D. V. Culley and Henry P. Coburn were added to it, and it finally made its call with Ovid Butler as chairman and Nathaniel T. Bolton as secretary.[17] The call quoted freely from the recent report of Mayhew, quoted above. The convention was held on May 25-6-7, 1847, and was attended by some three hundred enthusiastic delegates. Judge Isaac Blackford presided, and educational questions of all sorts were discussed, the basis of debate being the resolutions presented by the correspondence committee. There was a notable lack of agreement as to system and details. A committee of seven was appointed to prepare an address to the people, composed of E. R. Ames, chairman, Jeremiah Sullivan, T. R. Cressey, R. W. Thompson, James H. Henry, Solomon Meredith, and James Blake. It reported three months later in a formidable presentation of the school question, showing the defects of the existing system, and calling for a general school tax, a superintendent of Schools, a standard of qualification for teachers, and absolutely free schools—"perfectly free, as the dew of heaven, to rich and poor, without the least recognition of pauperism or charity."[18] The convention also appointed a committee of three to draft a bill to present to the next legislature, the members of which were Oliver H. Smith, Calvin Fletcher and Judge Amory Kinney.

Meanwhile the election in Indianapolis had come on. West did battle for the cause in his Common School Advocate, and all the papers of the town advocated free schools. The result was that out of 500 votes cast for city officers, under the new charter, there was 406 cast

[16] House Journal, p. 63.
[17] Journal, May 11, 1847.
[18] Journal, August 24, 1847.

for free schools, and only 28 against. The Locomotive averred that most of the latter were marked "No fre sculs"; but it did not file any affidavits in support of the charge. The Journal had an editorial claiming that this was an expression of sentiment that prevailed throughout the State, and said: "Give the citizens of our state a chance at the ballot box in this matter, and they will soon say whether they prefer to raise their children in the midst of ignorance or intelligence." It was very certain that Indianapolis people had not, up to this time, showed greater interest in schools than the rest of the State, for West said, in the Advocate: "There are eleven schools in this city. Four district schools, four subscription do., one county and two Female Seminaries. The three last are of high order, and may be numbered among the best, if not the best in our state. The others are far above the average of our district and subscription schools. Our object in this article is not to advertise the merits of our schools, but to present some facts for the consideration of our citizens. There are in this city 1,928 children between the ages of 5 and 21 years. In all the schools of our city there are less than 550 names upon the registers, and the average daily attendance is only 462. So we see that here at the Capital, a place so renowned for its intelligence, that out of 1,928 children we have 1,466 receiving no instruction at our schools. This tells a tale upon our zeal in the cause of education, and our well directed charities! Many of our citizens feel deeply in regard to the deplorable condition of the schools of our state; while 50 per cent more of the entire number of children of the state attend school than there do from the city of Indianapolis." [19]

The legislature of 1847 was not fully convinced by these demonstrations, nor by the second message of Caleb Mills, which was one of the strongest of all that he wrote, in its advocacy of common schools, though he clung vigorously to his New York university plan, and bitterly opposed a superintendent of public instruction. It is said that this "message" was submitted to Judge Amory Kinney in advance, and that he paid for having it printed in pamphlet form. It was so printed, and laid on the desks of the members at the beginning of the session. The House passed the convention bill, with amendments, but it came to the Senate so late that its members declared they had not full time to consider it; so they adopted a bill submitting the question to a vote of the people at the annual election in August. It is not certain that the champions of tax-supported free schools expected more than that; but at any rate, they accepted the test, and went to work. Another convention was held in May, and another address to the voters was pre-

[19] Quoted in Sentinel, January 12, 1847.

pared. The State Educational Society, which had been made a permanent organization, appointed Judge Kinney a special agent "to travel throughout the State and deliver addresses, and endeavor to awaken an interest in behalf of free common schools." The subject was generally discussed during the next three months, and extensive objection was developed. In the election the free school people won, but not by a very decisive vote. Out of a total vote at the election, 13,052 did not vote on the school question, and those who did stood 78,523 for, and 61,887 against free schools. Of the existing counties, 59 gave majorities for, and 31 majorities against. It is difficult to arrive at any satisfactory explanation of the division. In a general way, the vote in the north half of the State was more pronounced in favor of free schools but there was no regularity about it. Of the thirteen counties bordering on the Ohio, only Crawford and Harrison voted against free schools. In the Whitewater Valley, the strongest support was from Dearborn, with 2,601 for and 438 against; while Wayne came next with 2,492 for and 1,420 against; but Franklin cast 1,191 for and 1,070 against, and Union voted 580 for and 738 against. The most remarkable feature was the vote in counties where the best of the higher institutions of learning were located. Monroe, Putnam, Montgomery and Johnson, each with a chartered college, gave an aggregate of 6,921 votes against free schools out of a total of 9,113. Washington, Henry, Morgan, Delaware, Harrison, Lawrence, Parke and Orange, with seminaries that ranked among the most prosperous in the State, gave 11,934 against, out of a total of 17,872 votes. On its face it would seem that these higher institutions threw their influence against free schools, or that they did not have any influence.

The legislature of 1848 passed a school law, approved January 17, 1849, authorizing a tax of ten cents on $100, and a poll tax for the support of public schools, with a number of changes in the detail of school management; but section 31 of this law required that it should be submitted to the voters at the annual election in August; and that if a majority in any county voted against it, that county should be exempted from the operation of the law. At the election there was a material shifting of the vote, although the aggregate of majorities was almost the same. In some of the strongest counties of the free school column the vote fell off, due it was claimed, to objection to the local option feature of the law. On the other hand, Union, Decatur, Warrick, Henry, Jackson and Sullivan Counties, which had voted against free schools, voted to adopt the law. It was a valuable advance, with all its defects, as it put two-thirds of the State under the system of tax-supported schools, with a minimum limit of three months school in the year. This brought

the public school system to the condition in which it existed when the Constitutional Convention of 1850 assembled; and the work of that Convention on the school question, and some of its results, have already been presented.[20] The effort which had been exerted thus far was not abated. A steady, persistent, organized and systematic fight for free schools was kept up until the constitution was adopted, and the School

BARNABAS COFFIN HOBBS

Law of 1852 was passed. It is proper to add a word here as to Henry F. West, who did such efficient work in this cause. Under the new school law, he with Calvin Fletcher and Henry P. Coburn were elected trustees of the Indianapolis schools in 1853, and generously gave their services in getting the new system into operation. In May, 1856, Mr. West was elected Mayor of Indianapolis, as a Democrat, and served acceptably but briefly. He died on November 8, 1856, and was buried

[20] See Chap. 9.

with distinguished civic and Masonic honors, lamented on all sides as a good and public-spirited man. In a business way, he and his brother George B. West, established the book store of H. F. West & Co., one of the early Indianapolis firms which through various changes finally merged in the Bowen-Merrill Co.—now represented by the two establishments of The Bobbs-Merrill Co. and the Wm. K. Stewart Co.

The establishment of colleges, academies and seminaries in Indiana was largely affected by sectarian religious rivalry, which was quite bitter. This continued until after the Civil war, and an illustration of it is found in the following account of the establishment of Asbury (now DePauw) University, written by Rev. F. C. Holliday, of the Methodist church, in 1872:

"The State funds for educational purposes in Indiana, as in most of the Western States, were for many years under the almost exclusive control of Presbyterians, who assumed to be the especial guardians and patrons of education. It is impossible, at this day, to comprehend the self-complacency with which their leading men in the West assumed to be the only competent educators of the people, and the quiet unscrupulousness with which they seized upon the trust-funds of the States for school purposes, and made those schools as strictly denominational as though the funds had been exclusively contributed by members of their own communion. A young man who, in either the Miami University at Oxford, Ohio, or Lexington, Kentucky, or Bloomington, Indiana, would have questioned the correctness of any of the dogmas of Calvinism, would have been an object of unmitigated ridicule and persecution. Such was the spirit of exclusiveness with which State colleges were managed, in the early settlement of the Western country, that for many years but few students, except those from Calvinistic families, were found in the State colleges. This tended to throw other denominations upon their own resources, and induced them not only to build up denominational schools but caused them, in due course of time to assert their rights in the management of the State institutions; and the result has been that, in those states as Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, where Presbyterian greed has been most conspicuous, they now occupy, in educational matters, a subordinate position. When in 1834 and 1835, efforts were made in Indiana so to change the management of the State University, by amending its charter, that the trustees should be elected by the State Legislature, instead of being a self-perpetuating corporation, a storm of indignation was raised among those who controlled the State University; and it was made the occasion of heaping all sorts of opprobrium on the head of the Methodist Church. The movement was said to be an effort on the part of the Methodists to get a Methodist professor in

the State University; and it was tauntingly said, in the halls of the Legislature, that 'there was not a Methodist in America with sufficient learning to fill a professor's chair, if it were tendered to him.' Such taunts proved a wholesome stimulus to Methodist enterprise and independent Church action in the department of education, and the result is seen, in part, in the investment of more than half a million dollars in property for school purposes; in the employment of more than fifty teachers in Methodist schools in Indiana; in the endowment of denominational colleges second to none; and in the chief control of the State University from which we had been so long and persistently excluded. And all this accomplished, not by the seizure and appropriation of public funds, but by the willing contributions of our people, and by the moral force of the numbers and intelligence of our communicants.

"At the first session of the Indiana Conference, held in New Albany, October, 1832, a committee, consisting of Revs. Allen Wiley, C. W. Ruter, and James Armstrong, was appointed to consider and report on the property of establishing a literary institution, under the patronage of the Conference. The committee reported, but no action was had, beyond providing for the collection of information, to be reported to the next Conference.

"While the Conference felt that, on many accounts, it would be desirable to have an institution of learning under its own control, yet it was thought if we could get anything like an equitable share of privileges in the State University at Bloomington, that that would meet the wants of our people for several years; and accordingly, at the Conference of 1834, it was resolved to memorialize the Legislature on that subject. A memorial from the Conference, and similar memorials from different parts of the state, numerously signed, were sent up to the Legislature. The memorialists did not ask that the University be put, either in whole or in part, under the control of the Church; they simply asked that the trustees of the University should be elected for a definite term of years, and the vacancies, as they occurred, should be filled by the Legislature, and not by the remaining members of the Board of Trustees.

"The memorials were referred to an able committee of the Legislature, but from some cause the committee never reported.. It was easier to strangle the report in the committee, than to justify a refusal of the reforms asked by the memorialists. Failing in their efforts to secure a reform in the manner of controlling the State University, the members of the Conference turned their thoughts earnestly toward the founding of a literary institution of high grade, under the control of the Church. At the session of the Conference of 1835, a plan was agreed upon for founding a university.

Earlham College

"Subscriptions were taken up and proposals made from different parts of the state, with a view of securing the location of the university, Rockville, Putnamville, Greencastle, Lafayette, Madison, and Indianapolis were the principal competitors. Rockville presented a subscription of $20,000; Putnamville, about the same amount; Indianapolis and Madison, $10,000, each; and Greencastle, the sum of $25,000; and at the session of the Conference in Indianapolis, in 1836, the university was located at Greencastle. At the next session of the Legislature the institution secured a liberal charter, under the name of Indiana Asbury University.

"The first meeting of the Board of Trustees was held in 1837, when it was resolved to open the Preparatory Department, which in due time was done under the principalship of Rev. Cyrus Nutt, a graduate of Alleghany College. Rev. M. Simpson was elected President of the University in 1839; and the first regular Commencement was held in 1840, when President Simpson was duly inaugurated, the charge being delivered by Governor Wallace."

A more charitable view was presented by another Methodist writer a quarter of a century later—Rev. Thomas A. Goodwin—who was not so sensitive about "Methodist ignorance" as Holliday, and whose special school bias lay in another direction. He was a native of Indiana, born at Brookville, November 2, 1818. He was the first student at Asbury, in 1840, and was in the first graduating class in 1844. In that year he opened the Madison Female College, and later became president of Brookville College. In 1853 he quit teaching to edit the Indiana American, a Whig paper at Brookville. He made it a vigorous anti-slavery and temperance journal; and in 1857 removed it to Indianapolis, where he continued it until impaired health forced his retirement to the farm. But he could not stop writing, and he did as much as most editors in contributions to magazines and religious periodicals, with frequent letters to the daily papers—especially the Journal—over the signature of "U. L. See." All that stopped his literary output was his death, on June 19, 1906. Writing of the Territorial period, in 1900, he says: "It is no disparagement to the Methodists and Baptists of that period that there were few educated men among them, but it is to their credit rather, that with such appliance as they had, they went to those who needed the essential truths of the gospel to prepare them for the evangel of education. When families began to cluster in villages and when the pressing needs of pioneer life began to give place to home luxuries, and the primitive cabin to the more comfortable house, the log schoolhouse was supplanted by the academy and a demand came for better teachers than the peripatetic adventurer who took to teaching only to replenish an exhausted pocketbook, with neither moral nor educational fitness for the

work. Just then there seemed to be an inexhaustible supply of young Presbyterian preachers at command, and they came to fill a much-felt if not a long-felt want. Methodists and Baptists had had organizations ten years or more in and near the cluster of settlers that was to become Madison when, in 1814, the demands of the village required a better school than they could possibly have with the teachers available, hence they employed William Robinson, a young Presbyterian preacher to take the village school. * * *

"In view of these historic facts, it is hardly extravagant to say, that there were no good schools in Indiana before the Presbyterian preachers came. All of the county seminaries were first manned by them, and in nearly every case the first Presbyterian church of the locality was organized by the seminary teacher; and when the Indiana Seminary, later the Indiana College, now the Indiana University, was ready for opening, the ubiquitous Presbyterian preacher-teacher was ready for the opening, and for a quarter of a century or more that school was as exclusively a Presbyterian school as was Hanover or Wabash. All this is to the credit of that church as an educational force, with no detraction from it as a religious force. It came from an educated ancestry, and right well does it maintain its rank though the developments of the last half century show that churches of plebeian origin may successfully challenge her claim to the primacy. * * * When such a man as John Finley Crowe, in his humble parish at Hanover, as early as 1823, wrestles for three years with the problem of providing educated ministers for the young commonwealth, until it takes form, in 1827, in a school for native coming prophets and teachers, in a log house on his own lot, with only six boys to begin with, I can not refrain from naming him as one of the heroes of pioneer times. That school became the nucleus of Hanover College, and remotely of the new Wabash College, and it was really the germ of the great McCormick Theological Seminary, of Chicago. Mr. Crowe was not a charming preacher; he was not even a thorough teacher; but he was a great man in that he seized upon opportunities and devised great things."[21] But, while Parson Goodwin could see some good in Presbyterian education, he had no use for schools that had no theological curriculum. He was convinced that the words "religion and morality," connected with education in the Ordinance of 1787, were left out of the Indiana Constitution of 1816 through infidel influences, and that the Indiana University's non-religious course of study was not true education. He was an earnest and persistent champion of the sectarian colleges against the State University. In 1902, in

[21] The Indianan, 1900, p. 100.

State Normal School

an assault on that institution, after reciting the experience of Kentucky and Ohio with universities he stated the Indiana case, as he saw it, as follows:

"Again it was necessary to call religious men to its chairs, no free-thinkers offering to do the teaching. Its early teachers were all Presbyterians of acknowledged scholastic attainments and unquestioned piety and devotion to the cause of Christianity, but they at once found themselves hampered by conditions just as their brothers in Kentucky and Ohio were.

"The immediate result was that the Presbyterian Church in the State was the first of all the churches to abandon it and to build Colleges wherein the doctrines of the Bible as to religion and morality could be taught to their children while seeking the intellectual culture of the College. In this laudable work they were generously aided by their brothers in the East as a legitimate missionary work. The Methodists, the Baptists and other churches soon followed. The prestige of priority in time and superiority in material equipments soon so lost its charm that some of these outnumbered their older rival, and at no time have their alumni been inferior in the mental training which makes success in life.

"Almost from the beginning this well endowed College was an applicant to the Legislature for material aid in addition to what, for the times, was a princely endowment; yet, notwithstanding the peremptory order of the Constitution to provide for a State University, it was more than fifty years before it got a cent. The people did not take kindly to the peculiarities of the methods which had driven them to the necessity of building and maintaining Colleges in which the whole man can be developed.

"So persistent had it become in its importunities, and basing them upon the provisions in the Constitution above referred to, that in the convention to revise the Constitution, in 1851, Hon. T. A. Hendricks, of Shelby County, later Governor of the State and still later Vice-President, offered a resolution instructing the Committee on Education to provide in the new Constitution that no money should be paid for educational purposes to any grade above the township school. This was adopted without a dissenting vote. Lest that might not be sufficiently specific, the next day Hon. Joseph Ristine, then and for many years later a leading Democratic politician, offered a resolution to 'abolish the County Seminary system and the State University also.' It was adopted, and as a result of these resolutions all that related to Seminaries and the University was left out of the new Constitution.

"By all the rules of construction this as emphatically prohibits appropriations to a State University as if the exact words of these resolutions

had been embodied into the section itself. And the University itself and all the executive officers of the State so understood it. The County Seminaries were sold and for twelve years the University never asked for aid, not even when its principal buildings were destroyed by fire in 1853. Needing more endowment, it attempted to sell scholarships as the Christian Colleges were doing, but the men who want Colleges in which religion and morality are tabooed are not the kind of men to endow Colleges, and none worth naming were sold, and the scheme was abandoned.

"Left thus, the financial condition of the University soon became so embarrassing that in 1863 it again ventured to ask aid of the State purely as a matter of charity, but then the State Board of Education was composed of the State officers, one of whom was the identical Joseph Ristine who in the convention had moved to 'abolish the State University also,' and one of whom was the well-remembered war Governor, an alumnus of the Miami University. The Board unanimously opposed the appropriation on constitutional grounds and none was made.

"Not to be thwarted, the University people set about reconstructing the Board, hence at the next Legislature it appeared in the lobby to urge that educators alone should constitute the State Board of Education, with only the Governor and the Superintendent of Public Instruction to represent the State. Their arguments being plausible, and no State officer willing to be burdened with its duties, the change was made and the President of the University and of two other State Schools and three Superintendents of public schools, none of whom were chosen by any State authority, became the State Board of Education.

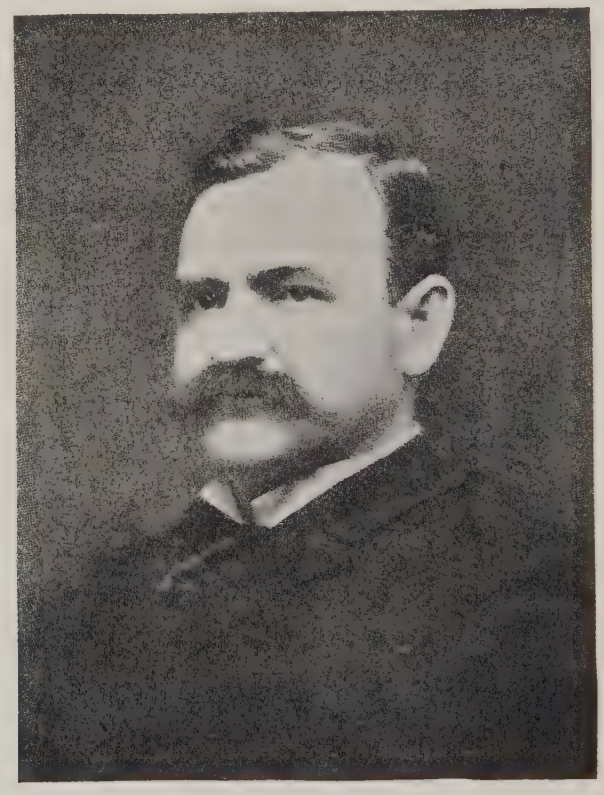
"After that, as the result shows, the access to the treasury became easy. These cultured gentlemen spent the weeks of the Legislature of 1867 with the Legislature ostensibly revising the law on public schools, but really in impressing the members that they alone had the cause of education at heart, and that what the Indiana system most needed was a head, with only vague suggestions to a chosen few that the moribund State University was the only available head in sight, until a few days before the adjournment, when a bill was introduced just in time to be railroaded through by the suspension of the rules, appropriating $8,000 to relieve the pressing wants of the head of the common school system of the State. The Legislature was so absorbed in questions growing out of the reconstruction period after the war that there was no time for discussion, and thus access was gained to the treasury sixteen years after the State University was "abolished" by a vote of the people of the State, four to one, thus saving it from the grave that had entombed the earlier non-American Colleges of Kentucky and Ohio.

"This was the beginning of appropriations that have in a third of a century aggregated more than two million dollars, and which are increasing annually, so that now it amounts to $130,000 a year, about one-half of which is by direct levy upon the taxables of the State, including some classes of the property of the non-State Colleges. But this financial burden is the least objectionable feature of the case. The tax-payers of the State are amply able to pay twice as much if they approved the policy of excluding religion and morality from College teaching."

There is scant room to question that Goodwin was right as to what the Constitutional Convention of 1850 intended, or that if they had anticipated that the University would claim State support they would have prohibited it expressly. But fortunately they did not; and the State has proceeded on the rational theory that the legislature can exercise any legitimate function of a sovereign state, not expressly prohibited to it by the Constitution. In consequence the State University has developed to a point where it is both valuable and creditable to the State. It undoubtedly came up through great tribulation, and was no more than an ordinary college for the first sixty years of its existence. Its real upgrade movement began when Science Hall, with the laboratory and library were burned, in 1883, and the Trustees decided to move it from its old quarters to the present site. In the same year the legislature gave it an endowment of a tax of five mills on one hundred dollars, to continue for thirteen years. On January 1, 1885, David Starr Jordan became President and began to do things. The standard he set has been kept up by his successors, John Merle Coulter, Joseph Swain, and William Lowe Bryan. Women had been admitted in 1868, the first woman student and graduate being Sarah Parke Morrison, a daughter of John I. Morrison; but the total number of students did not reach 200 until 1886. After that the growth was more rapid, the 1,000 mark being passed in 1900, and the 2,000 in 1908. In 1916 the attendance was 2,669. A School of Law, which had been opened in 1842, with Judge David McDonald as Professor, and had been discontinued in 1877, was revived in 1889, with Judge David Demaree Banta at its head, and has since been successfully continued. In 1871 the Indiana Medical College, at Indianapolis was made the School of Medicine of the University, but this relation was terminated by mutual consent in 1876, and in 1891 a medical preparatory course was established at the University, which continued until, in 1907, after a contest in the legislature between the University and Purdue, a compromise was effected by which the medical education under charge of the State was centered in the State University, and is conducted through its School

of Medicine at Indianapolis, a well-equipped and well conducted institution, under the management of Dr. C. P. Emerson; its efficiency is increased by the new "Long Hospital."

There were some other "divisions of labor" that were advantageous to the public, whether they were to the university, as a great educational institution or not. As has been noted, there had been a demand in



JOSEPH SWAIN

the State for better school teachers for years past, and one of the arguments for institutions of higher learning was that they would furnish competent teachers. But they did not; for the simple reason that a man who had energy enough to get a college education usually had sense enough not to waste his time teaching in the schools, at the rate of wages then paid, when he could do better at something else. Consequently, if they taught, it was only until they could get a start in law or medicine, or some remunerative occupation. But the cham-

pions of common schools objected seriously to this failure, and it was one of the chief causes of the revolt against higher education at public expense, which wiped the seminaries out of existence, in the Constitutional Convention of 1850, and which came so near sending the university after them. The Board of Trustees "sat up and took notice." In 1852, they announced a "Normal Department in connection with the University, with a male and female Model School as schools of practice." A resolution was adopted to make the Monroe County Female Seminary, then ably conducted by Mrs. E. J. McFerson, "the Female Normal Seminary of the University," but nothing was done for the females, and the normal training for males in the University was dropped in 1856-7. There was a feeble effort to revive it when the State Normal project came up in 1865, but too late to save it for the University. There was an effort in the Constitutional Convention of 1850 to provide for a normal department in the State University, but it was defeated by a large majority, presumably from a determination not to recognize the University as a State institution. The idea of a separate institution for the training of teachers did not appeal to the members of the Convention, which is not remarkable, as it was comparatively new. There were only four normal schools in the United States at the time, the first one only ten years old, and their utility was not demonstrated, even to the satisfaction of educators. In his first report as Superintendent of Public Instruction, Prof. Larrabee referred to the lack, and said: "Perhaps it is well, for I doubt whether such schools * * * would comport with our circumstances, or suit our government, or meet our wants." Thereafter neither he nor Caleb Mills, his successor, both college men, had anything to say about normal schools. It was not until 1859, that the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Samuel L. Rugg, who was not even a professional educator, said: "I fear we shall never realize that completeness of qualifications of teachers we desire * * * until the State adopts and carries into effect some plan for Normal School instruction."

But, happily, there were other educational agencies at work. In 1854 some of the County Teachers Associations adopted resolutions for a State association, and on Christmas day of that year, 178 teachers, representing 33 counties, met at Indianapolis, and organized the State Teachers' Association. Most of the school reforms, except in text-books, since then have originated with it. And as a matter of justice, it should be said that Indiana owes a debt of gratitude to her school teachers that has never been appreciated. In the preceding pages it has been made manifest that the effective initiative in educational reform from the beginning, came from teachers, and that they were among the most

influential factors in the establishment of the common school system. Their State Association has been the most potent agency in the improvement of that system. But all of this is really small as compared with the patient daily work of the great force of teachers who have in very fact built their lives into the fabric of the commonwealth. It has been a tremendous influence, reaching into every corner of the State, and moving so uniformly, and so steadily, for the general uplift, that the few exceptions to the general rule are negligible. In 1855 the State Teachers' Association appointed a committee to memorialize the legislature on the establishment of normal schools. It met no success, but in 1857 a strong report was made, and another committee appointed. This was followed by repeated discussions, and a circular appeal to the public; but the Civil War put an end to school reform for the time being, as it did to many other useful things that are appreciated in times of peace. However, the leaven was working, and in 1865 there was a triumph of school uplift, including provision for a normal school. Perhaps the most influential factor in this was Prof. John M. Olcott. He was born in Dearborn County, Indiana, in 1833; and received his elementary education at home, his father, a native of Connecticut, having been a teacher, and his mother, a New York woman, being cultured. In 1850, when seventeen years of age, he began teaching; and the next year entered Asbury, from which he graduated in 1856. He was at once made Superintendent of Schools of Lawrenceburgh, where he continued for four years; then three years at Columbus; and in 1863 took charge of the schools of Terre Haute, where he remained for six years. He realized the need of an inducement to get action from the legislature, and convinced some live Terre Haute people that a Normal School would be a good investment for that place. With the local backing, and the efficient aid of Representative B. E. Rhoads, of Vermillion County, a law for a normal school was passed at the called session of 1865, conditioned that it should be located in the city offering the largest donation, but not less than $50,000. Terre Haute promptly offered $50,000 in money, and a building site valued at $25,000; and as there were no other offers, the school was located there. The original contribution of the State was a provision that there should be $5,000 apportioned to the institution semi-annually, from the school revenues, which has since been doubled. But in 1867, on recommendation of Superintendent Hoss, the legislature diverted the proceeds of the township library tax to the Normal School building fund, and in 1869 appropriated $70,000 additional. The one stupid, and probably wholly unnecessary thing in the whole proceeding, was the diversion of the library tax, which was less than $50,000, but sufficed to ruin the

township libraries. The school was opened January 6, 1870, with 21 students, under Wm. A. Jones as President, and a faculty composed of Nathan Newby, Amanda P. Funnell, and Mary A. Bruce, besides the teachers in the Model School. Mr. Jones was born in Connecticut in 1830, and came to Illinois in 1856. He taught for seven years at Altona, and was Superintendent of Schools at Aurora, before being called to Terre Haute. He was succeeded in 1879 by George P. Brown, a well known Indiana educator, born in Ohio, November 10, 1836, who remained until 1885. On July 1, 1885, William Wood Parsons became President, and still holds that position. He was born at Terre Haute, May 18, 1850, and graduated at the State Normal in 1872. The original school building was destroyed by fire in 1888, together with the library. Terre Haute gave $50,000 for rebuilding, and the State $100,000 and a new building was erected. The school now has a library of 60,000 volumes; and the attendance has quadrupled during the administration of Prof. Parsons—now numbering over 3,000.

A somewhat similar divorce occurred as to agricultural education. The University established an Agricultural Department in 1853, which lasted for six years. In 1862, Congress offered a donation of 30,000 acres of land, for each Senator and Representative of any State that would establish an agricultural school under the provisions of the law. Indiana accepted the donation in 1865, and established The Trustees of the Indiana Agricultural College to take charge of the donation. Bloomington made a desperate effort to have the school located there, in connection with the University; but in 1869, the legislature accepted a donation of $150,000 from John Purdue, of Lafayette, backed by $50,000 from Tippecanoe County, and 100 acres of land from the village of Chauncey, all on condition that the school be located in Tippecanoe County, and named Purdue University. The school opened September 17, 1874, with Abram C. Shortridge as President—Richard Owen had been named as President, but resigned before the school opened. Shortridge remained for a year, and was succeeded by Dr. E. E. White, who continued till 1883, then giving place to James H. Smart; who remained in the office until his death, on February 21, 1900. Prof. Smart was one of the most distinguished of Indiana educators. He was born at Center Harbor, N. H., June 30, 1841. His education was in the school of his father, Dr. W. H. Smart, an old time New England teacher; and he was specially trained for teaching. He taught for four years in New Hampshire, beginning in 1858, and was associate editor of the New Hampshire Journal of Education. In 1863 he removed to Toledo, where he taught for two and one half years; and was then Superintendent of the Fort Wayne schools for ten years. He was elected State Super-

intendent of Public Instruction in 1874, and reelected in 1876, and in 1878. He was a member of the State Board of Education for twenty-seven years; was the author of a number of books and pamphlets on educational subjects; was President of the National Educational Association in 1889; and represented the United States at the World's Expositions of Vienna, in 1872, and Paris, in 1878. He was succeeded

JAMES H. SMART

by Winthrop Ellsworth Stone, also a native of New Hampshire, born at Chesterfield, June 12, 1862, a graduate of Boston University, and the University of Goettingen, who still presides over the institution. Purdue has developed into one of the leading technical schools of the nation. In addition to its literary course, it maintains university training in agriculture, applied science, mechanical engineering, civil engineering, electrical engineering, chemical engineering and pharmacy. It has 1,000 acres of land, and 29 buildings, including laboratories,

shops, museum, library, and all the equipment pertaining to its diversified work. The students in 1916-7 were 2,415, representing forty states and ten foreign countries.

The apprehensions entertained by some that State-supported institutions of higher education would injure the non-State colleges has not been realized. The development of the latter has depended chiefly on location and endowment. Many of them, such as Hanover, Earlham, Butler and Franklin, serve chiefly local demand for higher education for those who do not desire to leave home, though they all have non-resident students. Asbury (now De Pauw) has developed into a university, with departments of law, medicine, theology, music and pedagogy, and a total attendance of 4,000. Its plant is valued at over $500,000, and its endowments amount to over $1,500,000. One of the most remarkable of the private schools in development is Valparaiso University, which was opened in 1873 as Northern Indiana Normal School with 35 students, by Henry Baker Brown. The second year the attendance reached 210, and it was soon necessary to erect new buildings. In 1904 the name was changed to Valparaiso College, and in 1907 to Valparaiso University. It now has courses in twenty-one departments, 220 instructors, and over 5,000 students. To secure clinical advantages, it maintains two large buildings in Chicago, where medical students take their last two years of training, and the entire course in dentistry is taught. Until 1916 this institution was owned and controlled by Mr. Brown and Oliver P. Kinsey, as partners, but early in that year, they transferred it to a self-perpetuating Board of Trustees, for educational purposes, making perhaps the most unique and extensive contribution to education that the world has ever known.

As to denominational colleges, the Methodists have outstripped competitors, in DePauw, although the Presbyterians had the start. The latter are still represented in Hanover and Wabash. Neither of these has aspired to university standing, and Hanover is somewhat handicapped by its location. Wabash has vindicated New England conservatism both by adhering to college work and by its adherence to its educators. Rev. Charles White, the second President, came into office by the death of Rev. Elihu W. Baldwin, the first President, and continued in office until his death, twenty years later, in 1861. His successor, Rev. Joseph Farrand Tuttle held the office for thirty years. Rev. Otis Hovey, one of the founders, was a member of the faculty for 42 years, 1834-76; Caleb Mills was on the faculty 46 years, 1833-79; and Prof. John Lyle Campbell taught there for 55 years, 1849-1904. The Catholics have a university in Notre Dame, which was founded in 1842, by Father Edward Sorin, and which has five colleges—Arts and Letters, Science, Engineer-

ing, Architecture, and Law. It has about 700 students in college and university work, and about 450 in preparatory work, with 80 instructors. This is one of the finest and best equipped educational plants in the State, with 1,000 acres of land, and commodious buildings for all purposes. There is also at Notre Dame an excellent convent school for girls, established in 1843. The most extensive Catholic educational work for women is done by the Sisters of Providence, who conduct Saint

Notre Dame University

Mary-of-the-Woods, near Terre Haute, and also conduct 38 grammar schools and academies at various cities of the State. Their work began in 1841, in a very modest way, and has developed steadily. During the Civil War, a number of these sisters digressed from educational work to act as nurses in the military hospital at Indianapolis. The Catholic schools maintain normal departments, and devote much attention to domestic science. The latest of the denominational schools is Indiana Central University, which was opened September 26, 1905, by the United Brethren, just south of Indianapolis, and which has the appearance of a healthy infant.

But the glory of Indiana is in her public schools, which are not merely "common schools" in the sense the makers of the Constitution

of 1850 contemplated. There is not a city in the State—and few counties without cities—where there is not maintained a high school of as high rank as the seminaries that were abolished at that time. They expected the interest of the School Fund to maintain the schools. The total School Fund, Common and Congressional, now amounts to a little over $11,900,000; but, in his report of January 4, 1917, the Superintendent of Public Instruction says: "Indiana has invested in her public school property today more than twenty-five millions of dollars, nineteen thousand teachers are in these public schools and an army of more than five hundred fifty thousand children are enrolled in them. And this great system is maintained at an annual cost of about twenty-five millions of dollars." In other words the annual expenditure for schools is more than twice the total amount of the permanent School Funds, and they are more than twice what they were in 1850. The support, of course, comes chiefly from taxation; and there are no taxes that are paid more willingly than school taxes; and there is no department of government in which the people take more direct and intelligent interest than in the public school system. The high schools are divided into three classes, according to number of teachers, subjects taught, length of term, etc. Those of the highest grade are called "commissioned schools," and have terms of eight months each year. The second grade, "certified schools," have the same standards except that the terms are seven months. The "non-certified" or "non-commissioned schools" include all those below the standards in any respect. In 1916 there were 527 schools of the first class, 129 of the second, and 153 of the third, and in addition to these there were 501 "consolidated schools," employing four or more teachers. There were 8,376 public school houses, 40 concrete, 85 stone, 4,480 brick, 3,769 frame, and 2 log. It will be recalled that the original ideal was a "three months school." In 1916 the average length of term in elementary schools was 142 days in township schools; 162 days in towns, and 178 days in cities. In high schools, the average length of term was 158 days in townships, 167 days in towns, and 179 days in cities. These figures present the results not only of growth in population and wealth, but of an increasing demand for better and higher education among the people. It is the product of public sentiment.

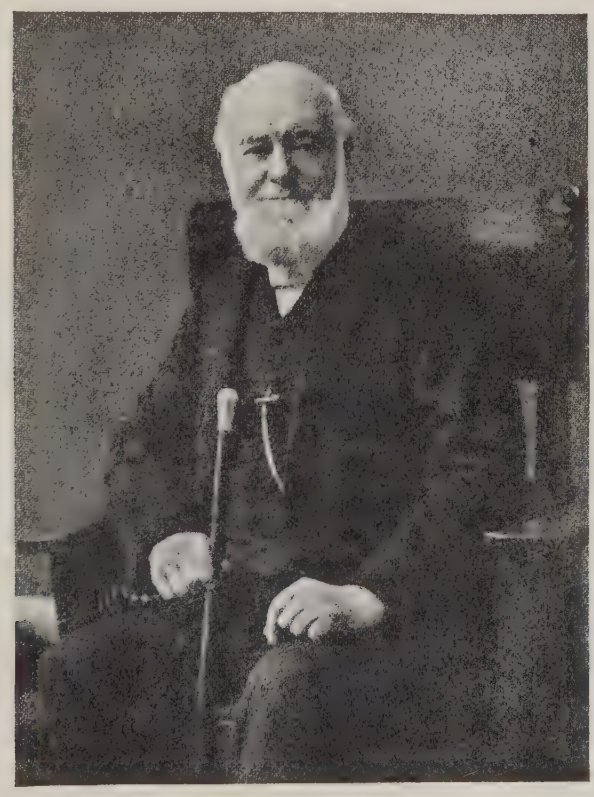
A word should be added as to "vocational education", an experiment which is now under trial, in pursuance of a State law of 1913. The early educational enterprises of Indiana were largely connected with manual training or manual labor as a mode of meeting the expenses of education, not only at New Harmony, but at various other points; but, as pointed out by Prof. Boone, it was abandoned everywhere

except in the Union Literary Institute, an institution in Randolph County for the education of colored people, which was founded by anti-slavery Friends in 1846.[22] In the last thirty years there has been a gradual revival of the idea, in instruction in domestic science and manual training. A number of influences have contributed to this, among them the influence of women's clubs, and the call of workingmen for technical instruction. One remarkable influence, in connection with agriculture, was the organization, in 1894, of a "corn club" by J. F. Haines, Superintendent of Schools at Noblesville. He was figuring on some basis for a boys' club that would give them occupation outside of their regular school work, when a friend who had a seed store suggested that he set them to raising corn. He proposed the plan to the boys, telling them he would undertake it if ten were willing to join, and 52 agreed to start. The average Indiana farmer was slow to believe that anything could be learned in school about farming that he did not know; and it was only after the boys began raising better corn than their fathers, on the same land, that conviction set in. The movement has spread rapidly, and the more recent movement for "war gardens" has given an impetus to agricultural training that is liable to produce unlooked-for results hereafter. At present, vocational education is being pushed energetically by the school authorities, and the progress is considered most gratifying.

There is an analogous educational development in the libraries of the State, which is of great importance not merely as adjunct to the schools, but for the education of those who lack full school education, or have finished it. From the practical point of view, if the graduate of a college, or even a university, has learned how to study, he has received one of the chief benefits of school training—that of being able to pursue his education through books. The Constitution of 1816, and laws under it, provided for county libraries; and a law of 1837 provided for permissory school district libraries; but these had few results of any importance. The first real relief came from the Sunday-School libraries, which were an essential feature of the Sunday Schools from the start. On August 3, 1827, the Indiana Sabbath-School Union, which had been organized several months earlier, held its first annual meeting at Indianapolis. At that time it was estimated that of the 50,000 children in the State, only 2,000 attended Sunday Schools, and the remainder were "growing up in great ignorance and thus preparing for great wickedness." In addition to their religious influence, the purpose of the schools was declared to be "paving the way for common schools, and of serving as a substitute till they are generally formed." One of

[22] Hist. Ed. in Ind. pp. 72, 77-80.

the chief lines of work was teaching children to read and spell. The Union issued an Address to the Public stating the modes in which it was proposed to aid one of which was by establishing depositories from which books would be supplied at reduced prices. Three of these had been located at Madison, New Albany and Indianapolis. The books were divided into seven classes according to value, ranging from those cost-



Joseph F. Tuttle

ing less than twelve cents to those costing more than $1.50. They were given out as rewards for work done in the Sunday School, chiefly memorizing verses; and fines were imposed for "every dirt or grease spot, turned down or torn leaf, or week overkept." It is hard to realize now what a boon this supply of reading was to the children of that day. Occasionally some reminiscent one speaks of it, as Sarah Parke Morrison tells of the use in their family—which was much better supplied than most families—"a book being carried home every Sabbath by each

of us. 'Henry Martin,' 'The Dairyman's Daughter,' 'Harriet Newell,' and 'The Judsons' later, and, best of all, 'Little Jack, the Circus Boy.' ''[23] It is a notable fact that these early Sunday Schools enlisted the aid of many persons who were not professed Christians, but who were interested in education, and the general uplift.

The next movement of any extent was the Maclure ''workingmen's libraries,'' of which an account is given elsewhere; but these were limited and ephemeral. The first approach to a survey of the library condition of the State was by the census of 1850. It credited Indiana with 151 libraries, other than private, containing 68,403 volumes. These were classed as public libraries—mostly county libraries—58, with 46,238 volumes; school libraries, 3 with 1,800 volumes; Sunday School libraries 85, with 11,265 volumes; college libraries 4, with 8,700 volumes; church libraries 1, with 400 volumes. The report as to Sunday School libraries is far below the facts. Prof. Jewett, who had charge of the library report for the Census, states that he had been unable to get full statistics as to these libraries; and as the Methodists alone had 612 Sunday Schools in Indiana in 1850, the figures might be safely quadrupled for their church alone. The library feature had been connected with the common school agitation at least from the time of Twining's Common School Advocate. It has been so associated in other states, notably in New York, which was the particular bright example held up to Indiana, and which had over a million and a half of volumes in its school libraries in 1852. Most of the advocates of common schools were Sunday School workers, and were familiar with the benefit of libraries in that connection. Hence it was natural that the School law of 1852 provided for a special tax for township school libraries, to be purchased under the direction of the State Board of Education. By November 1, 1854, $171,319.07 had been collected, and $147,222 expended for books. Then the trouble began. The law provided for the purchase of complete libraries, and the State Board bought complete libraries; but instead of providing a library for each township, the law provided for a distribution to counties according to population—10 libraries to a county with over 15,000 inhabitants; 8 libraries to a county with 10,000 to 15,000 inhabitants; and 6 libraries to a county with less than 10,000 inhabitants —an equitable distribution to be made to the townships by the county commissioners. The result was that there were 690 libraries to be divided among 938 townships; and the basis was so unequal that there were 150 townships that received less than full libraries which had more population than one entire county that received six libraries. The county com-

[23] Among Ourselves, Vol. 3, p. 165.

missioners divided them so impartially that in some cases they broke sets of books, sending part to one township and part to another. This was partially remedied by the school law of 1855, and the tax continued for another year. The total library tax collected was $273,000, or about $290 to the township, and the number of volumes furnished was about 300 to the township, varying with the population.

These libraries were immensely popular and useful. In the report of Caleb Mills, Superintendent of Public Instruction, in 1856, he states that an examination of the statistics in the report will "convince the most skeptical that a one-quarter of a mill property and a twenty-five cents poll tax never accomplished so much for education in any other way." In 1857, he said that the system had already "accomplished results equal to the most sanguine expectations of its friends, and fully redeemed their pledges in its behalf"; and the statistics for the year justify his statement, for, as he says: "The reports from many townships will show that the number of books taken out in twelve consecutive months is equal to from one to twenty times the entire number in the library, a case perhaps without a parallel in the history of popular reading." An equally convincing testimony is found in the report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1860, which says, "The most common complaint made to me in relation to them is for want of means to replenish the libraries with new and additional works and to keep them in repair. In some of the townships I am informed that individuals have read nearly or quite every book in the library and call loudly for more. * * * A permanent annual revenue, small when compared with the original revenue for that purpose, is much needed for the support of this feature of our educational system. A bill for that purpose passed the Senate at its last session by a vote of twenty-nine to nine, but failed to become a law." This lack of support caused an idea on the part of those who examined the remains of these libraries at later periods that the books "shot over the heads" of the people, and were therefore unpopular. The real explanation was that the popular books had been "read to pieces" and discarded, there being no money to repair or replace them; and only the heavier and less popular books remained in the libraries.

As a matter of fact, the libraries were fairly well selected for the time, but there was no such profusion of popular literature then as is to be found at present. Of juveniles, which in a few years practically disappeared from the libraries from constant use, there were originally Abbott's "Rolla," "Jonas," and "Lucy" books, which really deserve a better standing than they have with libraries today; "Abbott's Biographies"; "Cousin Alice's Stories"; "Robinson Crusoe"; "Swiss

Family Robinson''—impossible but alluring to children; Mayne Reid's ''Boy Hunters,'' ''Forest Exiles,'' ''Young Voyagers,'' and ''Desert Home''; Chambers's ''Library for Young People''; Harper's ''Story Books''; ''Aunt Kitty's Tales''; ''Uncle Philip's Books''; ''The Young Crusoe''; ''The Young Sailor''; ''Braggadocio''; ''Fairy Tales and Legends''; ''The Little Drummer''; ''Anecdotes for Boys''; ''Anecdotes for Girls''; ''Stories About Birds''; ''Stories About Animals''; ''Stories About Insects''; ''Campfires of the Revolution''; ''Wild Scenes and Wild Hunters''; Dickens's ''Child's History of England''; Bonner's ''Child's History of the United States,'' and others. When the Civil war came on, practically everything else was forgotten, and the township libraries went from bad to worse. After the war, a tax was levied for their revival; but, as has been mentioned, the proceeds were diverted to the building of the State Normal School. Very few persons wanted to read the books that were left, as books had become more plentiful, and up-to-date reading could usually be had by any who really desired it. In many townships the libraries were boxed up and kept in attics or stables; and the impression grew up that they had been a wasteful and useless investment of money. A peculiar addition to this delusion was made by a law passed in 1879. Over in Richmond, Robert Morrison had offered to make a generous donation for a library if the township would support it. A law was passed, general in form, but applying only to this case at the time, providing that in any township in which a library of the value of $1,000 is established by donation, the Township Trustee might levy a tax of 1 cent on $100 for its support. In 1887, when I began a crusade for the revival of the township libraries, the purpose of this law had been forgotten; and the impression had grown up that it was to prevent the public from rushing heedlessly into the maelstrom of public libraries. It required years of effort to secure the permission of the legislature to the people of a township to tax themselves to support a library for their own use. In 1891, the State Teachers' Association took the matter up, and appointed a committee to urge a law on the legislature, but they were unable to accomplish anything. In the meantime, however, an entering wedge had been driven by the Indianapolis school law of 1871, which authorized the Board of School Commissioners to levy a tax ''for the support of free libraries in connection with the common schools of such city.'' This proved so great a success that in 1881 it was extended to cities of 10,000 inhabitants; and in 1883 to ''all the cities and incorporated towns of the State.''

The library provision in the Indianapolis school law was introduced by Prof. Abram Crum Shortridge, then Superintendent of Schools. Up

PURDUE ENGINEERING BUILDING

to that time, Indianapolis had come under the general school law of the State, which was not well fitted for a city. Shortridge devised a scheme for independent school government; secured the approval of a meeting of influential citizens; and was appointed on a committee with Judge A. C. Roache and Austin H. Brown, to draft the law. It provided for a school board of one member from each of the nine wards, into which the city was then divided. The law was limited to Indianapolis by being made to apply to cities of thirty thousand inhabitants. It provided for a tax of two cents on $100—later increased to four cents. Prof. Shortridge was for many years a "live wire" in school matters. He was born on a farm near New Lisbon, Henry County, October 22, 1833, and had very fair schooling at Fairview, in Rush County, and at Green Mount, near Richmond. He taught for three years at Milton and Dublin, and was then for six years at Whitewater College, which he leased in 1856 and conducted for six years. In 1861 he was called to Indianapolis to take charge of the preparatory department of Butler College. In 1863 he was drafted to the office of Superintendent of Schools of Indianapolis; and held that position until 1874, when he resigned to become President of Purdue. He retired from active educational work in 1876, but has always taken a warm interest in educational matters. He helped to organize the Indiana Teachers Association in 1854, and the National Teachers Association in 1858; and there was scarcely an educational reform from 1856 to 1876 in which he did not have a part. In this period, he was connected as publisher or associate editor with the educational papers, The Little Chief, The Indiana Teacher, The Educationist, and The Indiana School Journal.

In 1891 the Indiana Library Association was organized, with a membership of persons interested in library work, which continued the agitation for more liberal library laws. On December 3, 1896, Rutherford P. Hays, Secretary of the American Library Association addressed the Indiana Association on Library Commissions; and on December 28, 1897, Governor James A. Mount made a plea for the establishment of rural libraries. By this time the Indiana Union of Literary Clubs had taken up the subject, and appointed a committee to secure legislation for traveling libraries; and the Indiana Library Association, and the Indianapolis Commercial Club appointed committees to co-operate in the work. I united with them, on condition that a provision for township libraries be included in the law; and in 1899 a law was passed providing for a State Library Commission, for traveling libraries, and permitting townships to establish and maintain libraries by taxation. The Commission was to act in conjunction with the State Library, with the State Librarian as Secretary, *ex officio*. In 1901 the two were separated,

and on November 1, 1901, the State Library Commission began its separate work. The development of public libraries in Indiana began at that time. In 1899 there were 57 public libraries in Indiana, of which 6 were housed in buildings adapted to, but not constructed for, library use; and there was but one librarian in the State who had library school training. In 1916 there were 197 public libraries, 163 special library buildings, and 190 librarians who had some library school training. In the two years, 1914-6, traveling libraries were furnished to 367 associations (of five or more persons) and to 56 public libraries, to supplement their collections, reaching 84 of the 92 counties in the State. At the present time, there are only three counties in the State, Brown, Dubois, and Crawford, that do not have a free public library; and the traveling libraries are circulated in these. It should be added that this development would have been impossible but for the timely generosity of Andrew Carnegie, whose total gifts to Indiana public libraries exceed two and one-half millions of dollars. Of the present library buildings 103 represent donations from him, and 7 are gifts from other persons.

These figures do not include the school libraries that have been formed for the use of the various public schools. Libraries are required for commissioned and certified high schools, and they have been formed in many others. In an article in Harper's Weekly, in January, 1909, Mrs. Emma Mont. McRae estimated that there were 8,000 school libraries in the State, which is certainly not an overestimate. These are largely intended for supplementary reading and reference, but also circulate freely among the pupils. There has also been a large distribution of books through the two reading circles—the Teachers and the Young Peoples. The Indiana Teachers' Reading Circle was organized in pursuance of resolutions introduced in the State Teachers' Association December 26, 1883, by Prof. W. A. Bell, its object being to unify and develop the teachers of the State by a common course of reading, on topics helpful in their work. It has distributed about 500,000 books to its members, at largely reduced prices, and is universally conceded to have been of very great service. The Young People's Reading Circle is the result of a paper read before the State Teachers' Association in 1887, by Joseph Carhart, professor of English Literature at DePauw, and is especially interesting for its novelty, being an Indiana enterprise. As to this feature, Prof. Carhart said:

"Have the teachers of other states undertaken such an enterprise? Probably not. None have been reported to the Bureau of Education at Washington, nor has inquiry in other directions discovered a Children's Reading Circle, limited by state lines, directed by the teachers of the state, and in which a voluntary membership purchase their own books.

But what then? Every good thing had a beginning. The great public school system itself was begun by heroic souls somewhere, at some time when there was neither precedent to encourage nor example to guide. What state has a better right to set the example to other states in everything that is good and great than the State of Indiana? What body is more entitled to the honor of inaugurating a great movement in behalf

MRS. EMMA MONT. MCRAE

of school children than the Teachers' Association of Indiana? Shall the sons and daughters of pioneers that blazed their way through an untrodden wilderness, wait for other states to lead in a path of duty that lies so plain before them? Shall they not rather emulate the example of their fathers and lead in a way in which other states will follow? What better time to devise liberally—to inaugurate a great educational movement, possessing the possibility of incalculable good, and one requiring wisdom in planning, tact and energy in executing—than dur-

ing the present? I confidently recommend to the Indiana Teachers' Association, the organization of a Reading Circle, for the school children of the state."

The proposition was at once adopted, and a committee, composed of Prof. Carhart, Mrs. McRae, and L. H. Jones was appointed to select books, and put the plan in operation. It was a great success from the start, and grew to such an extent that in 1894, a central office and distributing point was established. Prof. Carhart threw all his energy into the organization work, and was ably seconded by the other members. In a recent history of the movement, issued by the Circle, it is said: "The person who probably gave more time, thought and energy, than any one else, to the selection of the Young People's books, is Mrs. Emma Mont. McRae. For many years she was chairman of the Young People's Committee and upon her fell a large part of the responsibility of selecting these books. She served longer on the Board of Directors than any other member—having served from the organization of the Teachers' Reading Circle in 1883, until January, 1910, over a quarter of a century in a splendid service she was so eminently qualified to give."

This is not only true, but is a high testimonial to the judgment of Mrs. McRae, for the books have been remarkably well selected for their purpose. The common tendency of adults, and particularly of educators, in selecting books for young people, is towards the "one hundred best books that nobody reads." The important thing with young people is to form the reading habit; and that can be done only by giving them something attractive—something that they will read because they enjoy it, and not from a sense of duty, or obligation. That this has been accomplished in this case is shown by the fact that the number of members of the Circle has now grown to 70,000. The number of volumes distributed is in excess of a million—the exact sales for 14 years, 1902-17, being 681,387 volumes. As the largest demand for these books has been from the localities with the least public library facilities, it is apparent that this work has supplemented the regular library work of the State in a most fortunate way. And incidentally it may be mentioned that nothing is more desirable than a close co-ordination of the library and school interests—not a union, for that means the subordination of one or the other—but the fullest possible co-operation of the two in their common task of public education.

CHAPTER XVI

TRANSPORTATION, COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

One of the first problems of the Indiana pioneers was that of transportation. The early English and American fur traders, who came overland, used pack-horses, and these were commonly used in military movements. The only obstacle to this mode of transportation was an occasional stream that was too deep to be forded. These were commonly crossed by swimming the pack-horses, the goods being ferried over on rafts made of dry logs, bound together with vines. This custom was borrowed from the Indians, and was also common among the early French. The Miamis called such a raft "tĭ-pí-la-hó-ta-ká-nĭ," and the French early adopted a Malay word, "cajou," that was probably imported by some missionary, and signifies a log. Occasional mention is made by the French missionaries of their crossing streams and lake on "cajeux," using the word properly in plural form. The Canadians, who still retain it, have shortened it to "caj." In one of the early tragedies of Indiana, the drowning of Ziba Foote, a surveyor, in 1806, in what is known as Foote's Grave Pond, in Posey County, a raft of this kind was used in the effort to rescue him.[1] The French settlers, however, located on streams, and did their transportation by water. For this they used birch-bark canoes on the lakes; but on the streams of Indiana, they used bateaux, or flat-bottomed board boats, on the shallower streams, as on the Wabash above Post Ouiatanon, and below that used pirogues—sometimes written "periaugers" by the Americans—which were made of logs hollowed out, and would carry considerable cargoes. For overland travel, the French also used very largely a two-wheeled cart, called a caleche, which is still in use in Canada, and is very convenient in a country where there are no roads, as it can be taken anywhere that a horse can go, except through woods where the trail is not wide enough to admit of its passage. Rev. James B. Finley tells of meeting Rev. Benjamin Lakin, in 1802, moving with his wife, and household possessions, in a cart of this kind, through the wilds of Southwestern Ohio to his new circuit: "The point where

[1] Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs. Vol. 2, p. 363.

we met him was on the eastern side of the Little Miami, the track of the railroad now occupying the spot. Then there was nothing that deserved the name of a road—a kind of a trace. We were surprised to see a man and woman in a cart drawn by one horse—surprised, because this was a superior way of traveling, not known to the settlers, who traveled and carried their movables on pack-horses. As we came up we halted to look at his vehicle. As we stopped he inquired how far it was to the next house. This we were unable to tell, for the road was uninhabited. We then had the curiosity to ask him who he was, where he was going, and what was his business? He quickly and kindly replied, 'My name is Lakin; I am a Methodist preacher, and am going to preach the gospel to lost sinners in the Miami and Scioto country.' Filled with strange imaginings we parted and the preacher drove on. What would the young preacher of the present day think of taking his wife in a cart and starting out without money, home, or friends and traveling through the wilderness seeking for the lost?'' [2]

After the American settlers had become established, their next problem was getting their produce to some market. This they found at New Orleans, but the vessels used by the French were too small for their purposes and they developed the flat-boat. The flat-boat was essentially a forest product, and it would be very difficult to find the enormous trees now that were required for the sides, which were the foundations of the boat. Its construction is described by Col. Cockrum as follows: ''To make one of these boats was quite an undertaking. The first thing to do was to procure two gunwales. They were usually made out of large poplar trees (the liriodendron, or 'yellow poplar') and were from sixty to eighty feet in length. A fine large, straight tree was selected, and after it was cut down, two faces of it were hewn, leaving it about twenty-four inches thick. Then it was turned down on large logs and split in halves, hewn down to from twelve to fifteen inches in thickness, thus making both the gunwales out of one tree. The two ends were sloped from six to eight feet, so that when the bottom was on, it had a boat shape, that would run much faster in the water. The gunwales were then hauled to the boatyard and placed on rollers. The distance apart which was wanted for the width of the boat was usually from fourteen to sixteen feet. Strong sills or girders were framed into the gunwales every eight or ten feet and securely fastened there by strong pins. Small girders or sleepers, to receive the bottom of the boat, were pinned into the cross sills or girders every eighteen inches and even with the bottom of the gunwales. The bottom was made of one and a half inch lumber,

[2] Sketches of Western Methodism, p. 182.

the length to reach from outside to outside of the gunwales, where it was securely nailed and then calked. The old Indiana flat-boat builders used hemp for calking, driving it into the cracks between the edges of the planks with a calking chisel made for the purpose. When this was done, another bottom of inch lumber was made over this that held the calking in place and made the bottom stronger. When the bottom was finished, it was ready for launching. This was done by having large auger holes in the round logs the bottom rested on and turning them with hand-spikes. The ground was always sloping toward the river and it did not require much turning until the logs would roll down the slope and carry the boat into the water. The boat, having been made bottom-upward, had to be turned. A large amount of mud and dirt was piled on the edge of the bottom, which was intended to sink it. Then a check line was fastened to the farthest edge and near the middle the line was carried over a large limb or the fork of a tree and two or three yoke of oxen hitched to it. When everything was ready, the boat was turned right side up. It was then full of water, which had to be baled out. The upper framework for the body of the boat was made very securely and well braced and the siding was nailed on. Strong joists were put on top of the framework from side to side to hold the decking. A center girder ran lengthwise of the boat and this rested on a post every six or eight feet. This girder was a little higher than the outer walls, so that the water would run off the deck. A strong post was fastened in a framework made on the false bottom which came up through the decking about three feet near each end of the boat. Holes were bored in these check posts, so that it could be turned around with long wooden spikes. The check rope was securely fastened to these posts and one end of it was carried to the bank and fastened. By using the spikes the check post would take up the slack and the boat could be securely landed as near the bank as wanted. There were three long oars, the steering oar had a wide blade on the end and was fastened to a post near the back of the boat. This oar was used as a rudder in guiding the direction of the boat. The other two oars were used as sweeps to propel the boat and to pull her out of eddies. This crudely fashioned boat would carry a large amount of produce. The pork was usually packed in the boat in bulk; flour, wheat and corn were stored on raised floors so as to keep them dry. On small rivers when the water was at floodtide, two hundred thousand pounds of pork, one thousand bushels of corn and many other articles of produce would be carried.

"The pioneers made their location where there was plenty of good spring water, but at a later date they had two objects in selecting their homes: First, to be near a mill or a place where there was a good mill-

site; second, to be not far from a river where a flat-boat could be loaded with produce. The money paid for the produce to load the boats brought great prosperity to the country. On the lower Mississippi, where the great sugar plantations were, there was a great demand for this provision. A boat would tie to the bank near one of these immense plantations and

PRIMITIVE GRAIN MILL
(Preserved at Indiana University—Said to be first used in State)

would sell the owner a half boat-load of meat, corn and flour. It took one of these boats a month to run out of the Wabash down to New Orleans. They would sell their load of produce and then sell the boat. These old boatmen were a jolly, generous, light-hearted set of men, and would often lash their boats together and float for several days and nights in that way on the lower Mississippi. This description does not apply to the Pittsburg flat-boat men or those from the upper Ohio, run-

ning coal barges down the river. They were, in many instances, a lot of desperadoes."[3]

But another enterprise was early under way. In 1799, Louis A. Tarascon, a French merchant of Philadelphia, sent two men to examine the Ohio and Mississippi, with a view to ascertaining the feasibility of building ships at Pittsburg, and sending them to the ocean. On a favorable report, a shipyard, with all necessary appurtenances, was established at Pittsburg; and in 1801 his firm built there the schooner "Amity," of 120 tons burden, and the ship "Pittsburgh," of 250 tons. Both of these vessels made their way safely down the Ohio and Mississippi; thence to Philadelphia, and on to France, returning with cargoes of French goods. As they passed Marietta, in May, 1802, the brig "Mary Avery," of 130 tons, which had been built there, was making ready to start, and followed them down the river on the same evening. Several other ships were built, at these and other points; but after some wrecks the ship-building industry was abandoned about 1808. In December, 1810, the Ohio Steamboat Navigation Company was incorporated by Robert Fulton, Robert R. Livingston, Daniel D. Tompkins, DeWitt Clinton, and Nicholas J. Roosevelt, to operate steamboats on western rivers, under the Fulton-Livingston patents. The "New Orleans," the first steamboat on the Ohio, was built by them at Pittsburg, and launched in March, 1811. It was 138 feet long, and of 300 tons burden. It started down the river in October of that year, attaining a maximum speed of eight miles an hour, with the current, and exciting the wonder and enthusiasm of the people all along the Ohio and Mississippi. The "Comet," of 25 tons, was built in 1812, and the "Vesuvius," of 390 tons, in 1814; but none of these boats succeeded in getting back up the river. In 1814, the "Enterprise" was built by D. French, at Brownsville, Penn., and went down to New Orleans, where she was impressed by Gen. Jackson, and used for military purposes for a short time. In May, 1815, she started up the river, and reached Louisville in 25 days. But the water was very high, and she was able to use cut-offs and back-water navigation, being of only 75 tons burden; and it was still an open question whether a steamboat could make its way upstream on the upper Mississippi and Ohio. This was settled in 1817, when the "Washington," built by Henry M. Shreve, at Wheeling, with a number of improvements in machinery, made the up-trip from New Orleans to Louisville in 25 days. This boat was attached at New Orleans, on suit of the Fulton-Livingston people, who claimed a monopoly of navigating the western waters by steam; but their claim was rejected by the courts, and from this time

[3] Pioneer History of Indiana, pp. 508-10.

steamboat building grew apace. In 1818 there were 63 steamboats on the Ohio. In 1834, when the total tonnage of the British empire was 82,696 tons, and that of the entire eastern seaboard of the United States was 76,064 tons, that of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers was 126,278 tons. The profits were so great that competition was developed on all lines, and the era of palatial boats, and reckless efforts at speed that cost numerous explosions, was entered on. The improvements were so great that in 1853 the trip from New Orleans to Louisville was accomplished in four days and nine hours.

The steamboats solved the transportation problem for the people adjacent to the Ohio River and the lower Wabash, but for years the settlers that were more inland relied on flat-boats, which could be run out of any creek of moderate size during a freshet, and a freshet could be relied on at least once or twice a year. It was on account of this flat-boat navigation that the numerous laws appeared in the earlier statute books concerning navigable streams, which have often roused the curiosity, and at times the amusement of readers of later days. But that was one respect in which our ancestors had a great deal more common sense than the present generation. The framers of the Ordinance of 1787 saved the ownership of these streams to the public by the provisions of the "articles of compact," which were to remain "forever unalterable, unless by common consent," that: "The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways, and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said territory, as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other states that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost, or duty therefor." This obviously refers to navigation by canoes and bateaux, which were the only vessels used on the portage routes. In the original land surveys, the surveyors were instructed to note these navigable streams, and survey them out, by metes and bounds; which they did, and they were never included in the land sales—the adjacent lands being sold in fractional sections, by the metes and bounds established. The Indiana legislature, by act of January 17, 1820, made explicit declaration of the streams that were navigable, and provided penalties for obstructing them in any way, and in this they did not limit themselves to the surveys and sales, for the act provides that its provisions shall not "be so construed so as to prevent any person or persons who may have purchased from the United States, the bed of any stream by this act declared navigable, from erecting any dam, which when erected will be of public utility, provided, such person or persons shall provide and at all times (when said rivers, or creeks, shall contain a sufficient depth of water, to render such streams navi-

gable) keep in repair good and sufficient locks or slopes of dimensions sufficient to secure the safe passage of all such boats or other crafts, as may navigate said rivers."

An act of February 10, 1831, extended the list of navigable streams and made the penalty apply to "any obstruction, calculated to impede or injure the navigation of any stream, reserved by the Ordinance of Congress of 1787, as a public highway, at a stage of water, when it would otherwise be navigable." This act covered the Missisinewa throughout its course in the State; the West Fork of White River to Yorktown, and the East Fork to "the junction of Sugar creek, and Blue river, above the mouth of Flatrock"; the North Fork of the Muskackituck to Vernon, South Fork to the mouth of Graham's Fork, and Brushy Fork to the mouth of Hog creek; the West Fork of Whitewater to the north line of Fayette County, and the East Fork to the north line of Union County; and a number of other streams, some of which are not known except locally. The purpose was to reach every stream that could be used for running out flat-boats in high water; and these streams were actually so used. For example, Randolph County lands reach the highest altitudes of any in Indiana, and one would hardly think of it in connection with navigation at present; but in an early day it sent out numerous flat-boats both by the Missisinewa and by White River, chiefly the former. Indeed, Ridgeville was so great a shipping point that Jacob Ward established a boatyard there and sold boats, forty feet long and ten feet broad, at $25 each. It is recorded that he made 37 of these boats in one season.[4] In 1825 the legislature appointed Alexander Ralston a commissioner to survey the West Fork of White River, which he did that summer, and reported the distance from Sample's Mills, in Randolph County, to Indianapolis, 130 miles; from Indianapolis to the forks 285 miles; and from there to the Wabash 40 miles; and that for this distance of 455 miles it could be made navigable for three months in the year, by an expenditure of $1,500. He found two falls, or rapids, one of 18 inches about eight miles above Martinsville; and one of nine feet in about 100 yards, 10 miles above the forks. On this report, the legislature adopted a law, January 21, 1826, to improve the navigation of the stream as high as Sample's Mills, directing the county commissioners to call out men to work the stream as they did the roads. Not only did flat-boats go down White River, but a number of boats were brought up. In the spring of 1821, Matthias R. Nowland and Elisha Herndon brought up a keel-boat, loaded with flour, bacon and whisky. In 1822, the keel-boat "Eagle" arrived at Indianapolis from Kanawha, loaded with

[4] Hist. Randolph County, pp. 95, 112.

PACKET GOVERNOR MORTON AT OLD NATIONAL BRIDGE

salt and whisky. She was of 15 tons burden. In the same month the "Boxer," of 33 tons arrived from Zanesville, loaded with merchandise; and later in the year, Luke Walpole arrived with two keel-boats, bringing his family and their belongings, together with a stock of merchandise. It is said that many other boats came up, of which no special record was kept.[5] One steamboat, the "Gen. Hanna," came up to Indianapolis in the spring of 1831, towing a loaded barge. The only other actual steam navigation at this point was by the "Governor Morton," a boat of 150 tons, built at Indianapolis in 1865, and operated for a little more than a year.

In fact, White River could very easily be made navigable for steamboats to Indianapolis, as the fall in the stream from that point to the forks of the stream is only 260 feet, or less than a foot to the mile. The principal obstructions are drifts and sandbars, which could be removed without difficulty. In fact the removal of the bars would be a source of profit on account of the value of the sand and gravel. Large quantities of these are removed from the stream on this account alone, by means of pumps. There have been half-a-dozen of these pumps working at Indianapolis for several years past, taking out an average of 30,000 cubic yards each, in the course of a year. This is of especial importance in connection with road-building as this river gravel is excellent road material, and is found very widely through the State. The only obstacle is in some idiotic decisions of the Supreme Court of Indiana. The first of these cases came before the court in 1876, and the opinion, by Judge Perkins, says: "The Court knows judicially, as a matter of fact that White River, in Marion County, Indiana, is neither a navigated nor a navigable stream;" and as to the bed not being surveyed and sold, he added: "The idea that the power was given to a surveyor or his deputy, upon casual observation, to determine the question of the navigability of rivers, and thereby conclude vast public and private rights, is an absurdity." Apparently, the provision of the Ordinance, and the subsequent legislation of the State and the United States, with the uniform action of officials under the laws, were neither presented nor considered. In all probability the learned court never heard of them. If there is anything absurd in a decision on navigability by a competent surveyor, from actual observation, what can be said of a judge, clothed in the judicial ermine, and wrapped in the mantle of ignorance, who assumes to "conclude vast public and private rights," without so much as looking at the stream? Worse than that, what is to be said of the proposition that a court can destroy the title to vast

[5] Brown's Hist. of Indianapolis, p. 20.

quantities of public property, whose preservation has been carefully provided for by the legislative and executive departments? Fortunately, the courts of other states of the Northwest Territory have been more intelligent, the general rule being that any stream that will float logs is navigable.[6] More fortunately, the United States has never recognized this Indiana decision, and there is no reason why it should, as neither it nor the State of Indiana were parties to the action; and if the public title is affected by the decision, it is because the court permitted it to be assailed collaterally, in a suit between individuals. It may be added that the Indiana authorities on the subject of riparian rights are in almost hopeless confusion, and largely so because the basic provision of the Ordinance of 1787 has been ignored. In the latest decision bearing on the question, involving the title to the swamp lands bordering the Kankakee River, although the court reaches a fairly rational conclusion, it expressly states that, "It is not disputed that the Kankakee River is a non-navigable river," and that "Meander lines are not by necessary implication boundary lines." These may be "legal facts," but historically, the Kankakee River was one of the most important of the "navigable waters" referred to by the Ordinance, and in the surveys in Northwest Territory, the special purpose of the meander lines was to make them boundaries, and exclude from sale the streams included between them.[7]

To the pioneers of Indiana the water-ways were of special importance on account of the difficulty of making wagon-roads. It was not only a matter of getting rid of the forest, but also getting a new surface for the soft loamy soil, which was an almost hopeless road material during the greater part of the year. At the celebration of the centennial of Indiana Territory, on July 4, 1900, Calvin Fletcher read a paper on Indiana roads, which presents their transition states from the view of an actual observer. He says: "The pioneers of our State found Indian trails, which, with widening, proved easy lines of travel. Many of these afterward became fixtures through use, improvement and legislation. * * * Next to the hearty handshake and ready lift at the handspike, where neighbors swapped work at log-rollings, was the greeting when, at fixed periods, all able-bodied men met to open up or work upon the roads. My child-feet pattered along many of the well-constructed thoroughfares of today when they were only indistinct tracings—long lines of deadened trees, deep-worn horse paths, and serpentine tracks of wabbling wagon wheels. The ever-recurring road-working days and their cheerful observance, with time's work in rotting and fire's

[6] 2 Mich., 219; 19 Oregon, 375; 33 W. Virginia, 13; 20 Barbour, N. W., 9; 14 Kentucky Law, 521; 87 Wisconsin, 203.

[7] State vs. Tuesberg Land Co., 109 N. E., 530; 111 N. E., 342.

work in removing dead tree and stump, at last let in long lines of sunshine to dry up the mud, to burn up the miasma, and to bless the wayfarer to other parts, as well as to disclose what these pioneer road-makers had done for themselves by opening up fields in the forests. * * * To perfect easily and naturally these industries requires three generations. The forests must be felled, logs rolled and burned, families reared, and in most cases the land to be paid for. When this is accomplished a faithful picture would reveal not only the changes that had been wrought, but a host of prematurely broken down men and women, besides an undue proportion resting peacefully in country graveyards. A second generation straightens out the fields at odd corners, pulls the stumps, drains the wet spots, and casting aside the sickle of their father, swings the cradle over broader fields; and even trenches upon the plans of the third generation by pushing the claim of the reaper, the mower and the thresher. * * * The labor of the three generations in road-making I class as follows: To the first generation belonged locating the roads and clearing the timber from them. The wet places would become miry and were repaired by the use of logs. * * * The roots and stumps caused many holes, called chuck holes, which were repaired by using brush and dirt—with the uniform result that at each end of the corduroy or brush repairs, a new mud or chuck hole would be formed in time; and thus did the pioneer pave the way for the public and himself to market, to court, and to elections. The second generation discovered a value in the inexhaustible beds of gravel in the rivers and creeks, as well as beneath the soil. Roadbeds were thrown up, and the side ditches thus formed contributed to sound wheeling. Legislation tempted capital to invest and tollgates sprang up until the third generation removed them and assumed the burden of large expenditures from public funds for public benefit.

"And thus have passed away the nightmare of the farmer, the traveler, and mover and the mail-carrier—a nightmare that prevailed nine months in the year. * * * An experience of a trip from Indianapolis to Chicago in March, 1848, by mail stage is pertinent. It took the first twenty-four hours to reach Kirklin, in Boone County (Clinton County); the next twenty-four to Logansport, the next thirty-six to reach South Bend. A rest then of twenty-four hours on account of high water ahead; then thirty-six hours to Chicago—five days of hard travel in mud or on corduroy, or sand. * * * In the summer passenger coaches went through, but when wet weather came the mud wagon was used to carry passengers and mail, and when the mud became too deep the mail was piled into crates, canvas-covered, and hauled through. This

was done also on the National (Cumberland), the Madison, the Cincinnati, the Lafayette and the Bloomington roads."

The joyous system of "working the roads," to which Mr. Fletcher refers, was in use in Indiana from the start, as in the other states, the idea being to get the labor without calling on the poorer citizens for money, which would have been a hardship for many of them. The first road law, adopted in 1807, contained these provisions: "All male persons of the age of twenty-one years and not exceeding fifty, who have resided thirty days in any township, of any county within this territory, and who are not a county charge, shall be liable yearly and every year, to do and perform any number of days' work, not exceeding twelve, whenever the supervisor of the district in which he resides shall deem it necessary; and if any such resident, having had three days' notice thereof from the supervisor, shall neglect or refuse to attend by himself or substitute to the acceptance of the supervisor, on the day and at the place appointed for working on the public road, with such necessary and common articles of husbandry as the said supervisor shall have directed him to bring, wherewith to labor, or having attended, shall refuse to obey the direction of the supervisor, or shall spend or waste the day in idleness or inattention to the duty assigned him; every such delinquent shall forfeit for every such neglect or refusal, the sum of seventy-five cents, to be recovered at the suit of the supervisor respectively before any Justice of the Peace of the Township. * * * If any person or persons working on the highways, or being with them, shall ask any money or drink, or any other reward whatsoever, of any person passing or travelling on the said public road or highway, he shall, for every such offense, pay the sum of one dollar, to be recovered by the supervisor."

The War of 1812 called for an increase in the laboring forces of the commonwealth, and by an act of 1814 it was provided: "That each and every white male person, sixteen years of age and upwards, and each and every male person of color, bond or free, sixteen years of age and upwards, shall be subject to work on roads and public highways, as is directed by law, except those that shall from time to time be exempted by the courts of common pleas for their respective counties, on account of their entire disability." It was further specified that, "in case of default, or non-attendance of minors, or servants, to work on public roads or highways, when legally called on as the law directs, the parent, guardian or master, shall be held and deemed responsible for all fines and costs which are recoverable by law.[8] After the stress of war was over, the age limit was restored to twenty-one years, and the system, in

[8] Acts 1813-4, p. 132.

other respects is still continued, much to the disadvantage of good roads. Everybody knows the system is largely farcical, but, as in many other things, the American people seem to enjoy defrauding themselves; and the blessing of free government is that they can do what they like. The present law provides for an eight hour day, with exemption at $1.50 per day, but with the privilege of furnishing a "substitute." This is usually taken advantage of by railroads and other corporations, which escape a large part of their road taxes by employing cheap and inefficient labor. The law provides a penalty for any who "shall remain idle or not work faithfully, or shall hinder others from working," but this is not enforced; and the condition is very well presented by an anonymous poet, in describing the hardships of pioneer days—

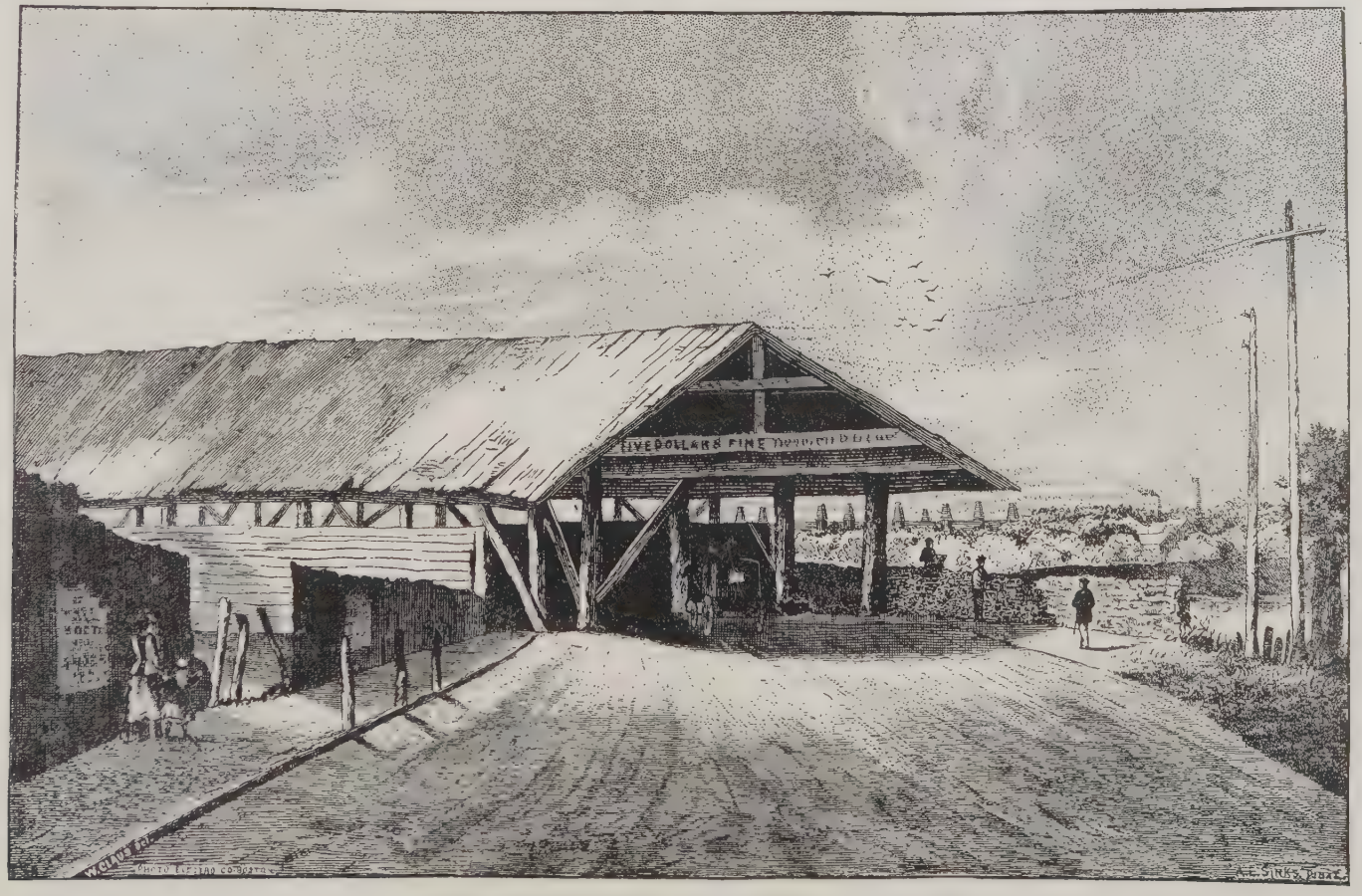
"Oh, our life was tough and tearful, and its toil was often fearful,
And often we grew faint beneath the load.
But there came a glad vacation and a sweet alleviation,
When we used to work our tax out on the road.

"When we used to work our tax out, then we felt the joys of leisure,
And we felt no more the prick of labor's goad;
Then we shared the golden treasure of sweet rest in fullest measure,
When we used to work our tax out on the road."

Even worse than this feature, is the fact that the work is usually mere patching, and never intelligent road construction. Generally the greater part of it is scraping the soil from the sides of the road into the center, and filling holes with material that soon works out. It made the roads worse in the early days, before gravel and crushed stone were used in road construction, and various records of the period preceding the civil war are laden with complaints of the villainous roads of the State. The whole matter was well summed up by a weary traveler, who inscribed in the tavern register of Franklin, the lines—

"The roads are impassable—hardly jackassable;
I think those that travel 'em should turn out and gravel 'em."

In the early days, the construction of durable roads except by the State or National government was not considered. There were great expectations of the National Road, which was located through Indiana in the summer of 1827, and contracts for which were let in the year following. In all, from 1827 to 1838, when work was abandoned, Congress appropriated $1,136,600 for this road in Indiana, of which $513,099 was



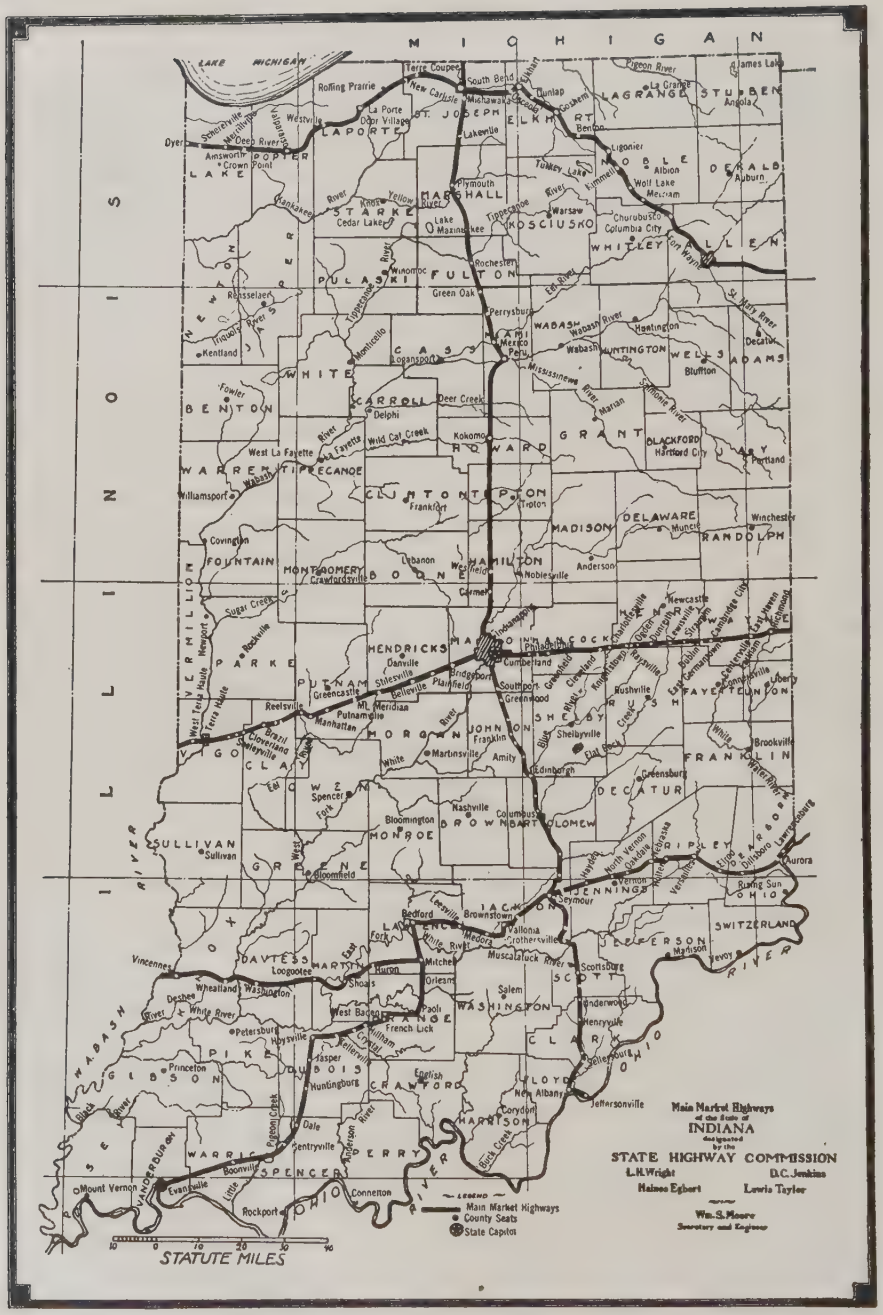
THE OLD NATIONAL ROAD BRIDGE OVER WHITE RIVER

expended for bridges and masonry. The road was well graded and bridged through Indiana, but there was not enough money to macadamize all of it. The contract for the bridge over White River, at Indianapolis, was let in 1831, and the bridge was completed in 1834. With Indianapolis as a center, the road was macadamized for several miles east and west, and similar improvement was made for a few miles west of Richmond, before the work stopped. The remainder was merely grade and bridges, until parts of it were taken over by local authorities, or by toll road companies, and macadamized or graveled. The demand for roads was the chief cause of the State's undertaking its internal improvement system, which has been described elsewhere and which also came to an end at this time. Just before this work stopped, the movement for plank roads had got under way in the East, and in a few years reached the West. Plank road companies were incorporated; and on February 16, 1848, a general incorporation law for plank road companies was adopted. The idea took well in a country where timber was a drug on the market and for several years was quite popular. Robert Dale Owen became interested in a plank road from New Harmony to Mt. Vernon, and after some investigation, published a small book on the subject in 1850. He stated that the plan had been introduced into Canada from Russia, and recommended, from Canadian experience, the laying of 8-foot plank on stringers as the most economical and satisfactory method. A new plank road is indeed a luxury; but when it begins to go to pieces it is almost worse than nothing; and it took only about a decade to satisfy Indiana that plank roads were not what she wanted. The law of 1848, permitted companies to take over State or county roads, with the consent of the County Commissioners, and after planking three miles, to charge toll on them. The same plan was followed as to gravel roads later on, and in the course of thirty years most of the decent roads in Indiana became toll roads. In 1885 a law was passed for constructing free gravel roads, by assessment of lands lying within two miles of the improvement, on petition of a majority of the land-owners affected. In 1893, another law was passed for constructing free gravel roads at public expense, if a majority of the voters favored it at an election held for that purpose. Under these laws the new free gravel roads of the State have been constructed; but the reform legislature of 1889 provided by law for the public purchase of existing toll roads, and making them free, and under it there remain only a few toll roads in the State, in the river counties.

The latest movement for good roads is chiefly due to the introduction of the automobile, and the desire of automobile owners to make "runs"; but its practical value to the farmer is none the less on that

account, and indeed the farmer is very commonly an automobile owner. The gravitation of the automobile industry towards Indiana was largely accelerated by the local ownership of "prestolite," and by the construction of the motor speedway at Indianapolis in 1909. In December, 1910, the Indiana Good Roads Association was organized, with Clarence A. Kenyon as president, and began the agitation for both better roads and better management of road funds in the State. Kenyon is a native of Michigan, born at Kalamazoo, May 9, 1858. He was a lawyer by profession, but came to Indianapolis in 1891 as vice-president and attorney for the Western Paving & Supply Co. He was thoroughly acquainted with scientific road-making, and an enthusiast on the subject. He did more to awaken an intelligent interest in it than any other one man in the State. To secure any effective legislation was an up-hill fight, for the local authorities that controlled the road funds did not want to lose their control, and they were powerful politically. On January 15, 1914, a meeting of friends of good roads, including engineers, county commissioners, and Purdue instructors, with others, was held at the Chamber of Commerce in Indianapolis. Kenyon made a strong presentation of the folly of the existing system, calling attention to the fact that in 1912 the State had expended $13,831,392 for roads, without any system, and without expert supervision; and the fight for a State Highway Commission was launched. A law was secured, not what the friends of good roads wanted, but one establishing a commission, and authorizing a limited system of "main market roads" under its authority. It has located its roads, and is co-operating with national and local authorities systematizing the road work of the State. With the backing of the automobile interests, it will probably accomplish something worth while. It certainly would do so if it took up the matter of reclaiming for the State the control of the beds of navigable streams, and the utilization of the gravel in them for road construction, which is now being monopolized by private parties who have no valid title to it.

In its early stages Indiana was almost wholly agricultural, the manufacturing and other industries being devoted to supplying local wants. There was, however, a considerable product of manufactures from the looms and spinning wheels of the pioneer women; and some product for export from the saw mills and grist mills. With the exception of the production of wine by the Swiss, in Switzerland County; of whisky at various points; and of various manufactures at New Harmony, manufacturing on any extensive scale was rarely undertaken, and when undertaken was a failure. The early settlers realized that the prices of manufactured goods were largely increased by the cost of importation, and there was early a demand for steam mills; but those introduced at



Map Showing Main Market Highways to be Built in Indiana
(Published by Portland Cement Assoc., 111 No. Wash. St., Chicago)

Vincennes and Indianapolis produced so much more than was required locally, and without any outside market, that they were financial failures. Although there was a steady increase of manufacturing and other employment as the population of the State increased, there was a preponderance of agricultural labor until after 1890. By the census of that year, out of 635,080 people in the State engaged in gainful occupations, there were 331,240 engaged in agriculture. In 1900, of 899,175 in occupations there were 342,733 in agriculture; and in 1910, of 1,037,710 in occupations there were 344,454 in agriculture. Naturally, the first developments of manufacturing were those connected with agriculture. The pioneer had to get his grain into meal or flour, in some way, and his first method was to make a hollow in the end of a log, and pound the corn as the Indians did. The next step was to make the bottom of the hollow flat, and cover the grain with a mill-stone, which was turned by hand, or by a horse harnessed to a lever arm, and driven around the mill. This laborious method was of course used only for immediate needs, and not for commercial purposes. It speedily gave way to mills operated by water power, wherever water power was available, and there were few localities in Indiana where it was not available to some extent. In this, as in everything else, the pioneer used his ingenuity to overcome the obstacles that confronted him. One of the most notable instances of ingenious enterprise in milling is that of John Work, who built a mill on Fourteen Mile Creek, in Clark County, at a very early day. As his business grew, with the settlement of the country, he needed more water power. The creek made a long bend above the mill, coming back at one point within 300 feet of it, but separated by a hill of stone. He decided to tunnel through this, and began work in 1814. With rude tools, and the use of 650 pounds of powder, three men completed the tunnel in three years, the cost being $3,300. There were high festivities when it was completed. The race was five feet wide and six feet deep; and a large man rode through it on horseback. At each end was a barrel of whisky, with the head knocked in, and gourds for the thirsty; not to mention ample supplies of food. This tunnel gave a good supply of water, with a fall of 26 feet, and the picturesque old stone mill still stands, and does service for the neighborhood.

One of the most important of the early industries was pork packing, for pork could be barreled and shipped by flatboat, without danger of injury from rain. This grew into an extensive business in all the settled parts of the State. In the winter of 1854-5 there were reported 485,663 hogs slaughtered, and in 1855-6, 447,870, by 50 packing establishments, widely scattered, and there were nineteen others that did not report. The largest establishments were at the larger towns—Madison,

Tunnel Mill

Indianapolis, Connersville, Terre Haute, and Lafayette; and it was estimated that over 100,000 hogs were taken from Indiana to Cincinnati, Louisville and other outside points to be slaughtered.[9] The drop in the number in the second winter indicates that it was not a favorable winter for packing. It was necessary to have freezing weather to pack pork, in those days, and a warm winter was a public calamity. It is not generally known that summer-packing is an Indiana invention, nor is it generally recognized how completely it has revolutionized and improved the industry. In 1863, having decided that Indianapolis was the most favorable point for their business, the British firm of Kingan Bros. built here what was then the largest pork-house in the world—187x115 feet, and five stories high, with all the latest improvements, including a steam rendering plant, and with a capacity for slaughtering 3,000 hogs per day. Among their superior employes was George W. Stockman, a native Hoosier, of an old Lawrenceburg family. In 1868 he commenced experimenting in the artificial cooling of meats, and was backed by the firm. His first apparatus was based on two simple physical facts; that cold air is heavier than warm air, and will fall when in contact with it; and that any object will cool more rapidly in a current of air than in the same air at rest. In the top story of the building, in a close room, Stockman placed a vat, perhaps 10 x 15 feet, and 2 or 3 feet deep, through which were run metal pipes, across the bottom, and coming to the surface at one end. The vat was filled with a mixture of ice and salt. As the air cooled in the pipes, it flowed out of the lower opening in a very perceptible current, and fell through a grating in the floor to a similar room, with a similar vat, on the floor below; and so on to the basement, where it was blown into the room where the freshly slaughtered pork was hung, by means of a rotary blower. In this way a temperature of 31 degrees was easily maintained, and the problem was solved. The Board of Trade report for 1872 says that Kingan & Co. "have made extensive and expensive preparations for prosecuting their business through the summer months, so that to the fattened porker there can be no postponement of the death penalty 'on account of the weather.' This firm packed and shipped the product of 69,000 hogs which were killed between March and November of last year. These meats were ice-cured. Their ice-cured meats are equal to the product of their winter slaughtering." In 1873 their "summer-pack" reached 260,000. This was continued until the process was supplanted by the ammonia cooling processes, in which Stockman was also a pioneer, and took out several patents. The change in the system was important not only on ac-

[9] Locomotive, March 8, 1856.

count of avoiding dependence on weather, but because it is cheaper to fatten hogs in summer than in winter. There have been few inventions that have had a more tremendous effect commercially than this.

In 1910, the Census Bureau made a special report on Indiana, in which it said: "In 1849 Indiana ranked fourteenth among the states of the Union in the value of its manufactures, the total value of products being $18,725,000. Each decade since then has shown a large increase, the value of the manufactured products of the state reaching the $100,000,000 mark in 1869, while in 1909 it amounted to $579,075,000, and the state ranked ninth in this respect. The growth has been dependent largely upon the natural resources of the state, consisting of an abundant supply of timber, important agricultural products, and a large production of petroleum and natural gas. During the past decade the supply of timber, petroleum, and natural gas has fallen off greatly, and some of the industries depending upon these materials show a decrease in their output or less advance than in previous years. The manufacturing industries of the state as a whole, however, have continued to flourish, lumber having been secured from outside the state to supplement the local supply, while the increasing amount of coal mined in the state has compensated largely for the smaller supply of natural gas and has stimulated manufacturing in many lines. During 1849 an average of 14,440 wage earners, representing 1.5 per cent of the total population, were employed in manufactures, while in 1909 an average of 186,984 wage earners, or 6.9 per cent of the total population, were so engaged. During this period the gross value of products per capita of the total population of the state increased from $19 to $214. The proportion which the manufactures of the state represented of the total value of products of manufacturing industries for the United States increased from 1.8 per cent in 1849 to 2.8 in 1909. * * * In 1909 the state of Indiana had 7,969 manufacturing establishments, which gave employment to an average of 218,263 persons during the year and paid out $121,816,000 in salaries and wages. Of the persons employed, 186,984 were wage earners. These establishments turned out products to the value of $579,075,000, in the manufacture of which materials costing $334,375,000 were utilized. The value added by manufacture was thus $244,700,000, which figure best represents the net wealth created by manufacturing operations during the year."

This report gives tables showing the details of employment of capital and labor, production, etc., for 55 industries or groups of industries that had products in excess of $500,000 in 1909, there being 772 establishments grouped under the head of "all other industries," and there being 93 industries or groups of industries in this class. In this large

diversity of manufacturing only the more important industries are commented on specially, giving a comprehensive view of their historical importance, as follows:

"Slaughtering and meat packing.—This classification includes establishments doing wholesale slaughtering and meat packing, and those engaged in the manufacture of sausage only. It does not include the numerous retail butcher shops, which slaughter a large number of animals. While from 1899 to 1904 the value of products decreased from $43,890,000 to $29,435,000, it had increased to $47,289,000 by 1909, when the total value of products was $3,999,000 or 7.7 per cent greater than in 1899. The decrease during the earlier period was due largely to the fact that some of the large establishments reported in 1899 had removed from the state in 1904. Although the increase in value of products from 1904 to 1909 was influenced greatly by the general rise in prices, the number of establishments, the average number of wage earners, and the amount paid for wages all show large increases.

"Flour mill and grist mill products.—This industry, the outgrowth of the large crops of cereals grown in Indiana, has long been one of the leading industries of the state. The value of products increased from $29,038,000 in 1899 to $40,541,000 in 1909, an increase of $11,503,000 or 39.6 per cent in the decade. The state, however, dropped from sixth place among the states and territories in this industry in 1899 to eighth place in 1909. In 1909 the value of the products of this industry represented 7 per cent of the total for all manufacturing industries in the state. Those mills which do custom grinding only are not included in the general tables, or in the totals for manufacturing industries." Of the mills so omitted, there were 204 custom sawmills, with a total product of $220,437, and 175 gristmills, with a product of $836,847.

"Iron and steel, steel works and rolling mills.—In 1889 the value of the products of this industry was but $4,743,000, while by 1899 it had increased to $19,338,000, and in 1909 to $38,652,000, or over eight times the amount reported in 1889. On account of a general depression in the industry in 1904 the value of products reported for that year was 12.5 per cent less than that reported in 1899, but during the five years from 1904 to 1909 there was an increase of 128.4 per cent. This recent gain is in a large measure due to the establishment of large steel works and rolling mills at Gary, in the northern part of the state, on Lake Michigan. The importance of the iron and steel industry as a whole is much greater than is indicated by the figures for the steel works and rolling mills, since the statistics for blast furnaces and for the manufacture of tin plate and terneplate can not be shown without disclosing the operations of individual establishments.

"Liquors, distilled.—In 1904 the state was second in importance in this industry, as measured by value of products, but in 1909, notwithstanding a large increase in value of products, it dropped to third place. In 1909 internal revenue taxes to the amount of $25,111,967, representing the Federal tax on all taxable liquors manufactured by the distillers, including liquors placed in bond, were included in the value of products, whereas at the previous census this tax was included only when it was actually paid and reported by the manufacturers. For this reason the importance of the industry in 1909, from a manufacturing standpoint is greatly exaggerated. In 1909 employment was given to an average of only 428 wage earners, and judged on this basis the industry becomes of minor importance." The tables show 14 distilleries, with $31,610,000 value of products, but only $4,712,000 of materials used. With the tax deducted, the increase of value by distillation is only $1,786,033 so that if prohibition is established the loss to the State will not be so formidable as is sometimes pictured.

"Automobiles, including bodies and parts.—This industry, for which but 1 establishment was reported in 1899, had increased in 1904 to 11 establishments, with products valued at $1,639,000. In 1909 there were 67 establishments, the value of whose products amounted to $23,764,000, or more than fourteen times that reported for 1904. The manufacture of automobile bodies and parts has become so interwoven with other industries that it is not possible to state how fully the statistics show the magnitude of the industry. A number of the foundries and machine shops and establishments engaged in the manufacture of electrical apparatus and supplies incidentally manufacture automobile accessories and parts, while a number of the establishments in Indiana classified under the heading 'Rubber goods, not elsewhere specified,' manufacture automobile tires.

"Carriages and wagons and materials.—This classification includes those establishments which made five or more vehicles during the year, or which were engaged in the manufacture of carriage or wagon bodies, tops, or other parts and accessories. It does not include blacksmith or wheelwright shops or establishments engaged primarily in the manufacture of children's carriages and sleds. This industry is more or less interwoven with other industries, such as the manufacture of foundry and machine shop products and of rubber goods. The value of products increased from $15,811,000 in 1899 to $21,665,000 in 1909, a gain in ten years of $5,844,000, or 37 per cent." It is an interesting fact that although the number of establishments reported in this industry decreased from 323 in 1899 to 252 in 1904, and to 221 in 1909; the value of the products increased from $15,811,000 in 1899 to $21,655,000 in

1909. The number of carriages manufactured in 1909 was 177,194, an increase of 35,460 over 1899, although the explanation of the decrease in the number of the establishments is that they have gone into the automobile business. The number of wagons made in 1909 was 87,844, which is a decrease of 6,380 from 1899, although the value of the product increased $1,084,853.

"Furniture and refrigerators.—This industry, which is dependent largely on the local and near-by supply of hardwood, is well developed in the state. During the decade 1899-1909 the number of establishments increased from 129 to 201, the average number of wage earners from 7,149 to 11,284, or 57.8 per cent, and the value of products from $8,770,000 to $18,456,000, or 110.4 per cent. The industry ranked fourth in the state in 1909 in number of wage earners employed." In this industry, in 1909, $9,996,272, or more than one-half the value of the product, was added by the process of manufacture. The wages paid were $5,137,301, exclusive of clerks and officials.

"Agricultural implements.—This industry has been an important one in Indiana for a number of years, the value of products increasing from $6,415,000 in 1899 to $13,670,000 in 1909, or 113.1 per cent. The manufacture of agricultural implements is carried on also in many factories devoted primarily to the manufacture of foundry and machine shop products, and for this reason the figures given fail to show the full extent of the industry." It is noteworthy that in this industry, also, although there has been a large increase in the value of the product, the number of establishments has decreased from 45 in 1899 to 39 in 1909. At the same time, the number of wage earners employed has increased from 3,419 to 4,749.

"Glass.—There were only two glass plants in Indiana when natural gas was discovered in the state about 1886. With the development of this cheap form of fuel, however, the number of such plants increased rapidly until in 1899 there were 110 glass factories, reporting products valued at $14,758,000. As measured by the value of products the state rose from eighth place in this industry in 1879 to fourth place in 1889 and second place in 1899 and 1904. With a reduction in the supply of natural gas during the last ten years, however, the growth of the industry has been checked, and the value of products fell off three-tenths of 1 per cent from 1899 to 1904, and 21.2 per cent from 1904 to 1909. As a result the state had in 1909 dropped back to third place in the value of glass products. The utilization of bituminous coal, of which there is a large supply in Indiana, may result in making the manufacture of glass a more permanent and a better established industry in the state than would have been the case if it had remained dependent upon an

uncertain supply of natural gas for fuel." The product of the glass factories had dropped to $11,593,000 in 1909, the number of establishments from 110 in 1899 to 44, and the number of wage earners employed from 13,015 in 1899 to 9,544. The chief product in 1909 was bottles and jars, amounting in value to $6,982,378.

In connection with the automobile industry, it is noteworthy that the automobile is an Indiana product, the first gasoline-propelled vehicle

First Automobile

in America, if not in the world, having been made at Kokomo, by Elwood Haynes, a native Hoosier. He was born at Portland, Jay County, in 1857. His father, Judge Jacob M. Haynes, a native of Massachusetts, came to Indiana in 1844, and engaged in the practice of law. In 1856 he was elected Common Pleas Judge, and held that office until 1871, when he was made Circuit Judge, and served until 1877. Elwood grew up at Portland, with ordinary school advantages, but was wise enough to desire a good education. He accordingly went to Worcester Polytechnic Institute, from which he graduated as a B. S. in 1881; and continued his scientific studies at Johns Hopkins University in 1884-5. In 1885-6 he taught sciences at the Eastern Indiana Normal School, at Port-

land. He then went into business in the characteristic American way of tackling anything that looks promising. In 1886 he turned his attention to natural gas, and organized the Portland Gas & Oil Company; then went to Chicago as a superintendent of natural gas lines until 1890; then to Howard County as an independent operator. He began figuring on horseless carriages; considered steam and electricity as motor powers; was attracted to gasoline; and in the fall of 1892 purchased a small engine in Michigan, and commenced the practical work of applying the power to a vehicle in a little machine shop owned by the Apperson brothers, in Kokomo. By July 4, 1894, he had his machine ready for trial, and retired to an unfrequented road four miles out of town, where he made an initial run of a mile and a half with three men in the car; and then turned and ran into town in triumph. His engine was a small one, weighing 240 pounds, and he attained a speed of eight miles an hour with "The Pioneer." Later, with a more powerful engine, and rubber tires, it reached twelve miles. In 1895 he formed a partnership with Apperson, and began manufacture, turning out five machines the first year, and also starting the manufacture of the double cylinder, or double-opposed engine, which made their machines prize-winners from the outset. In 1896 their output increased to 55 machines, and in 1897 to 110. In 1899, their "Phaeton" made the first thousand mile run in America, from Kokomo to New York; and in 1901 this same run was made in 73 hours. The Haynes Auto Company is now one of the leading industrial institutions of Kokomo, with an average output of a machine a day.

In 1887 Mr. Haynes began a series of experiments in alloys that bid fair to be as important in their results to the arts as the gasoline automobile has been in transportation. His original object was to find an alloy that would resist the oxidizing influences of the atmosphere, and at the same time take a good cutting edge. Following scientific traditions, his earliest experiments were made with copper alloys, but after some years of trial, he discarded copper, finding that its alloys are attacked by sulphur gases in the presence of moisture. He had some minor successes with the rarer metals, but it was not until 1899 that he produced a satisfactory alloy of nickel and chromium which had good luster and was not affected by nitric acid. This alloy, known as chromyl, is a partial substitute for platinum in some electrical uses, and in heat resisting uses. Soon after this he produced an alloy of cobalt and chromium which had the qualities he was seeking and to which he has given the name of "stellite," from the Latin "stella," a star, because they always retain their luster,—the same name being applied to several alloys of the same basic composition.

These alloys of cobalt and chromium possess the following properties:

They melt at a temperature of about 2800° to 2900° F. They can be cast into bars or other forms, preferably in a metal or graphite mould. They are almost file hard. They are slightly malleable when cold. They are distinctly malleable at a bright red heat, and may be forged into table knife blades and other useful forms. They retain their luster under practically all atmospheric conditions. They are practically immune to all organic acids, such as vinegar, lemon juice, malic acid, etc. Instruments made of them take a good cutting edge, and table knives made of them perform ideal service, retaining their luster and color for years without repolishing. The color and luster of the alloy leave little to be desired. While the alloy does not show quite as white a color as silver, it far excels it in permanent luster and durability, retaining its bright "flash" for years without repolishing. The alloy can not be hardened by heating to redness and quenching in water or other medium, though its elastic limit may be raised considerably by hammering, while its modulus of elasticity is greater than that of steel. This latter characteristic permits of the making of comparatively thin table knife blades of the alloy without too much impairing their stiffness. Table knives made of this alloy six years ago, and subjected to daily use, still show their beautiful luster and flash, though they have not been polished since they were put into use. The elastic limit of these alloys is about 85,000 pounds, and their tensile strength about 110,000 pounds, though these properties vary somewhat with the composition and treatment of the alloy.

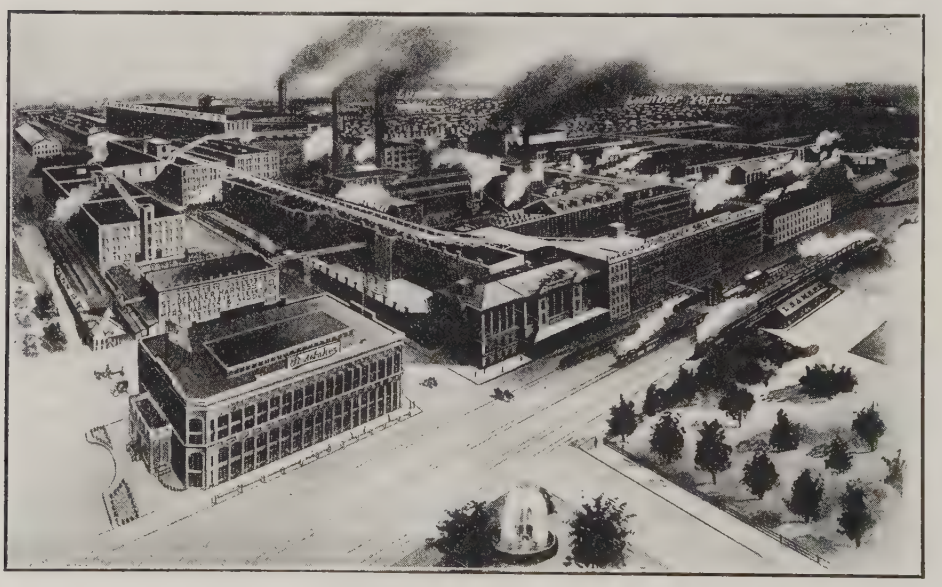
By introducing 8 per cent to 20 per cent of tungsten, ternary alloys were made that were so hard that they would readily scratch glass, or even quartz. These were introduced into the machine shop as lathe tools, and soon showed remarkable superiority over the so-called "high speed steels." The first alloys produced for commercial purposes were quite brittle, but notwithstanding this fact, they were very effective if carefully handled. Afterward, alloys almost equally hard, but much stronger, were produced, and later standard compositions were established, which soon won their way into machine shops on account of their superior advantage in the turning of duplicate parts. When the Stellite tools were first introduced into the machine shop, they were employed principally on cast iron, and showed such remarkable results in the cutting of this material that they speedily won their way, particularly into the larger establishments which were engaged in the manufacture of large numbers of duplicate parts, such as pistons, cylinders, fly wheels, reducing gears, etc. Later experiments have demonstrated that stellite tools, when properly prepared and ground, are superior to steel tools for turning practically all grades of steel. It is a remarkable fact that the edge

strength of the stellite tool increases as the temperature rises, reaching a maximum at near dull red heat, when it is hard enough to cut ordinary steel without serious wear; but even at lower temperatures, if the steel to be turned is very hard, the lasting qualities of the stellite tool are always from 10 to 50 per cent greater than those of the best steel tools.

There is an apparent connection between the increase of manufactures in Indiana from 1900 to 1910 and the rapid growth of urban population. The total population of the State in the latter year was 2,700,876, of which 2,130,088, or practically four-fifths, were white natives of native parentage; 350,551 white natives of foreign or mixed parentage; 159,322 foreign born whites; and 60,320 colored. The greatest growth of the State in the decade had been in the larger cities, involving a considerable removal from the country districts, and the chief manufacturing interests were also gathered in the cities. Indianapolis, with 233,650 population, contributed 21.8 per cent of the total of manufactured products in 1909. It was the center of the slaughtering and meat-packing industry of the State, reporting over four-fifths of the value of the entire output of this industry in Indiana. Other important industries in Indianapolis were foundries and machine shop, flour and grist mills, the manufacture of automobiles, including bodies and parts, printing and publishing, canning and preserving, and the lumber industry. In addition to these there were six other industries in the city that had products in excess of $1,000,000 in value. These were the manufacture of bags other than paper, the roasting and grinding of coffee and spice, the manufacture of copper, tin and sheet-iron products, glucose and starch, rubber goods, and saws. The manufacture of saws in the State was practically confined to Indianapolis.

South Bend was second in manufactured products, although its population of 53,684 was less than that of Evansville, Fort Wayne or Terre Haute, and also showed the largest increase in percentage of manufactured products which was due principally to the large increases of the manufacture of carriages and wagons, agricultural implements, sewing machine cases, men's shirts and automobiles, in each of which there was a product in excess of $1,000,000. This city ranked first in the State in the production of carriages and wagons, contributing more than one-third of the total value of the State's output, which was due chiefly to the great Studebaker plant. The manufacture of sewing machine cases in the State is practically confined to South Bend, where the Singer Company has its large factory. Fort Wayne ranked third as a manufacturing city, its chief industries being foundries and machine shops, and the manufacture of electrical machinery, apparatus and supplies. Evansville was the fourth in importance of manufactures, its chief industries

being flour and grist mills, furniture factories, breweries, and the slaughtering and meat packing industry. The fifth was Terre Haute, whose most extensive industry was a distillery, but with three other industries with products exceeding $1,000,000 in value—flour and grist mills, railroad repair shops, and breweries. These five cities were the only ones with population exceeding 50,000. It should be noted that the census of 1910 gives no details as to Gary, on the ground that it would "disclose individual operations," it being largely a plant of the Steel Cor-



PRESENT STUDEBAKER PLANT, SOUTH BEND

poration. This place, which was incorporated in 1906, has had a phenomenal growth, under the fostering care of the big trust that owns most of it; and at the same time there has been a great development of most of the lake shore region between it and Chicago, including Indiana Harbor, East Chicago and Hammond. There were large meat-packing industries established at Hammond, which were removed later, but it still had in 1909 important industries in distilleries, foundries and machine shops, railroad repair shops, and canning and preserving establishments. It seems certain that the entire southern end of Lake Michigan will become an enormous industrial center, as the transportation facilities, by both land and water, are already developed to an extent that makes additional development almost a matter of course.

In cities ranging between 10,000 and 50,000 in population, Anderson,

East Chicago and Elwood are important because of their large steel works and rolling mills. In 1909 Mishawaka had the only establishment in Indiana for the manufacture of rubber boots and shoes, which was its principal industry. The manufacture of agricultural implements was the chief industry in Richmond and Laporte; and the manufacture of glass and automobiles were the chief industries in Muncie. Repair shops of steam railroads were the principal manufacturing industries in Elkhart, Logansport and Huntington. Kokomo had numerous industries, but chiefly automobiles. In Marion foundries, machine shops and glass factories led in importance; in Vincennes flour and grist mills; in New Albany the tanning and currying of leather, steel works, and rolling mills; in Lafayette slaughtering and meat-packing; and in Peru the furniture and refrigerator industry. At Jeffersonville and Michigan City the manufacture of cars for steam railroads was the chief industry. Jeffersonville had an exceptional industry in the War Department's factory for the manufacture of clothing, which employed 590 wage earners and reported a product of $401,801. Another notable interest at Jeffersonville is ship-building. The falls of the Ohio was a natural boat-building point from the first, and the construction of flat-boats and keel boats began on the Indiana side as early as 1813. In 1829 the French Brothers began building steamboats at Jeffersonville. Various others have engaged in the business at various times, but the great establishment is the Howard Ship Yard. Its founder, James Howard, was born in Manchester, England, September 1, 1814. His parents emigrated to the United States in 1820, finally locating at Cincinnati, where James learned the ship carpenter's trade. In 1834 he established a ship yard at Jeffersonville, and built the "Hyperion," a steamboat 107 feet in length. He continued in the business there until 1836, when he removed his yard to Madison, continuing there until 1844, after which he was engaged at various other points until 1848, when he settled permanently at Jeffersonville; and his establishment is still conducted by his descendants. Many notable boats have been built here. One of the earliest, the "Glendy Burk," launched in 1851, was celebrated in the old negro song—

"De Glendy Burk am a mighty fine boat,
Mighty fine captain too,
He sits up dar on de hurricane deck,
And he keeps his eye on de crew.

"Den ho, for Louisiana,
Ise gwine to leave dis town,
I'll take my duds, and tote 'em on my back
When de Glendy Burk comes down."

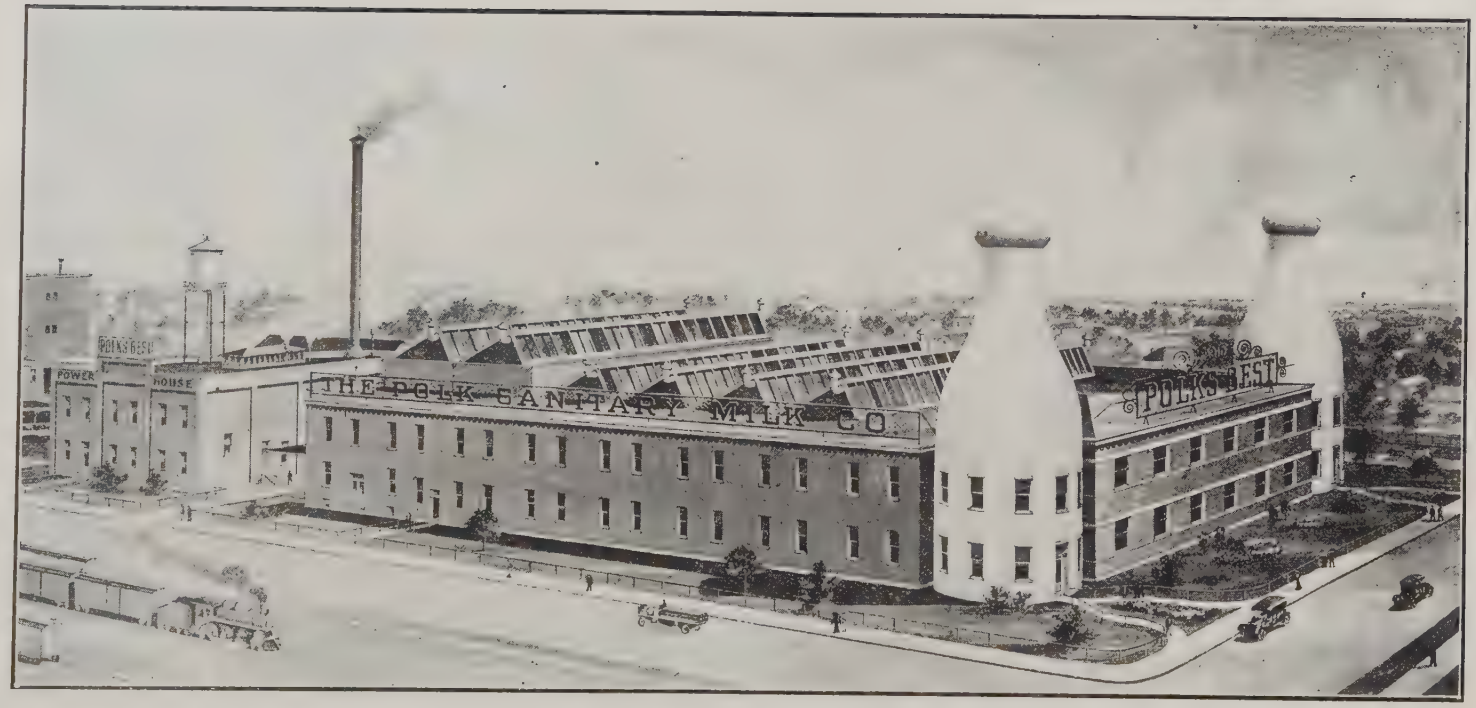
Among others may be mentioned the "James Howard," a boat 318 feet in length, and 54 foot beam, of 3,400 tons burden, which at the time of its construction, in 1870, was the finest steamboat afloat; and which is a type of the best steamboat construction of the present. Another celebrated Howard steamboat was the "Robert E. Lee," which was launched in 1876. From 1848 to the present this establishment has constructed an average of about a dozen vessels of various kinds a year, making a record that is not equaled by any shipyard on the western waters. It also has branch establishments at Cincinnati, Madison, Mound City and Paducah.

Some of the industries of Indiana are of added interest on account of their effect on social conditions, and on other occupations. One of these is canning and preserving, which has given a notable impulse to the cultivation of vegetables and fruits in many parts of the State. The number of establishments in this industry grew from 69 in 1899 to 134 in 1909; the number of wage earners employed from 2,152 to 3,406; and the value of the output from $3,145,000 to $8,758,000. In 1909 the largest pack was of beans, which made nearly one-fourth of the total product, and put that vegetable ahead of the tomato, which led in 1904. The other vegetables listed, in order of importance, were, peas, corn and pumpkin. "All other products, including pickles, preserves and sauces," amounted to $2,559,149 in 1909. A large amount of canning material goes outside of the State, contributing to changed conditions of agriculture. For example the cultivation of cucumbers has grown to an extensive industry in the northern part of the State, where the soil is sandy, under the fostering care of the Heinz establishment at Pittsburg. Another industry that has had a marked effect on rural life is butter and cheese making by creameries. The census report of 1910 shows for "Butter, cheese and condensed milk" an increase from 112 establishments in 1899 to 132 in 1909, with an increase of wage earners from 118 to 488, and an increase of value of product from $930,000 to $3,959,000. There has been a very large increase in this since 1909, which may be illustrated by the development of the firm of Schlosser Bros. The three brothers of that name began with a small plant at Bremen, Ind., in 1884, and gradually extended the business until at present they operate plants at Bremen, Plymouth, South Chicago, Indianapolis, and Frankfort. The last named is the largest, and last built, commencing operation in 1912, and producing about 2,000,000 pounds of butter a year. The material used at Frankfort is not produced in Clinton County alone, but is collected through fifteen counties in Indiana, and a few in Illinois. Ten butter experts are employed in that district, who solicit trade, and give instruction in dairy economics. They have wagons that travel reg-

ular routes and gather cream from their customers at their farms, with apparatus for testing the butter-fat. At the creamery the butter is made on the same principle as elsewhere, but on an extensive scale, and with all modern sanitary precautions, such as "Pasteurizing" the cream, and salting, washing, and cooling with scientific accuracy.

This industry, as well as the supply of milk to cities, is vastly aided by the development of the interurban railroads, which carry immense amounts of milk and cream, gathered from platforms along the lines where it is left by the farmers; the empty cans being returned to the same points. The change of social conditions brought about by these electric lines reaches in many directions, one of the chief influences being that exerted on travel by the running of cars at comparatively short intervals, which enables a person to cover a large amount of territory without those annoying waits between trains that were experienced when the steam railroads were the only reliance. Electricity was first used for city car lines in Indiana in 1890; and the first interurban car ran from Anderson to Alexandria in 1898. The first interurban car entered Indianapolis on January 4, 1901, over the Muncie line, and at present there are twelve lines radiating from the capital to all parts of the State, and connecting with cross lines, and lines of other states, the interurban mileage in the State in 1916 being 2,085 miles. The development of the business can be inferred from the growth of the passenger traffic at Indianapolis, from 377,761 in 1901 to 7,012,763 in 1914. In this connection it may be noted that steam railroad travel is very much more comfortable than it was in its earlier stages, at least for those who are able to pay for the conveniences of sleeping and dining cars. Now, a traveler can make long distances at night as comfortably as in his bed at home; and he can get a convincing idea of what night travel necessarily was before the days of sleepers by going into a day coach and sitting up through the night. One can imagine the anticipation with which the public read the following from the American Railway Times, in the summer of 1856:

"On some of the French lines of railway, berths have been fitted up, and a traveler can undress and go to bed as comfortably as he can in the stateroom of a steamer. The price charged for this extra accommodation is only double the price of an ordinary ticket. In the United States the railroad companies have expended a great deal of money to make their passenger cars beautiful to look at, without and within, and to make them comfortable for day travelers. But when night comes and the traveler is weary, he cares but little for the mahogany, rosewood, velvet plush, gilt mouldings, and other nice things which adorn the car in which he is to pass the night. The most indifferent hammock in which the sailor was



Polk Milk Plant

ever rocked to sleep would be of far more real value at such a time. Who that has ever traveled all night by cars would not have paid something handsome for a bed, a mattress, or even a board to stretch his weary limbs upon? In some sections of the country we are happy to know that railroad companies have turned their attention to make passengers in the night trains comfortable. A Cleveland paper states that some of the cars manufactured by the Buffalo Car Company for the Illinois Central Railway, have had new features introduced into them. One of them contains six staterooms, each room having two seats with movable backs long enough for a person to lie upon. The backs of the seats are hung with hinges at the upper edge, so that they may be turned up at pleasure, thus forming two single berths, one over the other, where persons may sleep with all the comfort imaginable. In one end of the car is a small wash room, with marble wash-bowl, looking-glass, etc. On the opposite side of the car from the staterooms is a row of seats with revolving backs, similar to barber's chairs, so arranged that the occupant may sit straight or recline in an easy attitude at pleasure. Other cars have each two or three similar staterooms, the remainder of the car being furnished with seats of the usual kind. With cars of this kind, railway traveling will soon become as easy and comfortable as riding upon the luxurious steamers."[10]

An industry that was of great importance in early times in Indiana was that of hides and furs, and indeed there were many of the early settlers to whom this furnished support while they were getting their farms started. Deer were plentiful, and bears not uncommon, while the smaller fur-bearing animals were abundant, and easily trapped. There are no statistics of the industry, but its extent can be inferred from the known abundance of the animals, and the common advertisements of, "Cash paid for furs and hides," in the early newspapers, not to mention the historical fact that furs and pelts served to a large extent for money, in the absence of other circulating medium. The larger fur-bearing animals disappeared soon after the full settlement of the country, but the smaller animals furnished the materials for considerable trade and are still more plentiful than is commonly supposed, especially the muskrat, which appears to thrive with civilization. As late as February 18, 1860, the Indianapolis Journal stated that, "one house here, that of Samuel Wilmot, has already paid out this season over $15,000 and is now buying furs at the rate of $2,000 to $3,000 per week." The same issue of the paper has the item: "A bear weighing 400 pounds when dressed was killed in Greene County, not long ago, by a Mr. Walker." In the utilization of

[10] Quoted in Locomotive, July 26, 1856.

native animal products, it would be very interesting to have reliable information as to the "diamond-backed terrapin" industry of Indiana. There are none of these valued reptiles in the State, but the turtle-trappers of Indiana send out quantities of painted terrapins and map turtles that are sold in city restaurants for diamond-backs, and they are quite as good. A very interesting water industry that has grown up in comparatively recent years is "musseling," or collecting mussel-shells for the pearl button industry. Pearl buttons are not made in the State, but there are more than a dozen little factories that cut "blanks" or "discs" from mussel shells, and ship them to Muscatine, Iowa, or to the New England states, where they are made into buttons. There are estimated to be three thousand people engaged in this industry, chiefly on the Ohio and Wabash rivers, and they do fairly well at it, as the shells, which ten years ago brought only $18 to $20 per ton, are now sold at $40 to $42 per ton. The most common mode of taking the mussels is by fishing for them in deep water. The fisherman locates a bed of mussels and throws from his boat a "brail," or iron pipe about twenty feet long, to which, at intervals of a foot or so, are attached short lines, furnished with rude three-pronged grab-hooks. When a hook strikes an open mussel, it clamps its shell on the hook, and hangs on like a bull-dog; so that when a brail is pulled over a mussel bed it is usually drawn up pretty well loaded. When he gets a boat-load, the fisherman goes ashore, and boils them for a few minutes in a rude tank, which kills the mussel, and opens the shell. The mussels are then taken out, and carefully felt with the fingers for pearls, which are often found, usually as "slugs," or small imperfect pearls, not uncommonly good pearls, worth $5 to $25. One instance is recorded of finding a pearl worth $2,000, and this ideal is ever before the hopeful mussel fishermen. One of the curious features of this industry is the naming of the shells. Your mussel fisherman cares nothing for scientific names, but he knows more about mussels than most scientists, and he designates the various species as "nigger heads," "washboards," "pig toes," "monkey faces," "maple leafs," "warty backs," "butterflies," "pocketbooks," "heel splitters," "elephant ears," "pistol grips," "bananas," and other equally euphonious terms, which are in fact generally as descriptive as the scientific names, if not more so. The last named, the "banana," was formerly especially valuable, as it was shipped to Germany and Austria, especially the former, while it was used in the manufacture of knife handles, pistol grips, unbrella handles, and other articles for which "pearl" is in demand. Before the present war these shells used to bring $80 a ton, but the price has now dropped to $30 to $40.

The mineral wealth of Indiana, is also a thing of comparatively recent development, although some coal was mined in territorial days. When

David Dale Owen made his first geological survey of the State, in 1837, cannel coal was being mined at Troy, and used in the potteries there; and bituminous coal was being mined at several banks on White River, on the Wabash below Merom, and seven miles east of Terre Haute. Michael Combs, a Campbellite preacher, who served a term in the State Senate, first discovered coal in Clay County, and shipped the first car-load out of there in 1852; but this was bituminous coal. The first block coal, or "Brazil Block" was not found until 1858, and was supposed to exist in a very limited area. When Prof. Cox visited Brazil in 1868, the local coal experts took him to the door of the hotel and pointed out the bounds of the block coal district. He did the service of pointing out that it would be found elsewhere in Clay, and also in Parke and Owen counties. The special value of this coal is in the fact that it does not "cake," or fuse in burning, and therefore can be used in blast furnaces and its location in quantity gave a strong impetus to business in the State. It was of commercial importance from 1870 on. Bituminous coal is found through a region of 7,000 square miles in southwestern Indiana, and the greatest value of the geological surveys of David Dale Owen, in 1837 and 1859, was in pointing out that no coal would be found outside of this region of carboniferous rock. The State's production of coal from 1912 to 1915, inclusive, averaged 16,000,000 tons, and the persons employed, over 21,000. The wages paid in 1915 were $13,420,000. The total mined from 1886 to 1895, inclusive, was reported at 33,355,988 tons, valued at $36,673,059.

The first petroleum "excitement" in Indiana was in 1862-4, when a number of wells were driven in western counties, but no material supply of oil was found. In March, 1886, the first gas well was struck, at Portland, Jay County, following the gas discoveries in the vicinity of Findlay, Ohio. The discovery of petroleum came a little later, the two being associated in the Trenton rock, which underlies the carboniferous rock of the western part of the State. The theory of their occurrence, as stated by State Geologist Blatchley, in 1897, is as follows: "In the Indiana oil field the Trenton rock is covered by an average thickness of 250 feet of that dark brown, close-grained deposit known as Utica shale, which possesses every quality of a typical impervious cover. The driller recognizes this stratum as soon as he strikes it, by its color, its comparative freedom from fossils, and the ease with which it is drilled and mixed with water. No free oil is found in the Utica shale, though by distilling portions of it an amount equal to three per cent of the shale has been obtained. * * * The records of the numerous bores put down in recent years for oil and gas in Ohio and Indiana show that the surface of the Trenton rock is not, as many people think, a level plane, but that numerous rather broad arches and troughs, or anticlines and synclines, exist in it. Experience

Shooting Oil Well

has proven that the anticlines in the Trenton are important factors in the geological distribution and accumulation of oil and gas. Where the anticlines occur the wells drilled along their crests yield at first gas and after a time oil. Those drilled into the troughs yield only salt water, while in those put down in the intermediate territory, or slope of the anticline, there is most probability of finding oil. * * * In the Indiana oil field the production of a new well can usually be foretold by the depth at which the top of the Trenton rock is found. If it is from five to ten feet higher than the average in the nearby productive wells, the chances are that it will yield much gas and little oil. On the other hand, if the Trenton is struck ten to fifteen feet lower than the average, the bore has pierced a trough or syncline, and a salt water well usually results. Sometimes, however, there are apparent exceptions. Of two wells in which the Trenton is found at the same depth, one will be a 'gusher,' and the other, but a short distance away, a 'dry hole.' The only explanation which can be given in such a case is that the latter has pierced a close-grained or non-porous area of the Trenton, through which no fluid can find its way." [11] The production of petroleum in Indiana in 1890 was reported at 63,496 barrels. In 1900 it was 4,874,392 barrels. In 1911 it had dropped to 1,695,289 barrels and in 1913 to 956,095. In 1914 it reached 1,355,456 barrels, but it is conceded that the supply is steadily diminishing. Of natural gas, the amount consumed in 1886 was valued at $300.000, and from that it increased to its high-water mark of $5,718,-000 in 1893, showing slight reduction for several years after, and then practically going out as a matter of importance, though it is still used by a few fortunates who are favorably situated with regard to the small remaining supply.

One of the most interesting of Indiana industries is that of building stone. There are a number of valuable lime and sand stones found in the State, but the attractive one is the oolitic limestone—in Lawrence County you are expected to call it Bedford Limestone, and in Monroe County Indiana Limestone, if you desire to be known as using the English language properly. This was the last of our building stones to come into commercial use, owing to its massive structure, the strata being so thick that it could only be used for ordinary purposes in irregular broken pieces, unless dressed by a stone-cutter. The first man who is recorded as appreciating its value was Dr. Winthrop Foote, who came from Connecticut in 1818, and located at Palestine, when that anticipated metropolis was the county seat of Lawrence, and later removed to Bedford with the government. He is said to have told a friend that "some day they would

[11] Geol. Report, 1896, pp. 42-3.

be sending that stone to New York City''; and to an objection as to the impracticability of transportation, he answered that ''there would be found a way by the time the stone was demanded there.'' He demonstrated his faith by entering government land where the best outcroppings were found. In 1832 he went to Louisville, and interested a stone cutter named Toburn, who located at Bedford, and began the first practical use of the stone for buildings and monuments. One of his most interesting works is a vault that he excavated for Dr. Foote in a huge block of stone lying on the slope of a hill about a mile from Bedford, overlooking what

Foote Vault
(First monumental use of Oolitic limestone)

is now called the ''Blue Hole'' quarry. In this were placed the exhumed remains of Ziba Foote, the Doctor's brother, an early U. S. surveyor, whose death by drowning in 1806, in ''Foote's Grave Pond'' is recounted elsewhere; and the Doctor was also buried there in 1856. Early in 1854, the State Board of Agriculture employed Dr. Ryland T. Brown ''to make a cursory geological examination of the State,'' and he made the first known report in print on the excellence of this stone, which he called ''Mountain Limestone.'' His report, which is published in the State Agricultural Report for 1853, says: ''Portions of this stone seem to be composed almost entirely of minute fossils, so firmly imbedded in the rock that it is almost impossible to separate them;'' and also: ''To saw this stone by steam power, into blocks proper for building purposes, and intro-

duce it into cities of the lower Mississippi, would be a business that I think, would most certainly pay well."

What is more remarkable is his statement of the commercial use of the stone at that time, which he says was "being worked by Mr. Erving who has engaged to furnish the stone for the construction of the United States Custom House at Louisville." The stone was being shipped out over the New Albany & Salem railroad, which had recently been constructed into that region, and this seems to have been its first outside use for a building of any importance. Brown continues: "Blocks, squared and ready for delivery were lying at the quarry, some of which were 3 feet on the surface and 14 feet long. The present face of the quarry, besides several thinner strata exposes one stratum of 8 feet in thickness without a seam, or the slightest fault. By means of wedges blocks may be split the whole thickness and of any desirable length. The accuracy and ease with which it may be split, its softness when fresh from the quarry, its beautiful whiteness when dry, its durability and great strength renders it all that could be desired as a stone for building purposes. The same rock, with slight local variations, extends to Gosport; occupying a band of country about ten miles in width traversed in its whole length by the N. A. & S. Railroad. At Mount Tabor near Gosport a variety of this stone is now being worked which receives a high polish, and presents a finely variegated appearance, being indeed an excellent and beautiful marble. Large amounts of stone from this region, under the name of 'White River Stone' is now transported over the railroad and used at New Albany, Louisville and Jeffersonville; and the demand is rapidly increasing as the excellent qualities of the material become more extensively known. As soon as the N. A. & S. Railroad shall be connected through to the lake and its Indianapolis branch completed, or the Evansville, Indianapolis and Cleveland road constructed and the Cin. and St. Louis road completed, the demand for this rock must be immense. For range work in foundations for columns in public buildings, for pillars and lintels in open front business houses, and for window and door caps and sills, no better material can be desired. A test of its durability is furnished in the foundation of the court house in Bloomington where the stone after an exposure of more than 30 years preserves its corners as sharp and well defined as if they had come from under the hammer but yesterday. From Gosport to Greencastle the same mountain limestone underlies the whole country and crops out on every hill-side and in the valley of every stream. The stone, however, is finer grained and harder in general than the varieties occurring between the White rivers. Though it may require a little more labor to dress it, yet the stone at Cloverdale,

Face of an Oolitic Quarry

Putnamville and Greencastle is not inferior to any stone in the State for beauty and durability."

The great development of the oolitic limestone industry did not come, however, until after the invention of channeling machines. The pioneer in the industry at Bedford was Davis Harrison, a civil engineer who had been with the N. A. & S. road, and who worked for years to interest capital in the industry, until in 1877 he succeeded in organizing the Dark Hollow Quarry Company. He also interested Nathan Hall, who invented the wagon now commonly used for hauling the huge blocks of stone when the railroad does not reach the quarry, and who shipped the first car load of stone out of Bedford. Of the men who were instrumental in making the stone known to the world, one of the most important was John Rawle, an English quarryman, who first introduced it in Chicago, and spread its fame by distributing paper-weights made of it to architects and builders throughout the country. John R. Walsh of Chicago, became interested when he had to take some quarries at Bedford on foreclosure; and did an enormous service to both the stone and the coal industries of Indiana by building the Southern Indiana Railroad from Terre Haute to Bedford, and another from Terre Haute to Chicago, but he broke himself up by doing it. By one means and another the stone became widely known and it needed only to be known to be used. If Dr. Foote were alive today he would not only find it being shipped to New York, but would find the great New York Terminal building constructed of it. Moreover he would find that in 1917 there were only seven of the forty-eight states and territories in which it was not used, the total consumption being stated at 8,165,645 cubic feet, valued at over $5,000,000. This remarkable use calls for some explanation of the qualities that have caused it, for it is obvious that the use is due to merit; and it is an historical fact that this building stone has won its own way to the front.

The first great advantage of the oolitic limestone is that it is soft when quarried, and hardens with exposure to the air. For this reason it is easily cut into any desired shape for architectural or sculptural purposes; and on account of the enormous size of the blocks in which it can be quarried, it is especially adapted to monumental sculptural work. For example the sphinxes that stand in front of the Scottish Rite Cathedral at Washington, D. C., were each cut from a single block of stone 16½x 7¼x8½, and weighing 100 tons. Notwithstanding its easy-working qualities, this stone is exceptionally strong, and also remarkably elastic. The only building stone in commercial use which is stronger is granite, and granite is many times harder and more difficult to cut. The reliable weight-bearing strength per square foot of Indiana Limestone is over 135,000 pounds, whereas that of the celebrated Portland limestone of

England is figured at but 82,000 pounds. Inasmuch as the weight borne by the piers which support the enormous dome of St. Paul's Cathedral in London (which is built of the Portland limestone) is only 39,000 pounds per square foot, it is easily seen that Indiana Limestone can much more than support any weight likely to be put upon it. Even the solid masonry shaft of the Washington Monument, 555 feet high puts a pressure on its foundation of only 45,000 pounds per square foot.

The actual crushing strength of Indiana Limestone is very much greater than the 135,000 pounds mentioned above, and tiny cubes one inch on an edge show upon test a resistance of 10,000, 11,000 and even 12,000 pounds. A bar of Indiana Limestone three or four feet long can be noticeably bent or deflected by the application of sufficient pressure, and, when released, will instantly spring back to its original straightness. When struck with a hammer it gives out a clear, metallic bell note almost like that of a bar of steel. This means that Indiana Limestone is the most elastic of all kindred substances. At first glance one is inclined to class this quality as "interesting but not important." Yet as a matter of fact the power to submit to distortion without permanent deformation is among the most valuable qualities a building material may have. Consider the strain put upon a block of stone whose inside surface within a building may be 50 to 60 degrees hotter or colder than its outside surface exposed to the weather. One side of the block is contracted, and the other expanded, an enormous pressure being put upon it by the expansion of its fellows. Consider a change of temperature between midnight and noon of 50 to 70 or more degrees which often occurs in perpendicular walls exposed to direct sunlight. Only an elastic material can easily tolerate this sort of thing year after year. This is one of the great points (to say nothing of architectural beauty and dignity) at which Indiana Limestone shows its wonderful adaptability to building purposes and also one of the great points at which manufactured substitutes for it fail.

Another valuable quality is its resistance to the effects of fire. It does not begin to calcine until heated to over 1,000 degrees Fahrenheit, and below that temperature is not injured by throwing water on it, or by smoke. It can of course be blackened, but is easily restored to its original color by scouring. Its durability under ordinary atmospheric conditions appears to be practically unlimited, as its hardness increases with exposure. An interesting illustration of this is seen in a seal of the University of Indiana, which was carved as an ornament for one of the buildings in 1855, and whose lettering and delicate carving are as sharp and clear as on the day when cut. In contrast with this, a tablet of Vermont marble, which was supposed to have peculiar durability, and which was therefore set in Foote's vault, mentioned above, has crumbled away

BLOCK OF OOLITE LIMESTONE

materially. In conclusion may be mentioned, not another quality of the stone, but the important fact that the center of population of the United States, at the last census, was in the center of the limestone region, at Bloomington.

The use of limestone for building is only a part of the use to which this material, found in nearly all parts of Indiana, is put. Not only waste stone from the quarries, but immense amounts of other stone not suited for building, are crushed and used for various purposes. In 1913, 296,377 tons of crushed limestone were used for road making in Indiana, valued at $7,353,665. For railroad ballast 11,774,121 tons, valued at $5,551,415, were used; and for concrete work 10,000,030 tons, valued at $6,167,144. The aggregate of 35,169,528 tons, or approximately 470,000,000 cubic feet, valued at $19,072,224, makes the crushed stone industry the most important in the state in stone products. Another extensive use, which is growing in importance, is the manufacture of cement, which consists of "certain anhydrous double silicates of calcium and aluminum"; and which in Indiana is manufactured by mixing ground limestone and shale, or, in northern Indiana, marl and clay, and burning them, grinding the "clinker," or product of calcining. The cement plant at Buffington uses limestone and blast furnace slag. In 1912 Indiana produced 9,924,124 barrels of cement, valued at $7,453,017, or an average of 75 cents a barrel. At that time Indiana ranked second only to Pennsylvania as a producer of Portland cement; and the extension of the industry is mainly a question of transportation and cheap fuel. A considerable amount of waste limestone is used in making lime, and this has been the case since very early times, but the use has been chiefly local, as the State is surrounded on all sides by lime producing regions, and there has been a prejudice against the local product on the ground that it was too "rich," or "hot"; but the latter objection has been obviated by hydrating the lime at the manufacturing plants. Nevertheless, in 1913, Indiana's output of lime was only 96,359 tons, valued at $323,905, while Ohio's was 497,693 tons, valued at $1,976,316. With the increase of scientific farming, there is developing a large use of crushed, or rather powdered, limestone as a fertilizer, its chief functions being loosening or mellowing of clay soils, the solidifying of sand soils, and the correction of acidity in any soils. The last named is perhaps the most important, as it is estimated that the soil of three-fourths of the area of the State is too acid for the most advantageous agriculture. The beneficial effects of the use of limestone, or of marl, which is a chemical equivalent, are so obvious, on trial, that this use is rapidly growing, but there are no satisfactory statistics of its extent.

Indiana abounds in mineral waters of almost every description, many

of which have medicinal qualities for bathing or for internal use. In numerous localities these occur in natural springs, and there is hardly any place in the State where mineral water of some kind cannot be obtained by deep wells, which often give a flow of water at the surface, or so near it as to be classed as artesian. The elements that make these waters "mineral" are chiefly calcium, magnesium, sodium, potassium, iron and sulphur, and in smaller proportions, chlorine, silicon, aluminum, carbon, lithium, with occasional traces of phosphorus, iodine and bromine.

French Lick

These occur most commonly as "salts" and gases, and in multiform combinations. Some of these waters are widely famous, and large and well known resorts have grown up in connection with them, as at French Lick, West Baden and Martinsville; but there are not less than a hundred sanatoriums and smaller resorts scattered over the State some of which have quite extended reputations, and others only local. The mineral springs along Lick Creek have been known from the earliest settlement of the State, attracting attention at first from the number of deer, buffalo, and other animals that gathered there to "lick" the saline deposits. The first hotel for the accommodation of persons who desired to use the waters was erected at French Lick about 1836, and one at West Baden some ten years later. The Martinsville water comes from deep wells, the first of which was sunk in search for gas, in 1887. Indian Springs and Trinity Springs

seven or eight miles from Shoals, in Martin County, are said to have been in high repute among the Indians, and to have been used by the white settlers as early as 1814. They were resorts for many years, but were brought into public notice more prominently about 1900, when John R. Walsh came into possession of them, and extended his railroad to them. Many springs in the southern part of the State have purgative qualities, notably those in Clark, Floyd and Brown counties, and chalybeate springs are found in nearly all parts of the State, but the natural springs are far surpassed in number by the deep wells. Writing in 1901, State Geologist Blatchley said:

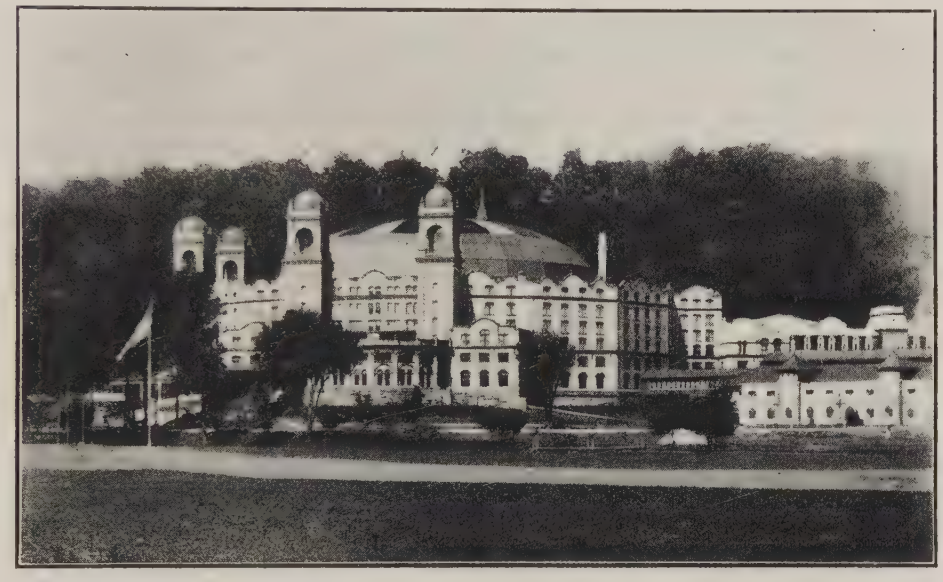
"But a few deep bores were sunk in Indiana previous to 1886, when natural gas in commercial quantities was first discovered in the State. Several of the bores put down before that date, notably those at Reelsville, Putnam County; Terre Haute, Vigo County; Lodi, Fountain County, and at two or three localities in Crawford County, had developed artesian flows of mineral water, but at only one of these wells was this water used to any extent for medicinal purposes, notwithstanding that the analysis of the water from most of the wells were made and published in the older reports of this department, and were copied quite extensively in the medical journals and works on mineral waters.

"Since 1886 more than 14,000 deep bores have been sunk for oil and gas in different parts of the State. Of these a number developed flowing water; while in a still larger number the water rose within easy pumping distance of the surface. In the different strata encountered above the Trenton limestone, especially outside of the main oil and gas fields as at present defined, large supplies of excellent potable water were often found. In most instances this occurred in the Niagara limestone; was cased off, and the bore sunk to the Trenton limestone, where salt water was found. By plugging the well between the potable and the salt water the former has been made available as a source of water supply for many cities and towns or for manufacturing and other industries.

"The output of a number of the flowing wells in central and western Indiana proved to be a saline sulphuretted mineral water of high value as a medicinal agent. Such water is now being utilized in sanitariums at Greenwood, Martinsville Columbus, Gosport, Spencer, Terre Haute, Montezuma and other localities; while in a number of places wells are producing a water as valuable, but which is being used only locally. In many of the deep bores, two or three different veins of mineral water were struck. The Niagara limestone furnishes most of the saline-sulphuretted water now in use. The water of the Trenton limestone and the underlying St. Peter's sandstone is, in most instances, too brackish, i. e., contains too large a percentage of common salt for medicinal use; though

in a few cases a fair quality of blue lick water, containing magnesium sulphate in quantity and also much sulphuretted hydrogen, is found in the St. Peter's sandstone.

"In general it may be said that the waters of the deep wells contain a much larger percentage of mineral matter than those of the springs and shallow wells. This is due to the fact that the deeper subterranean waters are in direct contact with the rocks which yield them the salts a much longer time, since the water is not so soon renewed as that in springs



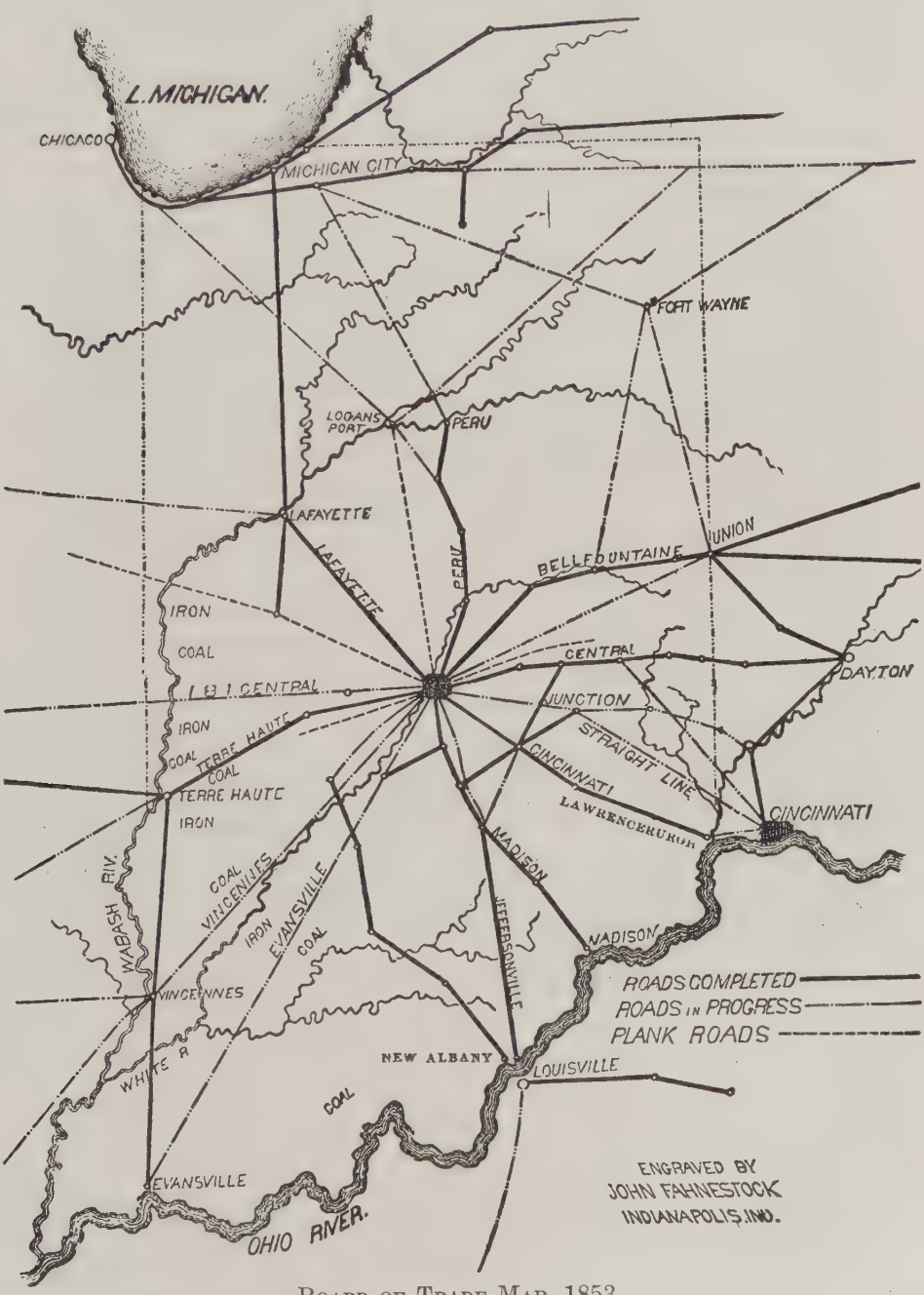
West Baden Hotel

which have a constant flow. It is probable, also, that more or less sea water was left in the Niagara and Trenton limestones and in the St. Peter's and Potsdam sandstones, at the time of the recession of the ocean, from the area now occupied by these formations. The mineral contents of this sea water have there remained for ages, and only when furnished a vent by artifical boring does the hydrostatic pressure behind force it upward as an artesian flow of so-called mineral water. As impervious strata of rock, shale, etc., usually exist between the surface and the source of the mineral water in the deep bores, it follows that the supply of water cannot be renewed by percolation as in ordinary springs. Dr. Edward Orton, of Ohio, proved that the hydrostatic pressure behind the salt water, gas and oil of the Trenton limestone of Indiana is caused by the waters of Lake Superior. The level of this lake is 600 feet above tide level, and by

adding this height to the number of feet at which the Trenton lies below the tide level and calculating the pressure on this basis he found that it corresponded closely with the original rock pressure of gas, oil or salt water. The ultimate source of the mineral water which rises from great depths in the different artesian bores of the State is probably accounted for in the same manner, i. e., it comes from lakes which lie far distant from the point at which it wells forth. During its long journey it has plenty of time to gain, both by solution and chemical action, the large percentage of mineral salts which it holds."

Organized effort for the development of commerce and industry in Indiana were local in character until 1851, when the State Board of Agriculture was chartered by the legislature, on February 14, and organized on May 27, with Governor Wright as president, John B. Dillon as secretary, and Royal Mayhew as treasurer. The first fair was held at Indianapolis, October 19-25, 1852; and was so much a success that other towns wanted it. Accordingly it was held at Lafayette in 1853, and at Madison in 1854. Both of these were financial failures, and therefore the fair was returned to Indianapolis, and held there from 1855 to 1858 inclusive. In 1859 New Albany was given a trial, but the receipts dropped off one third. In 1860 it was brought back to Indianapolis, and instead of being held in Military Park, as previously, the managers secured the tract of 36 acres (later increased to 56) north of the city, then known as "the Otis Grove," now called "Morton Place," and the fair was held there. In 1861 there was no fair, on account of the war; and in 1862-3-4 it was held at Military Park, in connection with the Sanitary Fair, the new fair grounds having been appropriated for Camp Morton. In 1865 it was held at Fort Wayne, again at a financial loss; in 1866 at Indianapolis; and in 1867 at Terre Haute. This was the last venture outside of Indianapolis, and the only outside venture that was not a financial failure. Those at Indianapolis were all successful financially except that of 1860, when the expenses of fitting up the new grounds were unusually heavy. In 1872 the first effort was made to give the fair something more than its usual agricultural character. Indianapolis business men offered to guarantee the success of a joint fair and exposition to the extent of $100,000, and the State Board of Agriculture accepted the proposition. A two-story brick building, 308 by 150 feet, was erected on the south side of the fair ground, facing Nineteenth Street—then called Exposition Avenue—and the joint fair and exposition was opened with elaborate ceremonies on September 10, and continued until October 10, with so much success that the management was left with a debt of only $90,000. The exposition project was continued, however, with some vigor in 1874-5-6; when the panic put an end to it, leaving a legacy of debt and hard feeling that

MAP OF INDIANAPOLIS AND HER RAILROAD CONNECTIONS.



Board of Trade Map, 1853

survived for years after.[12] In 1891 the State Board decided to find more commodious quarters, and in 1892 the first fair was held on the grounds now occupied, northeast of the city. The most notable improvement since that time was the building of the colosseum, which was completed in 1908, in time for the saengerfest, July 17-9. This is a handsome and capacious auditorium with a capacity for 12,000 people.

In early times there were occasional "merchants associations" and similar organizations formed to promote local interests. After the arrival of the railroad and the telegraph at Indianapolis, in 1848 a "merchants exchange" was organized at that point to receive dispatches and transact business. This went to pieces in a short time, and in 1853, a board of trade was organized, which made an approach to work on a State basis by issuing a railroad map, primarily showing the railroad connections of Indianapolis, and incidentally those of the entire State. This organization maintained an intermittent existence thereafter, and in February, 1871, a State convention of boards of trade was held at the "chamber of commerce," which was in the old Sentinel building, at the southwest corner of Meridian and Circle streets. This movement was not of much duration, nor has been any other based on mere trade interests, as these interests in various parts of the State, are rather competitive than allied. In 1894, however, the Indianapolis Commercial Club, of which William Fortune was then President, called a meeting of the commercial organizations of the State, for an interchange of views, with the ultimate object of an effort to secure better local government. A State organization was formed, and annual sessions were held until after the primary purpose had been accomplished by securing the passage of the county and township reform bills of 1899. It then became inactive. A State Chamber of Commerce has since been organized, but has not given its attention to public interests, which is apparently the only basis on which a State organization can attain any material success.

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[12] Agricultural Report, 1883, p. 38.

CHAPTER XVII

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

If there is any respect in which the founders of the government of Indiana are entitled to be credited with "vision," it is in the provision of the Constitution of 1816 for penal and charitable legislation. This was not specifically referred to any committee, but the Committee on Education, was directed to report on education, "and other subjects which it may be proper to enjoin or recommend to the Legislature to provide for." In the exercise of this authority they reported Section 4, of Article 9, which is the only part of that Article that does not relate to education, as follows: "It shall be the duty of the General Assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to form a penal code founded on the principles of reformation, and not of vindictive justice; and also to provide one or more farms, to be an asylum for those persons who, by reason of age or infirmity or other misfortunes, may have a claim upon the aid and beneficence of society, on such principles that such persons may therein find employment and every reasonable comfort, and lose by their influence the degrading sense of dependence." It has been stated that, with the exception of the provision as to amendment, the constitution of 1816 "was taken in its entirety, both as regards substance and phraseology, from the Ohio Constitution of 1802 and the Kentucky Constitution of 1799."[1] But no such provisions as are in this section, nor, indeed in this entire article, were in either of those constitutions, or in any other existing constitution. As constitutional provisions, they are original with Indiana, and in their basic principles they cover the accepted ideas of the latest theories of charity and punishment. As has been stated, this Article was written by Judge James Scott, but there is no record as to who made the suggestions. That as to State asylums for the poor might have been suggested by John Badollet, who was a member of the Committee, as that cultured Swiss had a personal knowledge of the systems of older and more densely settled countries that none of the other members had; and of necessity, it is not possible to maintain in a sparsely settled

[1] Constitution Making in Indiana, Vol. 1, p. xx.

country the charitable and correctional institutions which are the most convenient and practicable agencies for providing for the dependent and criminal classes in populous countries.

As an extreme illustration, when Cain killed Abel, it might have been possible to hang him, but it would not have been possible to confine him in a penitentiary; and the only feasible punishment, that left him any opportunity for reform, was to expel him from the Garden of Eden. So, on the frontier, it is not practicable to adopt the most approved methods of dealing with many social problems; and some of the customs that we look back to now with a feeling that the people who maintained them must have been somewhat barbarous, were really due to the different conditions of population and wealth at that time. It is true that, in 1795, the legislature of Northwest Territory established a system of poor relief, under which the Court of Quarter Sessions appointed two overseers of the poor for each township, who were authorized, with the approval of two justices of the peace, to levy taxes for the support of the poor, part of which was to be used in "providing proper houses and places and a convenient stock of hemp, flax, thread and other wares and stuff for setting to work such poor persons as apply for relief and are capable of working," and the rest to relieving those who were unable to work. But this was presumably for the benefit of the larger settlements of what is now Ohio. There is no indication that it was acted on in what is now Indiana, presumably because there was no township in this region that was able to maintain an almshouse; and, presumably, the duty was given to the State, by the Constitution, for the same reason. And it was probably because the law of 1795 was not generally practicable that the law of 1799 provided for "farming out" poor persons who were a public charge, or "selling them to the lowest bidder," i. e. contracting for their care with the persons who offered to maintain them at the lowest cost. The custodian had the right to require reasonable labor; and the overseers were to investigate any complaint of the pauper, and withhold compensation in case of ill treatment or insufficient provision. Theoretically this seemed the only way of caring for the dependent poor, under the circumstances; but it was evidently subject to abuse, and the Constitutional Convention wanted something better.

But the relief was slow in coming. The State was in no condition financially to care for all the poor. It had no buildings of its own, of any kind. The State officers occupied rented quarters at Corydon, and the legislature met in the court house. At Indianapolis the situation was the same, until the State finally got the first real state capitol completed in 1835. The first move for a different system of care for the poor came from Knox County, apparently as an industrial enterprise, to some extent

at least. The legislature of 1821 authorized the voters of that county to elect three "directors of the poor," who were incorporated, and authorized to hold lands, erect buildings, employ officials, bind out pauper children, etc.[2] When the building for an asylum was completed, the overseers were required to bring the poor of all the townships in the county to it. The Trustees of the Borough of Vincennes then adopted an ordinance, reciting that the location of the asylum near Vincennes would be "not only a great convenience to the paupers in obtaining the conveniences of life and a ready sale for their surplus produce and manufactures, but add much to the improvement of the town and convenience of its inhabitants in procuring home manufactures," and therefore offered a donation of ten acres of the Commons, to secure the location at that point. This was accepted, and the asylum was duly built.[3] The project does not appear to have been a success industrially, as the law was repealed in 1828; but the county commissioners were authorized to establish similar asylums in Clark County in 1824; Washington, Dearborn and Floyd in 1829; and Harrison, Wayne and Jefferson in 1830. Meanwhile there was a growing sentiment against the farming out system. Governor Ray took a decided stand against it in his message of 1825. After calling attention to the failure to act under the provision of the Constitution, he said:

"Few things are better calculated to ensure us that honourable elevation to which our young state aspires, than for the world to witness the representatives of our free population, in the exercise of their high functions, engaged in laying a foundation that will guarantee comfort and happiness to the unfortunate poor. It is the poor and needy that can justly claim more of our deliberations than the affluent, whose wealth sets legislative interposition at defiance. Viewing the construction of an Asylum or Asylums, as institutions, in which the citizens of all the states by some unhappy accident may be doomed to participate; and as there is yet, within our limits immense tracts of waste lands belonging to Congress, we ought not to suppose that an application to that body for a small tract of land to aid this philanthropic design, would be unsuccessful. The existing law for the support of the poor, though perhaps as good as any that could be devised under the existing system is radically defective in the principles of humanity to the unfortunate, as well as in economy of expenditure. These unhappy objects of public charity are sold like merchandise or cattle in a public market to persons who are generally induced to become their purchasers from motives of gain or avarice, rather than humanity and benevolence, and the public charity thus offered, is

[2] Acts, 1820-1, p. 102.

[3] Vincennes Sun, Aug. 4, 11, 25, 1821; Jan. 12, 1822.

often made a curse instead of a blessing. To me this practice seems degrading to our character as a Christian people. Instead of lessening the sense of dependence as is contemplated in the humane provision in our constitution, such a mode of relief is calculated to lacerate anew the already wounded sensibility, to increase the sense of degradation, and changes the unfortunate dependent from an object of public charity into a means of private speculation. That this system is defective in point of economy, will at once appear obvious, by referring to the items of expenditure in the several counties in this state which I will endeavor to procure and lay before you. It is submitted to your consideration, whether the spirit of the above provision of the constitution cannot be carried into effect efficiently, by dividing the state into districts of counties or larger, and making provisions for the establishment of an Asylum in each, where under the care of a single superintendent, made responsible for his conduct, the poor, deaf, dumb and unfortunate of the district may be collected; and those of them of capability occupied in some useful employment contributory to their subsistence. It is believed that upon this system the poor can be maintained at an expense little exceeding one-half of that which is paid under the present system, besides affording abundantly the milk of human kindness."[4]

Of course the general view was not so serious as this, partly because the people were accustomed to the system, and partly because they saw the humorous side of it—for there is a humorous side to most of the tragedies of human life. For example, any right-minded person is moved to sympathy with a crippled soldier; and yet the world has laughed over Hood's,

"Ben Battle was a soldier bold,
And used to war's alarms,
But a cannon-ball took off his legs,
So he laid down his arms."

But Hood, himself, moved the world to pity with his "Bridge of Sighs," and his "Song of the Shirt." And indeed it seems a dispensation of Providence that mankind can see the humorous side of our everyday tragedies, or life would be unbearable to thousands, who, as it is, manage to get along fairly well on a sort of Mark Tapley basis. Within four months of this appeal, the Lawrenceburgh Palladium, on April 29, 1826, published the following advertisement of a sale of paupers, which it alleged to have been found on the door of its office:

[4] House Journal, 1825, pp. 41-2.

"The poor overseers—it plainly appears—
For Lawrenceburgh town, County of Dearborn,
Have three paupers to let, for the best bid they can get,
On the first day of May, at the house of John Gray.
Arominta Keach, not quite out of reach;
With sore shin, we are told, 'most an hundred years old.
Rebecca Coosingberry, so healthy and merry;
Yet it is said has a lunatic head.
Francis Davis in turn is the worse by a burn;
One leg is not good, the other of wood;
A Tinker they tell, he'll work when he's well."

The legislature was impressed by the Governor's words, and a committee recommended dividing the State into three districts, with an asylum for each,[5] but this was laid aside, and a law was adopted calling on the county clerks for information for statistics as to paupers. Fourteen of the counties reported under this law at the next session,[6] and their reports showed that the existing system was expensive; but no action was taken at the time, and the problem drifted along until December, 1830, when the legislature tried the Governor's other proposal of asking national aid; and adopted the following memorial to Congress:

"The general assembly of the state of Indiana, as your memorialist, desires to lay before your honorable body, her views in regard to a subject not less addressed to the interest and humanity of all the states in the confederacy, as a common benefaction, than emphatically regarded by the constitution of this state, as specially demanding the interposition of her legislature. Though Indiana is bound by her charter to provide farms for asylums for the poor, infirm, and unfortunate, within the pales of her jurisdiction, she would, without such injunction, rejoice at every successful effort at home or abroad, tending to alleviate the distresses of this class of mankind. Under these convictions, she would respectfully submit to the Congress of the United States, her requests, that an act may be passed, granting one section of land for each county in the state, to be selected by her; which, or its proceeds, shall be applied to erect asylums and provide farms to receive all persons found to be objects of charity; and also granting two sections, to be located in like manner, to be applied to benefit the deaf and dumb within her entire boundaries; and also granting one section, in like manner, to erect and sustain a state lunatic asylum. In making this appeal, the state of Indiana repudiates the idea of selfishness, and wishes to be understood as desiring only to

[5] Sen. Jour., p. 86.
[6] House Jour., 1826-7, p. 60.

take upon herself the responsibility of an agent empowered to minister consolation to all whom casualty or misadventure, may render dependent on benevolent protection.

"This general assembly wishes not to stop at the limits of this request now made, but to express a hope that all the western states, having unsold lands within their jurisdiction, may apply for and succeed in obtaining similar grants to those applied for in this memorial. When this shall take place, the humane institutions they will foster, may be considered as much the common property of the whole union, and must be so in effect, as when they formed a part of the yet claimed general domain. The annual discharges of population from the old states, to those recently formed, must in the nature of things, furnish many objects calling for the exertion of the trust estate confided to our care, in such a manner as to display a union of philanthropy. Indeed when it is considered, that the unacclimated are necessarily more exposed to casualties of every description, and more liable to fall victims to the assaults of the season, than the native, or old settler, the request herein made, may justly be viewed as tending only to induce a provision for ameliorating the condition of the distressed of the whole American family, whose necessities require aid. It is conclusive that the amount of lands asked for by this memorial, cannot be more appropriately applied, than to the objects referred to; and all the sympathies of our nature advocate the gift."[7]

This memorial does not appear to have been presented to Congress, however, and the legislature adopted a law authorizing county boards to erect and maintain poor-houses, and in those without poor-houses the system of farming out was continued.[8] The hope of getting aid in the form of government land was not altogether abandoned, for on February 7, 1840, the legislature adopted a joint resolution asking Congress for two townships for the erection and maintenance of an asylum for deaf mutes and blind persons.[9] This secured no action. It was apparently in pursuance of a movement started in 1827, under the influence of Ray's message. On January 26, 1827, the legislature reserved from sale block 22 in Indianapolis—bounded by Alabama, New Jersey, Vermont and New York streets—for a State hospital and insane asylum. Up to the present, this is one of the mysteries of local history. The block was retained by the State until 1847, when it was subdivided and sold, the proceeds going to the new Insane Hospital, then under construction. There is a tradition that on this block there were some old log buildings that were used for housing insane persons, and the establishment was

[7] Special Acts, 1831, pp. 188-9.

[8] Rev. Stat. 1831, p. 286.

[9] Doc. 212, 1st Sess. 26th Cong.

known as "the Crazy Asylum," the inmates being transferred to the new Hospital when it was completed. Mr. Christian Schrader made a drawing of the buildings from memory. His recollection was confirmed by other old residents, as to the existence of the buildings, but not as to insane persons being domiciled there. But no record has been found of any State law referring to such an asylum; no mention of it in any of the newspapers; none in the records of the County Commissioners. The County purchased a farm on May 7, 1832,[10] and erected a poor-house on it. At that time all insane, including idiots, "who have no property for their support," were entitled to relief as paupers. This

"The Crazy Asylum"
(From memory picture, by Christian Schrader)

provision was in effect from 1818 until the new Hospital was constructed, and under it the County insane would have gone to the poor-farm. There is a tradition that the log buildings on the block had been built by settlers, prior to their use for the insane, but this seems improbable; and it does not account for the insane being there, as it must have been under some kind of governmental authority. It is probable that the application of the name "crazy asylum" was facetious, growing out of the appearance of the buildings and the purpose for which the block was reserved. Possibly some future investigator may fall upon some other explanation, which is now lacking. In fact, there is no subject connected with Indiana history that presents a wider and more unoccupied field to the investigator who has the time and patience to seek for the explanation of human problems than this of insanity.

[10] Bought of Elijah Fox, for $1,000; the s. e. ¼ of Sec. 29, tp. 16, r. 3.

In the Journal of Col. William Fleming, for April 3, 1780, he says: "The Frenchmen from the Illinois informed me that they were never troubled at St. Vincent or Opost either with Fleas or Ratts neither of which could live there, the latter may be accounted by the water being impregnated by Arsenic."[11] If this be true, it may serve as evidence of the fact that some of our evils are the products of civilization. In Indiana, insanity seems to be one of these. In 1819, David Baillie Warden wrote of Indiana: "Insanity is scarcely known either in this or the other western states." On July 23, 1817, Morris Birkbeck entered in his journal, at Vincennes: "Mental derangement is nearly unknown in these new countries. There is no instance of insanity at present in this State, which probably now contains 100,000 inhabitants. A middle-aged man, of liberal attainments and observation, who has lived much of his life in Kentucky, and has traveled a good deal over the western country, remarked, as an incident of extraordinary occurrence, that he once knew a lady afflicted with this malady."[12] This seems incredible, and yet statistics are not inconsistent with it. The national census for 1850 reported 15,610 insane for the entire country, or 67.3 for each 100,000 of population; while the census of 1880 reported 91,959, or 183.3 for each 100,000 of population. In the discussion of the subject in the census of 1910, the census of 1880 is considered the first reliable return, but even on that basis, the showing is startling, for in 1910 the report was 187,791, or 204.2 to each 100,000 of population. If there was any regularity in the increase, there could not have been many insane in Indiana in 1817, on the general average; and presumably there were fewer on the frontier, in proportion, than in the older settlements. In 1840, the insane and idiotic together, in Indiana, were 72 to each 100,000, and it was estimated that they were somewhere near evenly divided, so that the insane could not have been over 40 or 50.[13] It is to be noted also, that it was only the pauper insane who were admitted to poor-houses. The law made provision for guardians for those who had property, but there are indications that many of this class really fared worse than the pauper class. In the Indiana report for 1847, mention is made of an elderly woman who was "confined in an open log pen in a door yard in one of the counties lying west of Indianapolis"; and of another who was "confined in an old smoke house and had been there for three successive years, a constant annoyance to the

[11] Mereness, Travels in American Colonies, p. 673.

[12] Early Travels in Indiana, pp. 188, 232.

[13] Report Commissioners Ind. Insane Hospital, 1847, p. 70. In the report of Dr. Ritchie, in 1842, it is stated that there were 241 insane in Indiana in 1840, which would be 35 to 100,000 of population.

neighborhood by her piteous groans and frantic shrieks and howls.'' These were evidently violent maniacs, the ''harmless'' ones being usually allowed to roam at large.

The difficulties as to penal institutions were much the same as those noted in the case of charitable institutions. It was for this reason that punishment by whipping was so common, and so with confinement in stocks. It was too expensive to hire someone to guard criminals. The practical system was to administer his punishment and turn him loose, or, if confined, to so confine him that he would need no attention. The earliest jails were constructed with this in view. They were usually substantial log buildings, two stories high, with no openings in the lower story but small windows, and a trap door leading to the upper story. The prisoner was conducted to the upper floor by an outside stair, and put down through the trap door into the lower room, or dungeon, locked in, and left to his reflections. In later years the refinement was added of a door in the lower room, through which the prisoners were put in. This is the case with the one surviving jail of this type, in Brown County. The first penal institution of the State, like the Knox County poor-house, was designed for utilizing the labor of the inmates. The promoters of the Indiana canal around the falls of the Ohio wanted cheap labor. There were a number of prisoners in jails who were doing nothing, and for whose board the public was paying; and there were others who were being whipped and released, who might well be confined and put to work. The sentiment back of the change was not wholly due to financial considerations, however, for there was a growing repugnance to the whipping-post, as may be seen from the following from the Indiana Centinel of May 6, 1820:

''On Thursday last the minds of our citizens were shocked by the shameful spectacle of a fellow-citizen tied to a sign-post, and flogged like a dog, under sentence of the Circuit Court, now sitting in this town. He was found guilty of a petty species of the same crime for which so many heroes and statesmen have been celebrated, and for which their names have been given to the applause of posterity.—The sight was truly disgusting; and it was evident that the manly mind of the officer who executed the sentence revolted at the performance of that odious duty.

''The criminal code of Indiana is a disgrace to civilization, and it ill becomes our lawgivers to boast of their refinement, while they sanction this species of degrading brutality; or to laud their purgation from British severity, while they harbor this relic of its foulest barbarism. Corporal punishments are worse than useless; for nine times out of ten they are fatal to the mind of the victim—he is lost to society—he sinks under his sense of shame; or, if sensitive and revengeful, the petty felon

becomes the hardened ruffian. If guilty, he is then desperate—if innocent, the scars on his shoulders keep knocking at his heart, and calling for satisfaction in a voice that is never mistaken or unheeded.

"The arguments against such punishments are inexhaustible and insurmountable. We have often heard that we live in a government of MIND, and foreigners have been simple enough to believe it till they read our statute book, and find that we consider ourselves as dogs and horses—that we are governed by a mere animal system; that the skin of one brute lashes the hide of another, and that we all, quadrupeds and bipeds, have the same common impulses, sentiments and feelings.

"An Indian who was standing near while this culprit was beaten, asked a French citizen if he was a prisoner of war? On being informed of his crime, and that he was thus punished for it, this untutored son of nature gave the savage interjection 'Woh!' and very significantly laid his hand upon his tomahawk. This single fact contains a volume for legislators."

This sentiment fell in very nicely with the prison proposition, and so there was general satisfaction when the law for the establishment of a State prison was adopted, on January 9, 1821. This law created a board of five managers, who were to build the prison, and appoint an Agent, who was to have charge of the prison and "purchase provisions, clothing and tools necessary for the convicts, and raw materials to be by them manufactured, and dispose of the same for the support of the convicts and such other objects as the managers shall deem expedient." But, the Agent was further authorized with the consent of the managers, "to contract with the president and directors of the Jeffersonville Ohio Canal Company for the employment of the able-bodied convicts in labor on the said Canal in such manner as may be thought expedient." To supply the convicts, provision was made that in all cases where a maximum punishment of 100 stripes was provided, a maximum imprisonment of seven years should be substituted; for a maximum of 50 stripes imprisonment for five years or less; and for 39 stripes not over three years. The State did not have the money for the building, and its chief expectation at the time was from the sale of lots at Indianapolis. From the proceeds of these sales $3,000 was appropriated "towards the building of the said prison," and the remainder was to be contributed by individuals, who became joint stock-holders with the State in the profits of the institution, the provision being: "That after all expences for the support of the convicts, Clothing, &c., and suitable allowances to the officers of the prison are paid, the proportion of the residue of their earnings which would belong to the State, according to the different sums paid, shall be laid out in the purchase of canal stock

for the benefit of the state, and the proportions belonging to individuals according to the amount by them subscribed and paid, shall be apportioned in such manner as the said managers may direct their said agent to contract with such individuals on their subscribing." This contract was authorized to be made for a term of eight years, and was so made.

The project did not prove a wealth-producer, partly because the canal scheme went to pieces, as heretofore recounted, and partly for lack of prisoners. For the first year of the prison, ending November 30, 1822, there was but one convict on hand, and only three in the second year. The citizen who secured the position of first inmate was N. Strong, who was sent in for perjury, and he made a sturdy effort to keep out, by appealing to the Supreme Court on the ground that the law was ex post facto as to him. His offense was committed in July, 1821, and the prison law did not take effect until the Governor proclaimed that the prison building was completed, which he did on October 2, 1821, prior to Strong's conviction. The Supreme Court was not inclined to stand on technicalities, and decided that the law changing the punishment from stripes to imprisonment did not create a new offense, nor increase the malignity of the existing offense, nor change the rules of evidence so as to make conviction easier, nor increase the punishment; and therefore there was nothing ex post facto about it.[14] This decision was made in May, 1822, and for the remainder of the prison year, Mr. Strong had the prison all to himself. On January 31, 1824, a law was adopted abolishing the board of managers, and putting the prison under the charge of a Superintendent, appointed by the Governor, who was required to "see that each prisoner is constantly employed in the best possible way so as to produce gain for the state." However, the Governor was directed to "make the best possible contract he can, respecting the expenses of the same, and to enable him so to do, he is hereby authorized either to farm the same out," or to conduct it under a Superintendent, as before specified. The lease system was adopted, at least as to the labor of the convicts, the first lessee being Colonel Westover, who was later killed with Crockett at the Alamo. He was succeeded for five years by James Keigwin, in whose term occurred the first serious insubordination. A convict named Williams endeavored to kill Keigwin, and succeeded in shooting him twice, but not fatally. He was succeeded in 1836 by Patterson & Hensley, and they in 1841 by Joseph R. Pratt. Up to this time the prisoners had been employed in all sorts of outside work, especially cutting wood and making brick. The original

[14] Strong vs. the State, 1 Blackf., p. 193.

CHAPEL, INDIANA STATE PRISON, MICHIGAN CITY
(From Architect's Drawing)

prison was a small primitive affair, at the corner of Ohio and Market streets, the cell-houses being constructed of logs. Under Pratt, ten acres were bought in the western part of the city—six acres were added later for a garden—and prisoners were used in constructing a new prison. The old leasing system was then continued until 1857, when the inside, manufacturing system was adopted, and thereafter continued.

There was not much attention paid to reformatory influences in the early period. By an act of February 10, 1831, the Superintendent was required to furnish each prisoner with a Bible, which was to be his individual property; also to allow clergymen to preach to the convicts on Sundays, and to allow proper persons who so desired to teach them on Sundays, and to distribute religious books and tracts. The same law provided for the separate confinement of the convicts, and that a prisoner "shall not be permitted to speak to other prisoners during the night, and it shall be an established part of the prison discipline, that all conversation between the prisoners shall be prohibited, so far as is practicable, during the day, and while they are engaged at their labours or meals." In 1839 Governor Wallace recommended the appointment of a chaplain, and the recommendation was adopted, with good effects. In 1857, James Runcie, who was then Chaplain, protested against putting boys in the prison with men. As there were then six women in the prison—there had never been more than two in any previous year—he recommended the appointment of a matron, and this change was adopted. The discipline, prior to 1831, appears to have been lax; and indeed the confinement of the convicts was somewhaf on the jail principle already mentioned, of securing and leaving them. On August 30, 1823, the Vincennes Sun recounts the escape of nine prisoners at Jeffersonville, who had all been locked in their cells but one, who was supposed to be confined to his bed by sickness, but who got up and let the others out. The account says: "The Agent had been absent for a number of days and the keepers were taken sick." The convicts were recaptured shortly after.

But a change was coming, and not to Indiana alone. The whole civilized world was beginning to awake to the fact that there were better ways of dealing with the defective and criminal classes than those that had been in use for centuries. The earliest official recognition of this change is in the message of Governor Wallace, of December 4, 1838, as follows: "My attention has been directed to the very interesting subject of the education of the deaf and blind, by a communication from a Mr. James Hodge, the Secretary for the Institution of Deaf Mutes, and one of the Trustees of the Institution for the Blind, established at Columbus, in the State of Ohio. In order that the whole subject may

be as fully submitted as possible, I lay the communication itself before you. From this document, it appears that there are now in that school of deaf mutes a number of pupils from Indiana, and that application has been made for the admission of several more, who, on account of their extreme indigence and inability to pay the necessary expenses, could not be received. But supposing, as I hope she well may, that Indiana will not consent to be behind any of her sister states, either in offices of benevolence or deeds of humanity—this gentleman suggests the propriety of her doing for her indigent Deaf and Blind, what Ohio has done and is now doing for hers—appropriate something from the public purse to enlighten and educate them. A nobler, a purer, a brighter act of genuine benevolence, cannot be made to grace your statute book. Permit me also to lay before you a letter upon the same subject from Mr. Samuel Reese, a very respectable and intelligent citizen of our own State, and to earnestly recommend the suggestions contained in it to your serious consideration." Who was Samuel Reese? This is the only known clue to the citizen of Indiana who first took up this cause. Gray wrote, "Some mute, inglorious Milton here may rest"; but there have been hundreds of Miltons who were not mute, who have come to the same inglorious condition; and Indiana is not lacking in them. Mayhap these lines may reach some person who knows who he was, and tardy recognition may come to his memory. Of what interest it would now be to know what led him to investigate the subject, and write to the Governor concerning it. Possibly it was he who induced "a Mr. James Hodge" to send the documents and suggest action by Indiana. What a pity that in all the waste of printer's ink on mere transitory matters, Governor Wallace did not add three words telling Reese's residence.

On January 31, 1839, Mr. William T. Noel, of Parke County, of the committee to which this part of the Governor's message was referred, made a most able report to the House, demonstrating that there had been a full and strong presentation of the subject in the letters and documents submitted; but he did not even mention Hodge or Reese. Five hundred copies of the report were printed, and the careful printer dated it January 31, 1838, instead of 1839. We have at least the comfort of reflection that perhaps a part of our public carelessness is inherited. But the report throws some light on the current ideas on the subject, as may be seen from the following passages. After mentioning that there were probably from three to five hundred deaf mutes in Indiana, "one-third of whom, at least, are proper subjects for education," the report proceeds: "As to the practicability of communicating an education to every one of this class, possessed of a sound mind, there no longer remains a doubt. It is fully demonstrated that they are suscep-

tible of receiving, not only a partial, but a very refined education. This is not, however, attainable in our common schools. It requires a separate institution, and entirely a different system of instruction. * * * We have carefully examined into their own accounts of the extent of their knowledge before they were educated, and have not been able to find a single instance of one who, without the aid of education, was ever able to comprehend the existence of a Supreme Being. Even those who have been taught to perform all the rites of the Christian religion, and were, to all appearances, devout worshipers, have universally declared, on becoming educated, that they had no conception of anything beyond the mere external forms which they practiced. * * * Conscience, with them, derives all its light from the impulses of nature, and the mere external appearances of the conduct of others, without knowing anything of the motives that induce it. It can recognize no invariable law; and consequently, often leaves these unfortunate persons to commit the grossest crimes without the slightest sense of guilt." After further presenting the recognized demands of charity; that the "want of proper clothing and protection from severe and inclement weather; of sound and wholesome food, and proper care and nursing in time of sickness and childhood, are assigned by medical writers as the most common causes that produce either or both deafness and dumbness"; and their conviction that the establishment of an institution was an imperative duty; the Committee concluded: "For this purpose, the committee proposes to take from the common schools one-fourth part of the annual products of that part of the surplus revenue set apart to that object. It has been appropriated for the support of common schools; and inasmuch as these individuals cannot be educated in these institutions, they would seem to have some claim on us, to so appropriate a part of this fund as to be of some benefit to them.[15]

The committee reported a bill in conformity with their recommendation, but nothing was done with it. The matter went over to the next legislature, and on February 7, 1840, it tried the experiment of a joint resolution asking Congress for two townships of land for the construction and support of asylums for the deaf and dumb and the blind. But Congress did not respond, and on February 13, 1843, a tax of one-fifth of a cent on $100 was levied to provide for an institution, the tax being continued until the fund was sufficient, but was increased to one-half cent in 1845, and to a cent and one-half in 1847. Fortunately, James S. Brown, the second superintendent of the institution, had the wisdom to present not only a history of the evolution of instruction of the deaf

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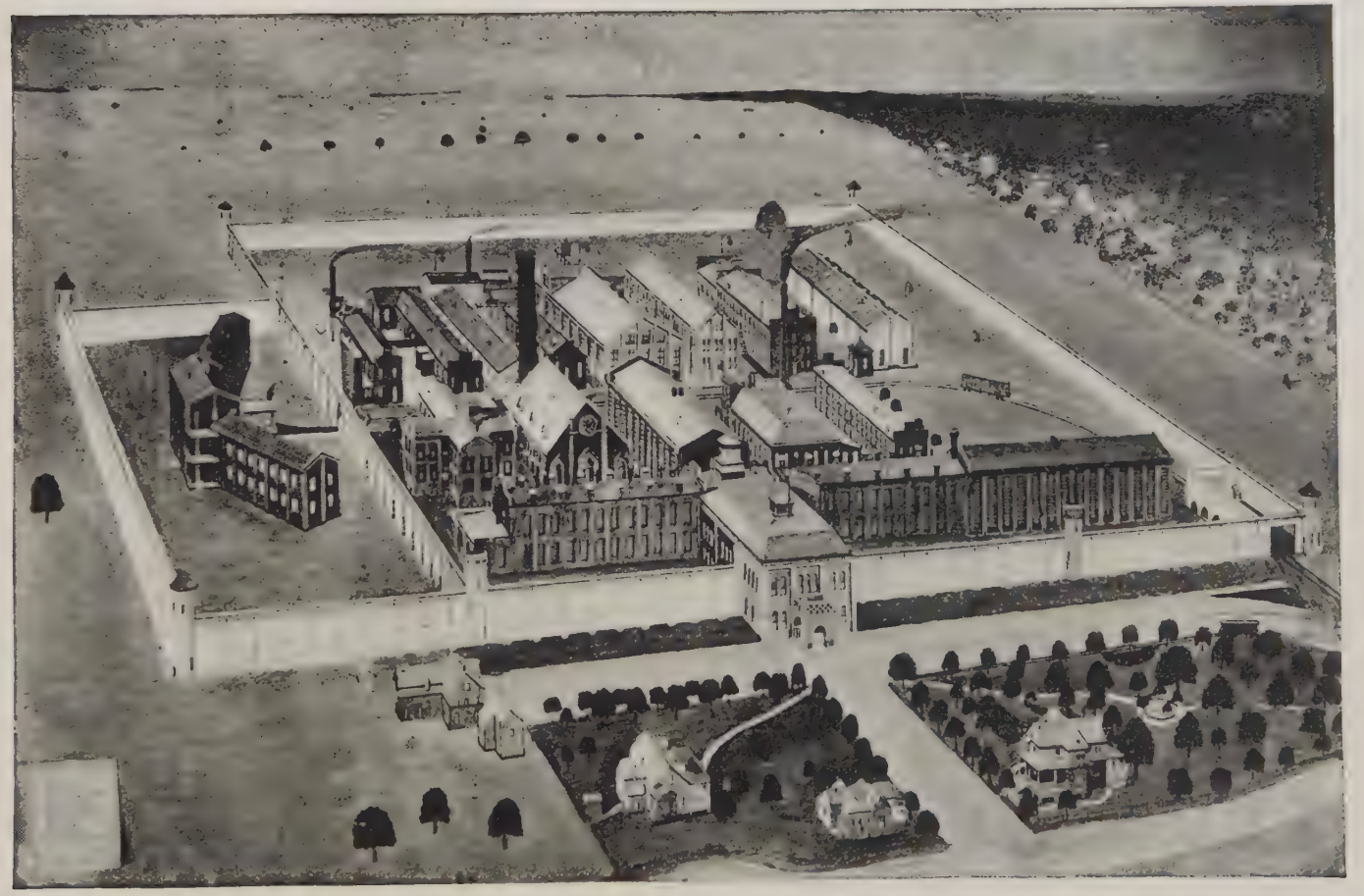
15 House Jour., p. 441.

and dumb, but also a history of the inception of the Indiana undertaking, as follows: "In the fall of 1841, Mr. William C. Bales, since deceased, then the sheriff of Vermillion County, placed his mute son in the Ohio Institution. The visit which he then paid that Asylum interested him more deeply than before in the enterprise of educating the deaf and dumb. The next year he was elected to represent his county in the legislature. Some time during the year 1842, James McLean, a mute, commenced a school in Parke County. This school was continued for more than a year, but at no time contained more than six pupils, and three or four of these were taught gratis.[16] Mr. Wm. Crumpton, of Attica, was one of his patrons; and from his representations Mr. Coffin, then the representative from Parke, became interested in the subject. At the meeting of the Legislature in 1842-3, the two members above referred to consulted together, and, as the result of their deliberations, Mr. Bales, on the 4th of February, presented a bill which, after some amendments, passed both branches. * * * This was passed by the unanimous consent of all parties. Indeed, to enumerate its friends would be to mention the names of the whole Legislature; and one as much as another, probably, deserves the credit of its enactment. It was a noble act, and the first instance on record where a people were taxed for such a purpose!

"In the summer of 1843, Mr. William Willard visited Indianapolis with a view of establishing a school. He was most cordially welcomed by many benevolent persons, citizens of the city, and of the State who happened to be here at the time. He soon commenced the tour of the State, and visited most families in which he could ascertain there were mutes. Encouraged by the kind reception which he everywhere met, he returned and opened a private school in this city on the 1st of October. At first there were but six pupils in attendance. They increased during the year to sixteen. At the session of 1843 the school in the west (McLean's) having proved a failure, a Board of Trustees were appointed to superintend the opening of a State Institution. The original members were His Excellency James Whitcomb, Royall Mayhew, Esq., William Sheets, Esq., Rev. Henry W. Beecher, Rev. Phineas D. Gurley, Rev. Love H. Jameson, Livingston Dunlap, M. D., Hon. James Morrison and Rev. Pres. Matthew Simpson. The question of a permanent location was left open, and the Governor was authorized to receive propositions on the subject. Mr. Willard was allowed a com-

[16] McLean was allowed $200 for his labors by joint resolution of February 11, 1843, which very truly said that "efforts of that kind on the part of a deaf and dumb citizen of Indiana should not be received as a gratuity by the State." Local Laws, p. 189.



INDIANA STATE PRISON, MICHIGAN CITY
(Drawn by an inmate)

pensation from the commencement of his school.[17] These Trustees, on the 1st of October following, adopted the private school in this city, and continued Mr. Willard as Principal. The number of pupils enrolled during the next year was twenty-three; the greatest actual attendance was nineteen. * * * It had been contemplated from the first, to ultimately appoint a Principal who could hear and speak. This intention was carried out, in June, 1845, by the appointment of the undersigned, his duties to commence on the 1st of August following. The highly valued services of Mr. Willard were continued in the capacity of an Assistant. The Legislature of 1845-6 permanently located the Asylum at Indianapolis and three thousand dollars were appropriated for the purchase of a site. * * * At the darkest hour of her trial, her finances in almost hopeless depression, while the cold, unpitying finger of scorn was beginning to point at her hitherto fair escutcheon, and the startling though scarce-breathed whisper was heard, 'Indiana will repudiate!' it was at this time our noble State remembered her unfortunate children the Deaf and Dumb, the Lunatic, and the Blind. She took them by the hand, and scorning to take the funds which others might claim, though locked in her own treasury, she taxed her citizens, to raise a special, a sacred revenue for their benefit. How stands the case now? Her credit is redeemed. A spacious building, even now erected, tells how she will house and care for the poor Lunatic; already has she gathered her blind from all quarters of her extensive domain, and presents, only four years after its organization, an Institution actually educating a greater number of Mutes, in proportion to her population, than any other State in the Union." [18]

The Willard school, when taken over by the State was housed in a frame building that stood at the southeast corner of Illinois and Maryland streets, where the Grand Hotel now stands, and later in the Kinder building, on Washington Street near Delaware, until the building was completed in 1850 on the permanent site on East Washington Street at State Avenue—then outside of the city. Thirty acres were purchased at first, and one hundred were added later. The original building cost $30,000. The institution remained at this site for half a century. In 1903 the legislature provided for its relocation, and two years later a site was selected north of the City, and about 77 acres were purchased. In 1907 the name of the institution was fixed by law as The Indiana State School for the Deaf. It is strictly an educational institution, with school year from September to June. Attendance is compulsory for

[17] Willard and his wife, both deaf mutes, had been teaching gratuitously to demonstrate what could be done in education.

[18] Report, Dec. 6, 1847.

deaf mute children from seven to eighteen years, if approved by the Board of Trustees, and residents of Indiana are admitted to the age of twenty-one. All expenses are borne by the State except clothing and traveling charges, which are paid by parents, or, in case of indigence, by the county from which received. The School was opened at its present site October 11, 1911, and is a model in buildings, furnishings and operation.

Provision for the insane was practically contemporaneous with that for the deaf and dumb, and there has been a lack of credit for the origin of its inception similar to that in other reforms. In an article in "The Survey," April 22, 29, 1916, Alexander Johnson says: "Twenty-eight years after the admission to the Union, Dorothea Dix, of blessed memory, came to Indiana with her gospel of humane and scientific care for the insane. One speech by her to the General Assembly of 1844, prepared for as it was by visits of inspection of the insane in almshouses and jails, within a few miles of the capitol, was enough to rouse the law makers, and they created the State Lunatic Asylum, the name of which was changed in 1846 to the Indiana Hospital for the Insane." Mr. Johnson was probably mislead by this claim being made for Miss Dix in her biography,[19] but she did not visit the State for some time after 1844. Her memorial to the legislature of Massachusetts, in which she attracted the attention of the nation by her statement: "I proceed, gentlemen, briefly to call your attention to the present state of insane persons confined within this Commonwealth, in cages, closets, cellars, stalls, pens; chained, naked, beaten with rods, and lashed into obedience," was dated January, 1843; and this was the beginning of her career as a legislative reformer, though she had been investigating for some time previously. After securing reform in Massachusetts she took up the same work in other states, and in the winter of 1844-5 visited Kentucky, and on March 31, 1845, she wrote: "I designed using the spring and summer chiefly in examining the jails and poorhouses of Indiana and Illinois. Having successfully completed my mission in Kentucky, I learned that traveling in the States referred to would be difficult, if not impossible, for some weeks to come, on account of mud and rains. This decided me to go down the Mississippi to examine the prisons and hospitals of New Orleans," etc. This she did, and the letter quoted was written on board ship, off South Carolina.[20] The origin of the Indiana reform belongs to the medical profession, whose members were taking interest in the demonstration that insanity was a disease, often curable, if taken in time. The reform work of Pinel in France, and William

[19] Life of Dorothea Lynde Dix, p. 134.

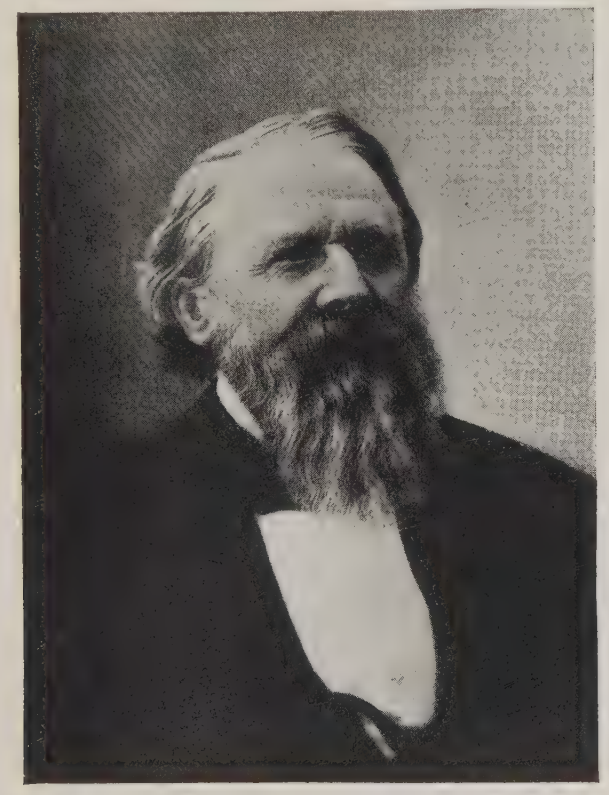
[20] Ib. p. 123.

Tuke in England, begun almost contemporaneously, and independently, in the closing years of the eighteenth century, had convinced the skeptical that a madhouse might be made an insane hospital; and the success of the hospitals opened at Philadelphia in 1817,[21] at Hartford in 1824, and at Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1830, had opened the eyes of intelligent physicians everywhere. In reality the medical aspect was not fully developed until Dr. John Conolly came on the stage in England about 1840.

In his message of December 7, 1841, Governor Bigger said: "When Indianapolis was established as the seat of our State Government, upon lands granted by Congress for that purpose, a lot of ample size was reserved by the State for the purpose of a Lunatic Asylum. Nothing has been done heretofore by the Legislature to carry out the object of this reservation, although the example of several neighboring States has been constantly before us for several years. In all the legislation respecting the insane, they have only been regarded as incapable of self-government. No provision has been made for the establishment of an institution where they may be placed, and submitted to proper medical treatment. The question is left for your decision, whether, and by what means, the object of the above reservation shall be effected." On its face, this has the appearance of a suggestion made by request, which is not an uncommon thing when influential persons have something that they desire to bring before the legislature, and to which the Governor does not wish to commit himself, while he desires to please them. It is certain that Governor Bigger did not manifest much interest in the project afterwards, and it is certain that a movement was on foot, for on January 5, 1842, one year before Miss Dix made her appeal to the Massachusetts legislature, Representative Hannegan presented to the Indiana House the memorial of Dr. John Evans, and Dr. Isaac Fisher, of Attica, with a number of other petitioners, in relation to the establishment of an asylum for the insane. Later developments showed that the moving spirit was Dr. Evans, who was one of the most notable men that ever lived in the State. It is recounted that one day he declared to a group of fellow Atticans, that "before he died, he intended to build a city, found a college, be governor of a state, go to the United States Senate, make himself famous and amass a fortune." He not only did all of that, and more, but he left a trail of beneficences half way across the continent. He was born near Waynesville, Ohio, March 9, 1814, and was descended from one of the oldest of the Quaker families of Pennsylvania. His great grandfather was a manufacturer of tools, at

[21] There was some medical treatment of the insane at the old hospital at Philadelphia at an earlier date.

Philadelphia, and this handicraft came down in the family, his great uncle, Owen Evans, being the inventor of the screw auger. His grandfather removed to South Carolina, but soon left there on account of his objections to slavery, and settled in the wilds of Ohio, where he farmed, and manufactured augers until he retired with a fortune. His son, David, John's father, was a farmer, and John grew up on the farm, with



Dr. John Evans

usual country school advantages. But when grown, he went to Philadelphia, and took a course at Clermont Academy. He then began the study of medicine, and took his degree in 1838. In 1839 he married Hannah Canby, a cousin of Gen. E. R. S. Canby, and they located at Attica, where he soon acquired a reputation as a physician and a financier.

The memorial of 1842 was referred to the Committee on Education, of which Dr. James Ritchey, of Franklin, himself a prominent physician,

was chairman, and on January 23, 1842, he made an extended report, setting forth the importance of the matter, and quoting a report of the Ohio asylum, from which, he said: "We find that there have been applications made for the admission of 13 insane persons from this State into the Ohio Lunatic Asylum. These applications have been refused for want of room. What burning shame should crimson the cheek of every Indianian on being informed of the foregoing fact." In view of the facts, and "the great necessity of speedy action upon this important subject," the Committee recommended the adoption of a resolution instructing the Governor to correspond with the superintendents of asylums in other states, and secure plans for buildings, and other information, which plans and information he shall communicate to the next General Assembly, with such recommendations on the subject of the immediate undertaking of the erection and establishment of an Indiana lunatic asylum as he may think proper." This resolution promptly passed both houses, and was approved by the Governor on January 31, 1842. The Governor apparently did nothing, at least nothing of importance, and did not mention the subject in his next message; but on December 27, 1842, a second memorial from Doctors Evans and Fisher was presented, "suggesting the propriety of appropriating Indiana's share of the proceeds of the public lands to the erection of a Lunatic Asylum." This was referred to the Committee on Finance, which, on January 2, 1843, reported its intense sympathy with the project, but, "with this most unhappy condition of so many of our fellow-citizens before us, it is with much regret that your committee, owing to the extremely embarrassed condition of the finances of the State, recommend a postponement of the further consideration of the subject." This was concurred in, and the Committee discharged; but the legislature showed its sentiment by a rather sharp resolution of February 13, 1843, declaring that delay in the matter was "criminal," and making it the duty of the Governor to correspond and report as before directed, "whereupon it shall be the duty of the legislature to adopt proper measures for the immediate erection of a Lunatic Asylum in the State of Indiana." [22]

In his message of December 5, 1843, Governor Bigger referred to this resolution, and said: "This duty has been attended to, and the documents and information which have been collected are in the possession of I. P. Smith, Esq., who is preparing plans and specifications in relation to an asylum, which will be ready to be laid before the legislature in the course of a few days." Smith was an architect at New Albany. The medical profession had resolved on a change of base, and, without

[22] Local Laws, p. 189.

waiting for Smith's report, on December 13, a communication from Dr. James Matthews was presented in the Senate, and referred to the Committee on Education. On December 19, Senator Carr, of Lawrence, reported from this Committee deep sympathy and appreciation of the importance of the measure, but owing to the great debt of the State, and the heavy taxes, "under the circumstances it would be inexpedient to legislate upon that subject at present." But the Senate would not have this disposal of the subject, and on motion of Senator Buell, the communication of Dr. Matthews was recommitted to the Committee on Education, with instructions, "To report the probable expense of an asylum, the time it will take to complete it, and all other matters thereto appertaining." This was followed by an invitation to Dr. Evans to address the legislature on the subject; also by a second communication from Dr. Matthews, which with the plans of Mr. Smith, was also referred to the same Committee. Dr. Evans made an able presentation of the entire subject before the legislature and a large audience of citizens.[23] The majority of the Committee on Education had an access of light; and on January 12, 1844, Dr. Ritchey reported for the Committee, urging immediate action, and recommending a tax of one cent on $100. The report was adopted, and the tax levied. At the beginning of the next session, Dr. Evans was promptly on hand with another memorial; and there was an improvement in the situation. Governor Whitcomb had come into office, and he warmly espoused the charitable work, notwithstanding his anxiety to get out of the financial tangle. In his opening message he said: "While on this subject, I desire earnestly to call your attention to the importance of providing an institution for the education of the Blind, and for the construction of a Lunatic Asylum. Modern philanthropy has happily devised the means of educating those who are deprived of sight, and we should regard it as a sacred debt which we owe to these unfortunates to afford them the benefit of this benevolent discovery. It is now ascertained that insanity, the most terrible disease which afflicts our race, will in a majority of cases, readily yield to medicine, and kind treatment, if these means are resorted to in time. Its wretched subjects would thus be restored to the kindly charities of the domestic circle, to the benefits of society, and to their various relations, obligations, and advantages as members of the State. Surely these unfortunate classes are entitled to our warmest sympathy, and their relief to the extent of our ability, is called for by sound economy, by enlightened policy, by the gratitude we owe to a merciful Provi-

[23] It was printed in full in the Sentinel of Dec. 29 and 30.

THE NORTHERN HOSPITAL FOR INSANE, LOGANSPORT
Cottages, Department for Men

dence, for our own exemption from these evils, and by the obligations of religion."

This emphasis on religion, giving Governor Whitcomb credit for the utmost sincerity, suggests the possibility of an influence, perhaps unconscious, of church politics. As has been mentioned, Governor Bigger was defeated for re-election largely through the influence of the Methodists. Dr. Evans had become an intimate of Bishop Simpson, and under his eloquent preaching had become converted, and joined the Methodist church, of which he was thereafter one of the most zealous and useful lay members. He was an able politician, of the better class, and it is hardly imaginable that he did not make himself felt in that campaign. At any rate, he was on the best of terms with Governor Whitcomb. His memorial and the part of the Governor's message quoted were referred to the Senate Committee on Education, and on December 28, 1844, Dr. Ritchey reported for the Committee in favor of creating a commission to purchase a site, and take charge of the erection of a building. An act for that purpose was approved January 13, 1845, making Dr. John Evans, Dr. Livingston Dunlap, and James Blake commissioners. They selected and purchased the Bolton farm, west of the river, which had been made historic by its "Mount Jackson Tavern," presided over by Sarah T. Bolton. They wanted more light before adopting plans, but had no "junketing" appropriation. Evans volunteered to visit existing institutions at his own expense, and trust to the legislature to reimburse him. He went to all of the principal institutions of the country, consulted experts and reformers, including Miss Dix, and on June 22, 1845, reported the results to the Commission, with admirable detail not only as to the general plan of a building, but also as to the practical features of water supply, heating, drainage, ventilation, and the like. This was submitted to the legislature with the Commission's report. They had discarded the Smith plans, and had new ones made by John R. Elder, of Indianapolis, utilizing the information collected by Evans. By act of February 19, 1846, they were directed to proceed with the work; additional appropriations were made; and they were authorized to sell Hospital Square, No. 22, and use the proceeds. The building was begun promptly, and pushed as fast as the proceeds of the tax would allow. Two wards were opened for patients in December, 1848, accommodating forty applicants, and the remainder of the South wing was completed in the summer of 1849. The entire building, when finished in 1850, had cost $75,000.

Dr. Evans continued with the institution until the summer of 1848. After the passage of the act of 1846, the Commission felt the need of a Superintendent of construction, and decided that Evans was the one

man for the place. He resigned from the Commission to accept it, and Dr. J. S. Bobbs was appointed in his place. Evans had removed to Indianapolis, where he had an extensive practice in addition to his work on the building; but in 1845 he had been appointed a lecturer at Rush Medical College, at Chicago, and he foresaw the possibilities of that city, which he had first visited with some farmer friends who tried hauling produce overland to that point from Attica, instead of flat-boating to New Orleans. He removed to Chicago in 1848, and at once became a leading spirit there, his first move being the issue of a pamphlet combatting accepted ideas on cholera, and advocating strict quarantine as a preventive. He edited for a number of years the Northwestern Medical and Surgical Journal, and founded the Illinois General Hospital of the Lakes, later Mercy Hospital. He was instrumental in establishing the Methodist Book Concern, and the Northwestern Christian Advocate. He was one of the promoters of the Fort Wayne & Chicago Railroad, secured its valuable right of way into Chicago, and was for years its resident managing director. By wise real estate investments he acquired a fortune. In 1853 he became the chief promoter of Northwestern University, and selected its site, which was named Evanston in his honor. By reserving a quarter of each block for endowment, and making investments for it in the heart of Chicago, he established its splendid financial foundation—he also endowed chairs to the extent of $100,000, and was president of the Board of Trustees for forty-two years. He also got into politics as a city councilman, in 1852-3, and did good work for the Chicago schools by securing the appointment of a superintendent of schools, and the establishment of the first high school. He was an original Republican, and ran for Congress in 1855, but was defeated because he would not indorse the Knownothing doctrine. He had become a personal friend of Abraham Lincoln while at Attica, and as a delegate to the convention of 1860, helped nominate him for President. In 1861 Lincoln offered to appoint him Governor of Washington Territory, which he declined; but in 1862 he accepted an appointment as Governor of Colorado territory, and became its active war Governor. In 1865 Colorado elected him United States Senator, and asked admission to the Union; but the move was prevented by the hostility of President Johnson. He inaugurated the movement for Colorado Seminary, later the University of Denver, in 1863, and made donations to it to the amount of $150,000. In 1869, when the Union Pacific built its line north of Denver, and refused to connect with that city, he secured the Denver Pacific land grant from Congress, and built the road from Denver to Cheyenne, 106 miles. Next he built the South Park Railroad; and then started the Denver, Texas and Gulf, to give the shortest possible line

to the seaboard. In 1870, on the completion of the line to Cheyenne, a state celebration was held at Greeley, and Mount Evans was named in his honor—the name being formally confirmed by the legislature of Colorado in 1895, on his eighty-first birthday. Such was the monument prepared for him when he died at Denver, July 3, 1897.

I have dwelt on this phase of Indiana history because it is a remarkable illustration of the influence of a persistent and resourceful man. It is really extraordinary that Indiana launched as she did in benevolent enterprises at a period when her financial condition seemed almost hopeless; and evidently it was largely the result of the relentless energy of Dr. Evans. His contemporaries showed some recognition of this. In 1846, the Insane Hospital Commissioners, James Blake, and Doctors Dunlap and Bobbs, testified that he was "the first to press the duty of making provision for the insane of this State upon the attention of the Legislature."[24] In 1847, Miss Dix wrote: "To the present superintendent of this excellent work, Dr. Evans, the citizens of Indiana owe a debt of gratitude which few can estimate, because it is but few who have the opportunity of understanding the measure of his labors or the ability requisite for devising and carrying out such plans as are comprised in the Indiana State Hospital for the Insane."[25] It may be noted here that it was in 1847 that Dorothea Dix visited Indiana and inspected jails and poor-houses, not merely "within a few miles of the capitol," but in half of the counties in the State. She had by that time carried her crusade into a number of states, and had found conditions much the same everywhere. In Indiana she found conditions rather better than the average—so much so that the Journal, in which her letters were published, from August to October, congratulated the State on the showing, and said: "In nearly every case where it ('suffering humanity') goes unprovided for, it is attributed to a misdirection of the charitable funds for which the people have cheerfully suffered themselves to be taxed."[26] She found several counties that had no poor-houses, and others where there were bad results from farming the houses out. A large amount of her criticism was of the jails, not only the old log jails, of which there were still a number, but also of more pretentious new structures, which appeared to have been built more for show than for use. She might have made that criticism of almost any public building in Indiana, up to the present time. This is not due to lack of precaution, for the usual course is to have a commission, and competitive plans, with expert advisers; but having taken the precau-

[24] Second Annual Report, p. 55.
[25] Journal, Aug. 27, 1847.
[26] Journal, Oct. 15, 1847.

tions, the commissions usually follow the same old stupid course of going in for looks, with little regard for the practical use of the building. In consequence, we have already entered on the period of altering and reconstructing buildings that were designed to last for a century, and not infrequently to the damage of that architectural beauty which was their chief commendation at the outset. It may also be noted that as

Dorothea L. Dix

a result of this "publicity" from Miss Dix, improvements were speedily made at several of the points criticised.

With the ice broken by provision for the deaf and dumb and the insane, that for the blind came more easily. The prime mover in this was James M. Ray. He was a native of New Jersey, born in 1800, who came to Lawrenceburgh in 1818, and served there as deputy in the County Clerk's office, and later in the same capacity at Connersville. He came to Indianapolis in 1821, and was clerk at the first sale of lots. The next

year he was elected County Clerk, and was continued in that office, and as County Recorder, until the organization of the State Bank, in 1834, when he was made Cashier of that institution. He held that position during its existence, and was then made Cashier of its successor, the Bank of the State of Indiana, continuing until made its President. He was a rock-ribbed Presbyterian, and active in every good work. He was prominent in organizing the local Bible Society and the first Sunday School at Indianapolis; was secretary of the first Temperance Society, the Colonization Society, and the first Fire Company, and was treasurer of the Indianapolis Benevolent Society from its organization in 1836. During the Civil war he was an enthusiastic Union man, and was treasurer of the Indiana Branch of the Christian Commission, of the Indiana Freedman's Aid Commission, and of the Indiana Soldiers' and Sailors' Home. When his career was ended by death, on February 22, 1881, he was President of the Board of Trustees of Crown Hill Cemetery. During the legislative session of 1844-5, Ray brought W. H. Churchman to Indianapolis, with several pupils from the Kentucky School for the Blind, and had exhibitions of their work, with lectures, in Henry Ward Beecher's church, which were attended by the legislators, and which induced them to pass a law for a tax of two mills on $100 for the education of the blind. At the next session, Ray, Dr. George W. Mears, and the Auditor, Treasurer and Secretary of State were made a Commission to control the fund, and were directed, until a school was established in Indiana, to furnish blind children of Indiana with instruction in the Schools at Louisville and Columbus. This system did not prove satisfactory; and the Commission next sent Churchman over the State to lecture, report on the number of blind children, and persuade their parents to have them educated. Churchman was an interesting character. After becoming blind, himself, he was educated at the Blind Institute at Philadelphia, and devoted himself to the education of others. He had taught for four years at the Ohio Institute, and had been Principal of the one in Tennessee. On October 1, 1847, the Commission opened a school at Illinois and Maryland in the building formerly occupied by the Deaf and Dumb school, with Churchman in charge. It opened with nine pupils and increased to thirty during the year. The Commission purchased two blocks, now occupied by the Blind School and St. Clair Park, and erected a three story building, later used for a work-shop, to which the school was removed in September, 1848. The Asylum, or main building, was completed in 1851, at a cost of $50,000, and has ever since been occupied, wings being added as the institution developed. It may be added in passing that Churchman was a student of practical sciences, and read a paper on "The Air We

Breathe''—a treatise on ventilation—before the Western Social Science Association, at Chicago, in 1870, which was later published in book form.

Nothing further was done by the State in the line of establishing penal or charitable institutions until 1859, when, on account of the growth of the Southern prison, or rather the increase of criminals convicted, and the complaints of the people of the North end of the State of the expense of conveying them to Jeffersonville, a law was passed for the establishment of a prison ''north of the National Road.'' The Directors located it originally at Fort Wayne, but Gov. Willard would not approve this location. Its location at Michigan City was made on March 1, 1860, and, in pursuance of the original law, a detachment of convicts was sent from Jeffersonville to aid in its construction. These arrived at Michigan City on April 5, and the work was begun. The institution was made a receiving prison by act of June 1, 1861, for all males sentenced to state prison from counties north of the National Road. It was continued on that basis until 1897, when a law was adopted for a new basis of division, using the Jeffersonville institution as a Reformatory for younger men, while men sentenced to death, or to life imprisonment, together with men over thirty years of age convicted of felony, were required to be imprisoned at Michigan City.[27] In 1909 a law was passed for the establishment of the Indiana Hospital for Insane Criminals, which was completed in 1911, in an inclosure adjoining the State Prison, and is under the same management. A defendant in a criminal case may be sent to this institution by the court, if adjudged to be insane; and insane criminals may be transferred to it from the Reformatory, or from the Hospitals for the Insane. If a criminal under sentence is cured of insanity at this hospital, he is returned to complete his sentence.

No other State institutions were established until after the Civil war, and there was a very comfortable feeling in the State that it was in the van of progress in charitable management, and so it was, though medical science had not arrived at its present development. The Insane Hospital was opened under R. J. Patterson, as Medical Superintendent. He had been Senior Assistant Physician at the Ohio Lunatic Asylum, and was a very good physician, as was also his successor, Dr. James S. Athon; but it will probably cause the alienist of today to smile, to note among the ''causes of insanity'' of the patients, ''Blowing a fife all night,'' in 1848; and ''Husband in California,'' and ''Use of Thompsonian medicines,'' in 1852. The afflicted from ''Husbands in California'' increased to three in 1853, which ought to be a solemn warning to husbands contem-

[27] Laws 1897, p. 69.

plating trips to that state. There may be a suggestion of the influence of "schools of medicine" in the fact that the man deranged by use of Thompsonian medicines never recovered—his case was hopeless. But there was not the same complacency as to the penal system that there was as to the State charities. Governor Whitcomb established a record as a reformer by his discussion of penal affairs in his message of December 2, 1845, as follows: "The policy of confinement in county jails, as a punishment for crime, may, in most cases, well be questioned. It is not only a serious burden to the counties, but it is believed to be incompatible with reformation, which is the leading purpose of criminal punishment. The attainment of this object may be hoped for by the penitentiary system, when made to combine imprisonment with hard labor, and a suitable moral discipline. But this system, under our present laws only operates upon the higher classes of offenders, and has no bearing upon prisoners in the county jails. Yet there is far more hope of reclaiming the latter by this system than the former, who, generally speaking, are more practiced in crime. As a remedy for this evil, the application of penitentiary discipline upon those guilty of minor offences, as well as upon juvenile and female offenders, by means of Houses of Correction, is respectfully recommended. They should be established with an eye to the comfort and separate employment of the inmates, and to the exercise of a kindly, but firm and steady discipline. By this means vicious associations would be prevented, and habits of industry formed. For all who are the children of misfortune, rather than of crime (and of such are most of those who have committed only their first offence) such a retreat would be, not only in name, but in fact, houses of refuge.

"A principal obstacle to the permanent reformation of the penitentiary convict is, that having lost his self-respect, and despairing of ever regaining the good opinion of the community, he feels at his release that his character is gone and that he has nothing worth living for but the mere support of his animal existence. To obviate this difficulty as far as possible, I established a rule that, on a written report from the clerk of the prison that a convict had faithfully complied with the rules of the prison, and by his exemplary conduct had given evidence of reformation, he should be restored to the rights of citizenship—to the same platform whence he had descended, by a pardon, bearing on its face the cause of its being granted. Four convicts have already availed themselves of this privilege since last February when the rule was first established, and I am informed by the clerk that more had entitled themselves to, and would gladly have availed themselves of this favor, but for the fact that they would thereby lose the small sum of money which, under

THE INDIANA SCHOOL FOR THE BLIND, INDIANAPOLIS

Girls' Dormitory

Boys' Dormitory

an existing law, is paid to every convict at the end of the time for which he is sentenced, as a necessary means of support, until he can get into reputable employment. I recommend that the same law be made to apply to all cases where the prisoner is released by pardon, within a given time before the expiration of his sentence, and expressly on the ground of good conduct."

The legislature did nothing on these lines—not even extending to pardoned prisoners the release payment of $3 provided by the act of February 17, 1838. In his message of December 7, 1846, Governor Whitcomb again urged "the policy of establishing houses of Refuge for the moral discipline of juvenile and female offenders, instead of the present barbarous, unhealthy and expensive mode of punishment by imprisonment in the county jails." In 1847, he again urged "the policy of establishing houses of Refuge, in districts embracing a sufficient number of counties for the purpose, for the punishment and moral discipline of female and juvenile delinquents; where they will be beyond the contagion of confirmed vice and hoary crime." In 1850, Governor Wright went still farther, saying: "Each county should be prepared with buildings for the reception of juvenile offenders, so constructed and furnished as to provide for the regular occupation of all the inmates. It is idle to talk of reforming the young man, who, for his first offence, has been convicted for stealing property of the value of five dollars, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment in the State Prison, thus placing him by the side of the murderer. We must place the young and juvenile offender where his associations and intercourse are with those who will exercise an influence for good and not with the old and hardened in crime. Our county prisons should be converted into workshops—into houses of industry—wearing the appearance of decency and order. Active employment should be required of all its occupants; for idleness itself often proves to be the school of vice. In this way we may not only reform the prisoners, but we should compel them to contribute to their own support, and to pay, by the sweat of the brow, the penalty of the violated law, and cost of conviction, thus directly relieving the counties from a heavy burden which they now pay to sustain those imprisoned." In this message, Governor Wright also informed the legislature that he had purchased "two hundred volumes of Religious, Historical, Agricultural and Biographical works," for the use of the convicts at Jeffersonville, the selection having been made by Dorothea Dix, at his request. He expressed his pleasure that "a large portion of the convicts read with interest this excellent selection"; which constituted the first institutional library in Indiana.

It was very natural that with this kind of admonition, the Constitu-

tional Convention of 1851 provided: "The General Assembly shall provide Houses of Refuge for the correction and reformation of juvenile offenders." In his message of December 2, 1851, Governor Wright again called attention to "the policy of establishing Houses of Refuge and Work Shops in counties or districts, for the punishment and reformation of juvenile offenders. This duty is now positively enjoined upon you by the Constitution." But nothing was done; nor was there any action on his repeated recommendation to the same effect in 1853. In his message of January 4, 1855, he said: "The Constitution that you have sworn to support, declares that the General Assembly 'shall provide Houses of Refuge, for the correction and reformation of juvenile offenders' Of two hundred and sixty-seven men in the State Prison, thirty-six are under twenty years of age; and more than one-half of the whole number are under twenty-five years of age. The youth of sixteen is found by the side of the old offender, and deprived of all associates other than those who are hardened in crime. All prisoners convicted of the first offence, and all youthful convicts, should be placed in situations where they would receive the kind advice of parents, guardians or friends. By adopting this policy, our prisons will soon become houses of reformation, as well as places of punishment." This appeal finally brought action; and by act of March 3, 1855, the Governor, Treasurer of State and Superintendent of Public Instruction, were authorized to purchase not less than 50, nor more than 100, acres of land for a State House of Refuge; and to prepare plans for a building to cost not more than $35,000; and further to prepare a system of management, in form of a law which would make the institution "not simply a place of correction, but a reform school, where the young convict, separated from vicious associates, may by careful physical, intellectual, and moral training, be reformed and restored to the community, with purposes and character fitting him for a good citizen, an honorable and honest man."[28] But in 1857, Governor Wright reported that the commission could not obey their instructions under the "restrictions and limitations of the act," and so had done nothing; he also suggested three houses of refuge, and this suggestion met no response.

The situation came to Governor Willard with the law of 1855 in force, and no action taken. In April, 1860, he, with the State officers named, purchased of Gen. James P. Drake 100 acres of land about four miles west of Indianapolis, for the proposed institution. Governor Willard died in October, 1860, and at the opening of the session of 1861, Governor Hammond reported the purchase, and said: "The importance

[28] Acts 1855, p. 191.

of such an institution cannot be overestimated, and it has had the frequent recommendations of my predecessors. In view of the fact that the penitentiary to a young mind is a perfect school for vice; that mere boys are sentenced there in order to avoid an expense to the county for their maintenance in the county jail; and that by contact with old offenders, they come out at the end of their term as vicious as their instructors, I can hardly conceive a want more seriously felt than this. * * * The establishment of a House of Refuge upon the ground selected and purchased for that purpose, is imperatively demanded—demanded alike by good morals and sound policy—and I recommend that prompt and adequate action be taken by you in the matter." But no action was taken; and in 1865, in his message of November 14, to the Special Session, Governor Morton called attention to the fact that since the purchase, "nothing further has been done to carry into execution the provisions of the Constitution on this subject." He said: "Institutions of this description have ceased to be an experiment, numbers of them having been established in other States of the Union, with the most beneficial results. I most earnestly recommend that immediate steps be taken for carrying into execution, with the least possible delay, this requirement of the Constitution." Again no action was taken; and in his message of January 11, 1867, Governor Morton brought up the subject once more, but with a new feature. He said: "We have no punishment now for the juvenile offender but the common jail and the penitentiary, neither of which exert a reformatory influence upon the youthful mind; and during my six years' experience as the Executive of the State, I have often been constrained to pardon the youthful criminal because I felt that to incarcerate him in the penitentiary would be to consign him to a life of degradation and crime. Humanity, justice, and the plainest principles of public policy, demand that the juvenile offender shall not be treated like the mature and hardened criminal, and placed in the society of felons; but that an effort shall be made while he is yet in tender years, to reclaim him from vice and train him to a life of usefulness and respectability. The 'House of Refuge,' as it has long existed in many of the older States, is a vast improvement upon the jail and the penitentiary; but within the last few years great progress has been made in elevating the system, and results have been obtained in the reform and education of juvenile offenders that are truly wonderful. The introduction of the 'Reform School' is, in many respects, a great improvement upon the old House of Refuge, and has been attended with a success which it would be hard to believe, were it not attested by indubitable evidence. Barnabas C. Hobbs and Charles F. Coffin, distinguished members of the Society of Friends, have bestowed

much attention and labor upon the subject, and have addressed to me valuable communications, which I herewith lay before you, together with reports and documents setting forth the character and operations of the Reform Schools of New York, Ohio and Illinois."

This reinforcement of the forces of reform is of special historic interest. Prof. Harlow Lindley says: "While Friends have been very active in prison reform since the days of George Fox, who had occasion to recognize the need of prison reform, no organization of Friends has officially undertaken the work except in Indiana. The first committee was appointed in 1867, and it is no exaggeration to affirm that their action was largely responsible for the establishment of the Boys' Reform School in 1869, of the Woman's Prison in 1873 (three of whose four superintendents have been Friends), and of the Indiana Board of State Charities."[29] No doubt Friends Hobbs and Coffin had influence in getting action, but not enough to control the name of the institution, which was established as a "House of Refuge."[30] The Governor was directed to appoint three commissioners, who were to select and purchase a site, and erect a building, for which purposes $50,000 and the proceeds of the sale of the 100 acres purchased in 1860 were appropriated. The Commissioners appointed were Charles F. Coffin, A. C. Downey, and Joseph Orr; and they acted so promptly that on January 1, 1868, Governor Baker proclaimed the institution open for inmates. It started off with Francis B. Ainsworth and wife as superintendent and matron, and the need for it was shown by 112 boys being received the first year. It has had a notable career, making perhaps its greatest advances under Thomas Jefferson Charlton, who was Superintendent from 1880 to 1901. He was a native of Indiana, born in Switzerland County, March 17, 1847. He enlisted in the Union army at 17, and at the close of the war entered Hanover, graduating in 1870. He read law and was admitted to practice, but disliked it, and began teaching at Patriot. He was later superintendent of schools at North Vernon and at Vincennes; and then went to Plainfield, where his service was terminated by resignation, on account of health. He died at Beechhurst sanitarium, at Louisville, February 23, 1904. The institution has long been noted for progressive ideas, perhaps its most known features being its fine band and its publication, started in 1901 as the Reform School Advocate, and now known as the Indiana Boys' Advocate. The name of the institution was changed to the Indiana Boys' School in 1903.

Contemporaneous with the establishment of the House of Refuge was that of the Soldier's and Seamen's Home. On May 15, 1865, Gover-

[29] The Quakers in the Old Northwest, p. 14.

[30] Acts 1867, p. 137.

nor Morton issued an address advocating the establishment of a home for disabled soldiers and sailors. Two public meetings were held at Indianapolis, and at the second, on May 24, an organization was effected. Indianapolis offered the use of its City Hospital, and the Home was opened there on August 27, 1865. In the spring of 1866, the board of

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directors purchased the "Knightstown Springs," and the Home was removed to that institution in April. Governor Morton called the subject to the attention of the legislature in his message of November 14, 1865, but nothing was done. Another appeal, in his message of January 11, 1867, was more successful, and by act of March 11, 1867, provision was made for a home for the soldiers and sailors, and also for their widows and orphans. The Knightstown institution was taken over by the State, and occupied for these purposes until December 25, 1871, when the men's building was destroyed by fire, and they were removed

to the National Military Home at Dayton, Ohio. The orphans remained sole occupants until 1879, when a law was passed for the care of feeble-minded children at the same place. This continued until 1887, when the School for Feeble Minded Youth was established at Fort Wayne, and they were removed. The Home was twice after destroyed by fire, on September 8, 1877, and July 21, 1886, but was promptly rebuilt. No further provision was made by the State for the soldiers and sailors until 1895, when the legislature established the Indiana State Soldiers' Home at Lafayette. The feeble-minded children at Knightstown were removed in 1887 to temporary quarters at the Eastern Hospital for the Insane at Richmond, and remained there until the institution at Fort Wayne was opened July 8, 1890.

At the session of 1869 a bomb was exploded that shook Indiana throughout its whole extent. In his message of January 8, 1869, Governor Baker said: "The subject of prisons and prison discipline is one of great importance, and is attracting increased attention throughout the country. It will not be many years before the State will require additional prison accommodations, and in anticipation of that event I desire to call attention to the propriety and necessity of providing a system of graded prisons. The man who is convicted of the first offense of which he has been guilty, especially if he be a young man, ought not to be confined with and put under the influence and tuition of professional criminals whose entire lives have been hardened by crime. There should, when increased prison accommodations are required, be established an intermediate prison, between the House of Refuge and the present State Prisons, to which the more youthful and less hardened offenders should be sent, and where reformatory influences would be exerted over the prisoners to a much greater extent than is possible in our existing penitentiaries. Under such a system, and with power lodged somewhere to transfer incorrigible prisoners from the intermediate prison to the penitentiaries, and with authority also to transfer prisoners who, by their good conduct for a series of years give evidence of reformation, from the penitentiary to the intermediate prison, we might hope more effectually to comply with that provision of the bill of rights which declares that the penal code shall be founded on the principles of reformation and not of vindictive justice. There is however, a present and pressing necessity for a separate prison for female convicts. There are now some nineteen or twenty women incarcerated in the Southern Prison, to the great detriment of sound morality as well as the good government of the institution. Moral, sanitary and disciplinary considerations concur in demanding that these women, as speedily as possible, should be removed to a prison to be provided exclusively for

Southern Hospital for Insane, Evansville
General View. Built on the Radiate Plan

their sex, and to be under the government of women. Their labor is, under existing circumstances, of no value to the State, and the cells now occupied by them will soon be required for male convicts. Another want equally pressing is that of a reformatory institution for girls. It is impossible to receive girls in the House of Refuge at Plainfield without destroying its reformatory character, and converting it into a juvenile prison, I therefore urgently recommend that a separate prison for female convicts be established with the least practicable delay, and that there be connected with it on the same grounds and under the same direction and management, but in different buildings, a reformatory for girls. The number of female convicts, as compared with the other sex, is not large, so that an Institution of very moderate capacity would meet the necessities of the case, and the expense which would be occasioned by providing such an institution would be abundantly compensated by the good which would be accomplished as well as by the evil that would be avoided. I have no sympathy with those who think that crime when committed by a woman ought not to be punished; but only insist that the punishment should be adapted to the condition of the offender, and that the laws of common morality and decency ought not to be ignored in its infliction. The fact that it is so difficult to convict women of penitentiary offences, shows that the public sense of justice and propriety revolts at the idea of sending them to the State Prisons, and I know of only one other worse place to which a woman could be sent and that is to the County jail in any of the larger towns or cities of the State. I commend the subject to your careful consideration, with the expression of the hope that the result of your deliberations will show that the cause of these unfortunate women has not been presented in vain."

Earnest as this language is, it hardly suggests what the Governor was holding in reserve. In the preceding winter he had summoned Charles F. Coffin and Rhoda M. Coffin, his wife, two of the Friends interested in prison work, and connected with the Committee which the Friends had appointed the year before; and asked them to make personal investigation of the two prisons and report to him. After recounting their arrival at Jeffersonville, with the Governor's official appointment and letters of introduction, and their gracious reception, Mrs. Coffin says: "We then separated, taking different portions of the prison, to talk with the prisoners. One of the prisoners said to me, 'I thank you, you are so welcome, we are all glad to hear you and your husband, you do us good, but do, for God's sake, do something for those poor women, their condition is terrible, it is perfectly awful,' and then, after being careful that he was not overheard, he told me that a number

of the guards had keys to the women's prison and entered when they wished to gratify their lusts. If the women could be bought up they gave them trinkets or goods out of the government stores, if they did not yield they were reported as incorrigible and stripped and whipped in the presence of as many as wished to look on. In the court of the prison there was a large reservoir where the men prisoners were obliged to

RHODA M. COFFIN

bathe once a week. On Sabbath afternoons the women prisoners were brought out and compelled to strip, and thus exposed, required to run from the opposite side the court and jump into the water the guards using, if necessary, their lashes to drive them out to the howling amusement of the guards and their friends who were permitted to be present; keeping it up as long as they pleased. There were children who had been born in the prison, their mothers having been there for several years. One baby we saw, but a few months old, the mother had been

there for two years. This story was repeated by four men prisoners in different cells, who urged me to do something. When my husband and I met we compared views and each had the same story. We said nothing to anyone, except, in a private interview with the chaplain; he was loath to say anything for fear he would lose his position, but finally admitted that it was all true and much more."[31]

They made their report to the Governor, and after a long interview it was decided to keep the matter secret until an investigation could be made by the legislature. This was quietly arranged for by the Governor, with reputable members, and so got to work without flushing the offenders. The testimony more than confirmed Mrs. Coffin's statement, and the State stood aghast at the printed testimony. Zebulon R. Brockway was brought here from Detroit, and he and Charles F. Coffin were invited to address the legislature on the need of a separate prison for females. There was no difficulty in passing the bill for the Women's Prison and Girls' Reformatory, which had been drawn by Governor Baker himself, but it was not wholly under the management of women at the beginning. Men were too skeptical of the business ability of women for that. A commission of three men was provided to purchase grounds, erect buildings, and control the finances; but a Board of Visitors was created to manage the prison, composed of two women and one man; the first board being composed of Rhoda M. Coffin, Adaline Roache (wife of Judge A. C. Roache) and Lewis Jordan. The building was completed, and inmates received, on October 8, 1873. The Superintendent was Sarah J. Smith, a Friend, who had been Matron of the Home for the Friendless at Indianapolis, and who aided in securing the passage of the law. The law apparently contemplated this, for it provided that: "The Superintendent and all the subordinate officers of said institution shall be females; provided, however, that if a married woman shall be appointed Superintendent, or to any subordinate position, the husband of such appointee may, with the consent of the Board, reside in the institution, and may be assigned such duties or employment as the Board of Managers may prescribe." Under this, James Smith, the Superintendent's husband was made Steward of the Prison.

This system continued until 1877, when the fight was made for exclusive control by women. In this the women were backed by ex-Governor Baker, Governor Thomas A. Hendricks, Senator Robert Bell, and numbers of men and women interested in reform work, and the bill was passed, with some misgivings even among those who voted for it as to the ability of women to manage such a business institution; which was

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[31] Rhoda M. Coffin. Reminiscences, etc., pp. 149-161.

not surprising, as it was the first institution in the world to be put in charge of women. The first women's board was composed of Rhoda M. Coffin, Adaline Roache, and Eliza C. Hendricks; and the knowledge of male skepticism put them to their best efforts. They had their reward when Governor James D. Williams announced to them, on a visit to the institution, "This is the best managed institution in the State, the most economical, the best work done, and the reports are the best of any of the State institutions. I, this morning, signed an order that the reports of all the other State institutions should be made as yours are, and the books kept as yours are kept." The women have maintained a high reputation for management ever since. The institution has had one or two catastrophes, but so have the others, and it has always recovered quickly and in good shape. In 1903 the legislature provided for a separate institution for girls under 18 years of age, and in July, 1907, the girls were removed to the present Girls' School at Clermont. The quarters vacated by them were appropriated for females over 18, convicted of misdemeanors, as distinguished from felonies; their side of the prison being known as the Correctional side, and the other as the Penal side. The fame of this institution has gone abroad, and it has been the example for similar establishments elsewhere. Charles Dudley Warner says that when Matthew Arnold came to New York, the place in the West as to which he expressed greatest curiosity was Indianapolis, for which he had no reason but that "the name had always fascinated him; "but when Warner came to Indianapolis in 1886, he wrote: "The novel institution, however, that I saw at Indianapolis is a reformatory for women and girls, controlled entirely by women. The board of trustees are women, the superintendent, physician and keepers are women."[32] He might have added that the only man allowed about the place is the engineer, and he comes near being "under surveillance."

It is a long step from the penal conditions of women in Indiana from the beginnings of the State to the present. The original law for the State Prison made no distinction as to sex of convicts, but no women were sent there. With no apparent authority, they were sent to the jails. On May 27, 1826, a thrifty tax-payer called attention in the Vincennes Sun that the jailor charged $2.18¼ per week for board of women in the jail, and credited the county only 75 cents; and asked, "Why not have separate apartments for women in the penitentiary, and set them at hard labor there?" By act of February 10, 1831, it was provided that in case of conviction of a female for a prison offense, "it shall and may be lawful for such female, in lieu of such imprisonment in the State

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[32] Studies in the South and West, pp. 245-6.

Prison, to be imprisoned in the jail of the proper county, at hard labour, under the direction of the jailer." The first woman recorded at the prison was Martha Zugg, who was imprisoned in 1840 for manslaughter. In 1846, she was followed by a widow named Rebecca M. Phillips, who was convicted of forgery, and always claimed that she was innocent. There were never more than two women in the prison until 1857, when the number increased to six, and Chaplain Runcie called for a matron. The first step of improvement was in 1867, when it was provided by law that women convicts might to sentenced to imprisonment in a Home for Friendless Women, that had been established by "any city or private corporators." This was for the benefit of the Indianapolis and Richmond institutions of that name, and lasted only for the two years until the Women's Prison was established.

After 1869, there was a lull in penal and charitable legislation until 1883, when the increasing numbers of the insane called for action. The leader in the work of securing legislation was Dr. Joseph Goodwin Rogers. He was born at Madison, November 23, 1841. His father, Joseph H. D. Rogers, was a relative of George Rogers Clark, and was one of the pioneer physicians of the State—a man of giant stature, and of high professional standing. The son was never strong, and from the age of 12 to 18 was confined to his bed by a disease of the spine, during which time he became a great reader, and this, coupled with an active mind, made him notable for his extensive and varied information and resourcefulness. He graduated in medicine at Bellevue in 1864, and served as an army surgeon to the close of the war; after which he spent two years in Europe, attending clinics and visiting hospitals. He then took up the practice of medicine, with some side lines. He made the first quantitative analysis of Orange County mineral waters, and gave the name to Pluto's Well. In 1874 he read a paper before a meeting of railroad men on Steam Boiler Incrustation, proposing its removal and prevention by the use of tannate of soda. He later invented a water purifier at Longcliff that obviated the use of tannate. In 1876 he was induced to take an appointment as assistant superintendent of the Central Hospital, and in 1879 was made superintendent. The institution was terribly overcrowded, and could not meet the demands of the State, although it had been much enlarged since its original construction. By a well-organized campaign he secured the law of 1883 for three additional Insane Hospitals. He was appointed Medical Engineer by the commission appointed to locate and construct them, and practically planned them and superintended their construction. They represented the three most advanced theories of building for such institutions, that at Logansport, known as "Longcliff," on the block or pavilion plan;

School for Feeble-Minded Youth, Fort Wayne

School Building

Administration Building and Children's Quarters

that at Richmond, known as "Easthaven," on the cottage plan; and that at Evansville, known as "Woodmere," on the radiate plan. The first opened for patients on July 1, 1888; the second on August 4, 1890, (after housing the feeble-minded from Knightstown from 1887); and the third on October 30, 1890. By 1905 the capacity of all these was outgrown and the Southeastern Hospital, at Madison, was added. It is on the cottage plan, and was opened on August 23, 1910. On September 30, 1915, there were in all 5,305 patients in these five hospitals, which is slightly in excess of their estimated capacity. At the same time there was 470 in county poor-houses, including 230 in the Marion County Asylum for the Incurable Insane, at Julietta, which was opened in June, 1900. There were also 46 in county jails, 95 at home or with friends, and 377 out on furloughs from the State Hospitals, making a total of 6,293 known insane in the State.

In 1889 there came Indiana's greatest step of progress in charitable and correctional legislation, and here again one man was easily the central figure in the reform. This was Oscar C. McCulloch, a native of Ohio, born at Fremont, July 2, 1843. His father was a druggist, and he learned that profession from him. When grown he became a salesman for a Chicago wholesale drug house, but in 1867 entered Chicago Theological Seminary to fit himself for the ministry. His first pastorate was at Cheboygan, Michigan, and after seven years at that place, he was called to Plymouth Church, Indianapolis, in July, 1877. He believed in the religion of good works, and while he conducted his church on an up-to-date plan that shocked some of the old time religionists, he built it up, gained the respect and good will of everybody. On Thanksgiving evening, 1878, he attended the meeting of the Indianapolis Benevolent Society, an organization that had existed for forty-three years, and had been a source of pride and general interest in former years. He found six discouraged persons in attendance, who proposed to disband. He talked them into life, and they elected him President, in which position he was continued until his death, on December 10, 1891. Things began to move. On January 20, 1879, a record of visits and investigations was opened; in April an employment agency was started; in December the work was reorganized as The Charity Organization Society; in 1880 the Friendly Inn and woodyard was opened; in 1881 reform of abuses in the county poor-house was secured, and the Children's Aid Society, from which developed the free kindergartens, was organized; 1882 witnessed the first steps for the Flower Mission Training School for Nurses; in 1883 came the establishment of the County Workhouse; and in 1885 the establishment of the Dime Savings and Loan Association.

In 1888 Mr. McCulloch prepared two bills of vital importance, and

prepared to get them enacted, which was a more serious consideration. He had luckily fallen upon the psychological moment. As has been mentioned, the legislature of 1889 made a brilliant record for reform, and every step in that direction was a stimulant and an argument for other reforms. The organization of Friends, which has been mentioned, was with him, and was especially well represented by Timothy Nicholson, who had worked actively with their Committee since its formation in 1867. There were other active supporters, both in and out of the legislature, but practically his most valuable ally was Samuel E. Morss, editor of the Indianapolis Sentinel, for the legislature was Democratic, and some of the features of the measures trenched upon the ancient doctrines of personal liberty and local self-government. The first bill, for a board of Children's Guardians, involved taking a child away from its parents, if the court found that their custody was not for its welfare; and it is probable that it could not have been passed but for its local nature, being restricted to Center Township, Marion County, or practically to Indianapolis—the country members could readily see the vice possibilities of a large city. Its beneficial effects were so obvious that it was extended to all of Marion County in 1891; to Allen, Vigo and Vanderburgh (Fort Wayne, Terre Haute and Evansville) in 1893; and in 1901 to every county in the State. The essential feature of the second, and more important bill, was that it created a Board of State Charities that was practically a perpetual investigating committee—a body that could sweep down on any charitable or correctional institution in the State, without notice and opportunity to cover up, could examine witnesses under oath, and compel the production of papers and persons. Every official of such institutions, whose conscience was not clear, saw the danger of such a system to him; and it was not difficult to put opposition to the bill on other grounds, and most of them had personal and political friends in the legislature. It was a fight, but a victorious one.

The proposition was not novel in Indiana. It had been made in 1881, when the Deaf and Dumb Asylum was under legislative investigation, and there was complaint by all of the newspapers that something was wrong. It was a reform year, with prohibition and women's rights in the foreground, the News advocating the revival of the whipping-post, the Journal indorsing Representative Kenner's bill for State examiners of public accounts—a prophecy of our present system—and various other reform measures, not included in the constitutional amendments of that year. On February 24, the Sentinel discussing the system of penal and charitable institutions in force in Indiana, said: "In States where such institutions are very numerous it may perhaps be desirable that a body be established whose duty it shall be to carefully and justly

investigate and correlate these results of immediate management, and lay before the people the condensed report of the same in such form as may be comprehensible to all interested, to the end that hidden harm may not befall the Commonwealth in their benevolent and penal relations. In short, a permanent Investigating Committee. Such bodies, in order to be efficient, should have no directory powers whatever. Suggestions from them would be eminently proper, but should be made with care and limited in effect, and they should be confined to generalities and abstract principles. In the nature of things they can not know the needs and conditions of each individual institution as well as the direct Board of Trustees, and therefore should be very careful to avoid disturbing operations and captious interference in details. * * * And now the question of establishing a State Board of Charities for Indiana is being agitated. Two able statesmen, both Governors, have within a week recommended it to be done. Many good and true men and women devoted to the cause of benevolence think it should be done. If it must be done, let it be done well, but not too much done." The general tone of this article was against the proposal. It objected to "the plan of supervising the Supervisors, watching the watchers, of not trusting the Trustees," and said that so far as tried in Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Wisconsin and Illinois, it had been "expensive" and "not satisfactory." It proposed that the Governor be authorized to have investigations made whenever he thought proper, as a substitute. None of the papers advocated the measure. The Journal said that the labor of the blind and the deaf and dumb was being "farmed out," and that it should be stopped. The News advocated the abolition of the central board of control which then existed, and complete control of each institution by a separate board.[33] And so the movement at that time vanished in thin air.

With the establishment of the Board of State Charities, Indiana entered on a new epoch. In addition to the Governor ex officio, the first board consisted of John R. Elder, Timothy Nicholson, Oscar C. McCulloch, Mrs. C. W. Fairbanks, Mrs. Margaret F. Peelle, and S. A. Fletcher. It was a strong board, with McCulloch unquestionably the strongest, and a good second in Timothy Nicholson, who was continued a member by various governors until his voluntary retirement in 1908. Timothy Nicholson was born in Perquimans County, North Carolina, November 2, 1828, his parents and grandparents being prominent Friends of that State. He was educated at Belvidere Academy and the Friends School at Providence, R. I.; served for six years as Principal of Belvidere; four

[33] News, Feb. 16; Journal, Feb. 17, 1881.

years at the head of the preparatory department, and two years as General Superintendent of Hartford College; and then, in 1861, came to Richmond, Indiana, at which point he engaged with his brother John in the book and stationery business, and a book-bindery, later buying his brother's interest. This is the oldest bookstore in Indiana under one ownership and management. He was active in church work and all sorts

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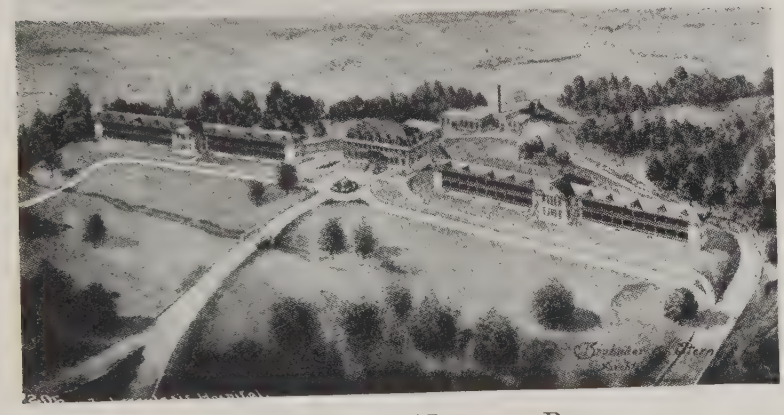
of social and public beneficial movements. It is safe to say that no man in Indiana ever served on so many committees and boards for religious, charitable, Sunday school, library, school, and allied affairs as he has. And it is equally safe to say that no man ever did more conscientious work in these quasi-public positions than he.

Of necessity, the success of a board of this character depends largely on its executive officer, who, on this board, is the secretary. It was fortunate at the start to secure the services of Alexander Johnson, an

Englishman, born at Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire, January 2, 1847. He was educated in private schools and at Owens College—now Victoria University—at Manchester. He came to America in 1869, and engaged in the clothing business until 1884, when he went into charitable work. He was General Secretary of the Associated Charities of Cincinnati in 1884-6, and of the Charity Organization Society of Chicago in 1886-9. He was Secretary of the Indiana Board until 1893, when he was made Superintendent of the Indiana School for Feeble Minded Youth, and continued there for ten years. From 1904 to 1913 he was General Secretary of the National Conference of Charities and Correction; 1913-5 Director of the Extension Department of the Training School at Vineland, N. J., then Field Secretary of the National Commission on Provision for the Feeble Minded. The Indiana Board has had but three secretaries, and was as fortunate in the other two, both of whom are natives of Indiana, as in the first. Ernest Percy Bicknell, who succeeded Johnson, remained until 1898. He was born near Vincennes, February 23, 1862, and graduated at Indiana University in 1887, after which he engaged in newspaper work until 1893. He went from Indianapolis to Chicago as General Secretary of the Chicago Bureau of Charities, serving there until October 1, 1908, when he became National Director of the American Red Cross—now Col. Bicknell, Commissioner for Belgium for American Red Cross. Amos W. Butler, the third secretary, was born at Brookville, October 1, 1860, and is also a graduate of Indiana University. A sketch of his life will be found elsewhere. He was well-known as a scientist before taking up this work, but in it he has shown a rare combination of wisdom, prudence and tact which demonstrates that, like Mr. Riley's sphinx, "He was just cut out for that." Under him has occurred the broad development of the work of the Board itself.

From the first, the attitude of the Board to officials was sympathetic and helpful, until all right-minded officials realized that it was their friend, and not an enemy. Its work has been largely educational, demonstrating the advantage of better methods, and securing legislative relief for errors in system. It has so completely gained the confidence of the public that there is not a session of the legislature that does not adopt a dozen reform bills in which it is more or less interested; and rare indeed that one adopts anything bearing on charities and correction against its advice. Under its guidance Indiana has steadily advanced in scientific and rational administration of these functions of government—still far from perfection, but "striving to beat her music out." Among lines of advance especially noteworthy, are outdoor poor relief, care of dependent children, study of mental defectives, and the indeterminate sentence and parole systems. Among the later State advances

are the Village for Epileptics, near Newcastle, established by act of March 6, 1905, and occupied two years later; the Hospital for Treatment of Tuberculosis, near Rockville, established by act of March 8, 1907, and opened April 1, 1911; and the Indiana State Farm, established in 1913, and opened April 12, 1915. This last is a peculiarly interesting institution in its theory of keeping prisoners without confinement or guards, and engaging them in open air employment. The prisoners are men subject to workhouse or jail imprisonment. On arriving at the institution—"a prison without walls or bars"—the prisoner is



INDIANA TUBERCULOSIS HOSPITAL, ROCKVILLE

instructed in detail as to what is expected in his own conduct, and receives a full explanation of the theories that are being worked out. Most of them are then put on honor to perform the work assigned to them, without attempting to escape. These have no conditions of restraint, except the knowledge that there are at various points watchers—usually prisoners—whose duty it is to warn the officers if a prisoner attempts to leave the farm. In a recent interview, Mr. Charles E. Talkington, the Superintendent of the Farm, said:

"We do not say our plan is perfect, nor do we make any great claims about our ability to reform a man during the short time he is here. But we do say this is the best manner yet devised for handling them. We take a man from the gutter, and at least make it possible for him to improve. We give him health, and direction enough to get him into some employment at which he can earn his living. Although we refuse to put forth any claims about how much good we do for the man, we at

least know that we do not injure him. And that is more than can be said for any jail or prison. We aren't running any school for crime here. We do know that. We also know that we can make this institution self-supporting and a means of revenue for the State. What more can you ask? The wide-open policy of freedom, I believe, has been carried to the extreme here. Although the great majority of men can be handled and trusted in absolute freedom, there are, in a population of 700 men, some who can never be given liberty. There is need for not more than 50 cells. Any farm colony ought to have them even if the cells are never used. Even so, we are getting along very nicely without them, and it shows to what great extent this policy can be carried successfully. We never had even punishment cells until a few days ago when four were completed. We aren't going to have to use them much, either. Confinement on bread and water is the only form of punishment permitted in this colony—no flogging, no dungeons, no ball and chain, no stripes. We have prisoners living down on the lower end of the farm working under a prisoner-foreman. We see them only when we are making the weekly round of inspection."

Perhaps the greatest reproach to Indiana is that there are still a few of her incurable insane confined in jails, although the worst possible treatment for them is confinement without occupation. It is a wonder that some admirer of Shakespeare has not claimed that he understood the needs of the deranged, and foresaw the remedy, when he made Macbeth say:

> "Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased,
> Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,
> Raze out the written troubles of the brain
> And with some sweet oblivious antidote
> Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff
> Which weighs upon the heart?"

Derangement is usually, essentially, monomania of some kind, and if the mind of the patient can be diverted from this subject and fixed on something else, he is at least cheerful and contented if not advanced toward sanity. The results attained in this line at Michigan City, in the Hospital for Insane Criminals, are most extraordinary. In fact the interest of some of the patients in their work seems to indicate that their mania has simply shifted to new channels. Such a result may suggest a means of improvement of the race, for if, by some form of inoculation, we could all be made monomaniacs in the line of beneficial labor, the world would be materially bettered.

CHAPTER XVIII

TEMPERANCE

The temperance sentiment of Indiana is the result of long and bitter experience. There is nothing theoretical or fanatical about it. Our forefathers had no prejudice against drink or drinking. The still usually appeared in the frontier settlements before the meeting-house, or even the school-house. Not only did they use their own crude alcohol product, but they consumed large quantities of "tafia," a powerful rum made of the rinsings of sugar cane, which was imported from New Orleans and the West Indies. As has been noted, it was first observed that the use of intoxicants had a very dangerous effect on the Indians, and stringent regulations were made to prevent their sale to the red man. It was found in the case of Gen. Clark, and others, that intoxicants were ruinous when used by a military commander; and several military expeditions were broken up on this account. It was found in Wayne's training of his army of the Northwest that it was the worst evil to be met in the case of private soldiers; and the discipline of his army was seriously delayed on this account. But still the great mass of the people did not seem to suspect that intoxicants were bad for them—bad for just plain, common, every-day people. It is not easy to realize now how prevalent drinking was at that time; but Rev. T. A. Goodwin gives a fair picture of it in the following: "Whisky was the prevailing drink. Whisky raw and whisky sweetened, whisky hot and whisky cold, and sometimes whisky watered, and often whisky medicated. Roots and herbs, and barks, when steeped in whisky, had wonderful curative properties. Snake bites and milk sickness, rheumatisms and agues, alike, yielded to the thousand and one preparations which the hardy men of those days knew how to make with whisky; and a birth or a death, a wedding or funeral, a log-rolling or shucking, or a raising or a quilting, was incomplete and unsatisfactory without it. Egg-nog or toddy, or both, was much more certain at an afternoon visiting party of women than 'store tea' was for supper; and well-to-do Methodists, and Baptists, and New Lights, and other good people, were as thoughtful to supply it for their guests, even their preachers, as were other people. * * * All

churches tolerated its use, and many a good pioneer had a license from the state to keep a tavern, meaning a license to sell whisky, and at the same time a license from his church to preach; and they were preachers of no mean repute, either, as well as good tavern keepers.

"The Methodist church made special provision in her discipline for her members, requiring them to keep orderly houses, and in theory, not permitting her local preachers to retail at all. But like her inhibition of slave-holding, this was in practice a dead letter, for many of her best local preachers kept tavern, to put it mildly, and many of them liberally patronized their own bars. Many of the early preaching places for all denominations were in the bar rooms of these taverns. Good men bought and sold and drank, but bad men also engaged in the business, and kept dens of dissipation; hence those provisions of the early laws which required all applicants for license to prove that they were of good behavior, and, later, of good moral character. Every store that kept tea or coffee kept whisky by the quart, and as there was then no law against giving it away, the barrel, or bottle, was free to all customers. Whisky was cheap then, and merchants were liberal. It is no wonder, therefore, that with such business and social habits, men died of delirium tremens in large numbers, called then, brain fever. * * * It was not until about 1830 that men began to associate together for the purpose of checking the tide of dissipation which was sweeping over the country."[1]

This does not mean that everybody was intemperate, or even that everybody drank. There was a "saving remnant" that voiced a protest at a very early day. Holliday mentions that Rev. William Cravens, one of the early Indiana preachers, who organized the first Indianapolis Circuit, hated "the sins of drunkenness and negro slavery," and preached against them in Virginia long before he came west; and that, "he seldom preached a sermon without making all who made, sold, or drank ardent spirits feel uneasy."[2] Finley tells of Rev. James Axley, a celebrated Methodist preacher who came west in 1804, along with Peter Cartwright: "He was proverbial for his opposition to slavery and whisky. After he located he supported his family by the labor of his own hands as a farmer, and was wont to testify, on all proper occasions, that his logs were rolled, his house raised, and his grain cut without whisky." Axley was a man who preached straight at the sins of his audience, and among many anecdotes preserved of him is one of a sermon he preached, in a district of East Tennessee that was famous for its peach-brandy, from the text: "Alexander the coppersmith did me

[1] Seventy-Six Years' Tussle With the Traffic, pp. 4-6.
[2] Life of Rev. Allen Wiley, pp. 43, 46.

much evil: the Lord reward him according to his works." He told how Paul, a traveling preacher, had gone down to Ephesus, and organized a church; and had left Alexander as class-leader. They got along till there was a big peach crop, and the question arose how to dispose of them. Someone suggested that they make them into brandy, as they used to do before Paul had them destroy their stills; and it was also suggested that Alexander, and his partner, Hymeneus, would make new ones, to which they agreed. Axley went on: "The next thing heard on the subject was a hammering in the class-leader's shop; and soon the stills in every brother's orchard were smoking, and the liquid poison streaming. When one called on another the bottle was brought out, with the remark, 'I want you to taste my new brandy; I think it is pretty good.' The guest, after tasting once, was urged to repeat, when, smacking his lips, he would reply, 'Well, it's tolerable; but I wish you would come over and taste mine; I think mine is a little better.' So they tasted and tasted till many of them got about half drunk, and I don't know but three quarters. Then the very devil was raised among them; the society was all in an uproar, and Paul was sent for to come and settle the difficulty. At first it was difficult to find sober, disinterested ones enough to try the guilty; but finally he got his committee formed; and the first one he brought to account was Alexander, who pleaded not guilty. He declared that he had not tasted, bought, sold, or distilled a drop of brandy. 'But,' said Paul, 'you made the stills, otherwise there could have been no liquor made and if no liquor, no one could have been intoxicated.' So they expelled him first, then Hymeneus next, and went on for complement, till the society was relieved of all still-makers, distillers, dram-sellers, and dram-drinkers, and peace was once more restored. Paul says, 'Holding faith and a good conscience; which some having put away, concerning faith have made shipwreck; of whom is Hymeneus and Alexander; whom I have delivered unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme.'"[3] Holliday also mentions James Garner, a local preacher who was one of the earliest settlers of Clark County, saying: "He was a total abstinence man, notwithstanding the prevalent custom of using whisky in nearly every family."[4] It is likewise recorded that John Strange took an active stand for temperance; and he is even said to have organized local temperance societies at a very early day.[5]

The first certainly known approach to a temperance organization in Indiana was in 1819, when James P. Burgess, a local Methodist preacher,

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[3] Sketches of Western Methodism, pp. 237-40.

[4] Indiana Methodism, p. 89.

[5] Hist. Ohio Falls Counties, Vol. 2, p. 342.

living south of Richmond, in Wayne County, wrote a temperance pledge, and after signing it himself, circulated it among his neighbors. A few signed, but others objected that there was no exception made for harvest time, and many saw in it a dangerous surrender of their personal liberties. Yet it was a very mild pledge. It did not mention beer, because it was not considered intoxicating; and it omitted wine, rum, gin and brandy, with all foreign liquors, because they were too expensive to be dangerous; and the only abstinence pledged was from whisky, of which the signer agreed to limit himself to one dram, in the morning.[6]

This was in line with the temperance work that had been going on elsewhere in the country, for it was all as yet limited to advocating temperance in the use of liquors. The Methodists and Quakers had "enjoined" this as early as 1784; and Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, took a public stand against intemperance in the year following; and got up a petition of physicians to Congress, in 1790, to make the tax on liquors so high as to discourage their use. He did some very earnest work for temperance later.

There was a temperance society organized at Fort Wayne, in 1822, by Isaac McCoy, that was probably the only one of its kind that ever existed. McCoy says: "Laws of Congress had been enacted to prevent the introduction of ardent spirits into the Indian country, but it could not be perceived that the Indians drank less liquor on account of the enactment of these laws; they were seldom executed. By law, traders were required, as they still are, to take licenses from an Indian agent or superintendent. In these they pledged security, in a given amount, to observe the laws of the United States regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes; and one of these laws positively forbids the introduction of ardent spirits into the Indian country; nevertheless, traders as regularly laid in ardent spirits, as a part of their annual stock to carry to their store-houses, as they did blankets, calicoes, or any other article. In ten years we spent in that country, we knew not a solitary exception to this statement.

"We could perceive no way by which this evil could be checked, but by kindly remonstrating with those who were in the practice of furnishing the Indians liquor. All such persons in the vicinity of Fort Wayne, excepting one, at length consented to discontinue the practice, each upon the proviso that others also would discontinue it. On the 12th of June we had a general meeting of the white inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and formed a society, the object of which was the suppression of this practice. The following is the preamble to the constitution:

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[6] Holliday, Indiana Methodism, p. 184.

"Whereas the sale of ardent spirits to the aborigines of our country is productive of the most baleful effects; it has been proven to be the fruitful source of poverty and wretchedness among them; it destroys conjugal, parental, and filial affection; it paralyzes a sense of honour, decency, fidelity, and virtue; it leads to ignorance, superstition, indolence and crime; occasions the most horrid and barbarous murders, fosters the wretchedness of savage habits, and checks the progress of civilization among them: And whereas the continuation of the practice of furnishing them with liquor, with such infallible proofs of its pernicious consequences before us, would not only be a violation of the good laws of the United States, but also of humanity and of every feeling of the benevolent heart, without even increasing the profits of trade among them: Therefore, we, whose names are subscribed below, do agree to unite in a society, &c.

"The society resolved to solicit the cooperation of all traders in the Indian country, and of others on the frontiers of white settlements; but the success of the society was not equal to the kindness of its resolutions. The individual who refused to come into those measures was soon after detected in selling liquor to the Indians, with proof positive, which made him liable to fines for three offences. The cases were such that it was necessary for them to be decided by the court, meeting in the village of Winchester, about eighty miles from Fort Wayne. The matter was, by the society, placed in the hands of the proper civil officers, and there it ended. Finding it impracticable to induce the execution of laws forbidding the sale of ardent spirits to the Indians, the society was not a little discouraged; and some of us soon after removing to the Carey mission, a hundred miles off, matters returned to run in their former channels."[7]

But the first trumpet call for total abstinence came in 1827, from Jonathan Kittredge, one of the ablest jurists of the country who first emphasized the fact that all drunkards are developed from moderate drinkers—"have become drunkards by the temperate, moderate, and habitual use of ardent spirits, just as you use them now. Were it not for this use of ardent spirits, we should not now hear of drunken senators and drunken magistrates, of drunken lawyers and drunken doctors; churches would not now be mourning over drunken ministers and drunken members; parents would not now be weeping over drunken children, wives over drunken husbands, husbands over drunken wives, and angels over a drunken world." In November, 1827, the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, which had been advo-

[7] Hist. of Baptist Missions, pp. 143-4.

cating moderation since 1813, took its stand for total abstinence; and the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, which had been organized at Boston on February 13, 1826, soon did the same. Kittredge's address was widely circulated by the American Tract Society; and the Temperance societies quickly followed it with other temperance literature.

Indiana soon took up the movement. On October 3, 1828, a meeting was held at the old Methodist Meeting House, on Maryland Street, between Meridian and Illinois streets, with Rev. John Strange as chairman, and James M. Ray as secretary; and the Temperance Society of Marion County was organized. Its stated object was "to discontinue the use of ardent spirits, except as a medicine, both by precept and example." Ebenezer Sharpe was made president; James Givan and Henry Bradley, vice presidents; James M. Ray, secretary; and a committee of correspondence composed of Daniel Yandes, Caleb Scudder, Isaac N. Phipps, John G. Brown, Charles I. Hand, George Bush, John Wilkins, George Holloway, William Rector, Isaac Coe and John Walton. It was arranged that a public meeting should be held on the first Saturday in January, at which addresses should be made by "the President, Ebenezer Sharpe, Esq., on the objects of the Society, the encouragement, and the objections against it; Rev. George Bush, on the moral obligations requiring exertion in the cause; Rev. Edwin Ray, on the demoralizing effects of intemperance; James M. Ray, on the expense of the manufacture and consumption of ardent spirits."[8] Another meeting was held on December 20, and thereafter the Society met quarterly. At its meeting on November 23, 1829, it adopted resolutions, "that entire abstinence is the only course which promises success in suppressing intemperance;" "that the practice of selling liquor to the intemperate does not only in its injurious consequences immediately affect the purchaser, but in an imminent degree the morals and means of the community;" and "that it is expedient to form a State Temperance Society, auxiliary to the American Temperance Society." Among the new names appearing at this meeting were Rev. Thos. S. Hitt, Alfred Harrison, Robert A. Taylor, Douglass Maguire, Rev. Joseph Merrill, Robert Brenton and Joseph Catterlin.

The proposed State society was organized on December 9, 1829, and at its first annual meeting, on December 13, 1830, Jeremiah Sullivan, of Jefferson County, presided, and J. F. D. Lanier, later of Winslow, Lanier & Co., was secretary. Dr. Sylvan Morris presented a resolution "that the habitual use of ardent spirits is injurious to health, destructive to

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[8] Journal, October 16, 1828.

the mental faculties, and tends to shorten human life," which, after a speech by him, was unanimously adopted. Bethuel F. Morris presented and advocated the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted: "Resolved, That the customary and fashionable use of ardent spirits is dangerous to the civil institutions of our country." Rev. Sickles presented a resolution, supported by himself and Rev. Lewis, and unanimously adopted, "that the use of ardent spirits, either occasionally or habitually, exerts a demoralizing influence and is injurious to public and domestic happiness." William Sheets presented a resolution, supported by himself and Stephen S. Harding—later Governor of Utah,—"that the formation of temperance societies, on the principle of entire abstinence, is the only effectual preventative of intemperance and its evils," which was unanimously adopted. The Society then elected officers: President, Judge Jeremiah Sullivan; Vice Presidents, Milton Stapp, of Jefferson, David H. Maxwell, of Monroe, Edwin Ray, of Vigo, James Morrison, of Marion, and Stephen C. Stephens, of Switzerland; Secretary, James M. Ray; Executive Committee, Bethuel F. Morris, Isaac Coe, Rev. John R. Moreland, John T. McKinney, Rev. Thos. S. Hitt, James Blake, Isaac N. Phipps, Daniel Yandes, Horace Bassett, John Hendricks, Sylvan B. Morris, and David Wallace. Thus the first organized State-wide movement for temperance was launched, by the best and most prominent men in the State, many of them in active political life. Certainly very few of them had any conscientious scruples about the occasional use of liquor; and Indianapolis was far from dry, especially on gala occasions. The hilarious celebration of Christmas, 1821, is historic; and Calvin Fletcher records of the use of whisky at the first election, on April 1, 1822, "the quantities drunk must be reckoned in barrels." The Journal of October 2, 1827, stated that there had been 213 barrels of whisky purchased by Indianapolis merchants from outside, and 71 barrels of home product, within the past year. A census of the town on November 25, 1827, showed a total of 1,066 inhabitants, of whom 503 were females, and 454 were under 15 years of age; but, of course, the town had the assistance of the adjacent country in the consumption of the liquor credited to it.

This does not mean that the people of Indianapolis were all drunkards—far from it—but they could drink in case of emergency. The temperance status is very fairly stated in Mrs. Betsey Martin's account of the celebration of the ratification of the Potawatomi treaty, securing the right of way for the Michigan road, on February 17, 1827. She says: "In 1827 the treaty was ratified between the United States and the Indians, and the Michigan road was granted to Lawrenceburg. Well, we had a grand turn-out of all the citizens, with lanterns of every design,

and mottos appropriate for the occasion, and music, and everything to make it grand and enjoyable. Mr. Goldsberry (her then husband) carried a burning tar barrel on a high pole till it was burnt through. It spoilt a new suit of clothes that Aunt Cox had just made of blue casinet. After marching through the streets, or the main ones, which were Washington and Meridian, they marched down to old Dunning's tavern on the river, and all got tight and had a dance. Uncle Nat Cox and Governor Ray danced a nigger jig. There was not one but drank too much. Mr. Goldsberry came home as tight as a brick, carrying a big transparency which he took after the tar barrel burned out. He was very jolly, and when I opened the door he pulled me out in the mud to see his transparency. That was the only time he drank too much, and he was excusable when the Governor was tight, and all concerned. There were a lot of sick folks the next day, for many of them had never drunk too much before." The unanimity of the intoxication may be inferred from the fact that Mr. Goldsberry was one of the pillars of the Methodist church, and a very exemplary citizen. But Betsey Martin had no love for liquor, and she was a keen observer of what was going on in the community; from which qualities she has left to us a clear presentation of the cause of the change of sentiment in regard to drinking ardent spirits, in the following statement:

"In the spring of 1822, Jerry Collins opened a small shanty built out of poles and clapboards, and had the first whisky shop in town. He had a barrel of whisky and some tobacco and segars. There was no license, and he made money, and he also, as now, made drunkards. I well remember two men burnt to death while under the influence of that cursed liquor. One was an old hatter named Shunk. He fell with his head against the kettle and his shoulders in the mouth of the furnace; and he was roasting all night. In the morning someone called and found him. As I have told you, he was not quite dead. They took him to his boarding place—he boarded at old John Van Blaricum's—and the doctors did all they could for the poor old man, but he died that same night. He was roasted half way down. The work of the whisky seller! The other was Big Smith—he was called 'Big' to distinguish him from the rest. He was over six feet, and large and well formed, and would have been a useful man unless for that awful habit. Smith and some other men of the same stripe went into a field back of where Mr. Blake now lives (northwest corner of Capitol and North Street) and were drinking and playing cards. They had set fire to an old standing dry tree, and Smith was too drunk to go when the others left. He went to sleep, and the tree burnt and fell close to his back and shoulders, and he was too drunk to move; so he had to roast; and he did, for his shoulders

and back were a perfect crisp. He only lived a few hours after he was taken home. Well, from that time till now, I can trace nearly all the murder and every other crime to that—the worst thing in the world—whisky! It brings poverty, disease and death!''

There were other victims that attracted even more notice. One was Hugh O'Neal, a bright young fellow who came to Indianapolis with his father in 1821, studied hard, and read law. Nowland says of him: ''No young man in the State bid fairer to rise to eminence and distinction than he did. When the California mania was raging, in 1849, his ambition prompted him to risk his chances for fortune in that golden region, and it was there he fell a victim to that destroying demon (intemperance) that annihilates all that is good and virtuous in our natures, and sends us to an early grave, unhonored and unsung.''[9] Doctors were often slaves to drink, probably because they kept whisky as a medicine, with other medicines, and were subject to unusual fatigue and exposure in their practice. Mention has been made of the wreck of doctors Lilly and Jones from this cause. Another notable victim was Doctor Jonathan Cool, a talented and unusually well educated young fellow, who located at Indianapolis in 1821. He was a classmate of Judge Blackford at Princeton, and after taking a degree in medicine had served for a time as surgeon in the regular army. He was the first of the Indiana doctors to protest against wholesale doses of calomel, and this brought him into a controversy with Dr. Isaac Coe, to whom he addressed a poetic argument, one stanza of which attained immortality—

''Oh, Dr. Coe! Oh, Dr. Coe!
Why do you dose your patients so?
Slow to cure, and quick to kill;
There is no man alive can tell
The awful power of calomel,
And dead men tell no tales.''

But Dr. Cool took to drink, and in a few years became a hopeless sot. He remained very polite, but shunned the society of ladies, of which he had been fond; and gradually went from bad to worse. In the course of his downfall he made a contract with Jerry Collins for three drinks a day—morning, noon and night—in exchange for medical services. One morning he came in for his noon drink about 11 o'clock, and Jerry called his attention to his premature demand. Cool seemed depressed for a moment, and then, brightening with a ray of hope, exclaimed: ''For the

[9] Early Reminiscences, p. 111.

love of God, Jerry, loan me an hour." Jerry made the loan; and he usually capitulated when the doctor came in with a plea for an extra drink; though not until after profound argument. Cool's most effective appeal was on this line: "Jerry Collins, you know that whisky costs

JERRY COLLINS AND DOCTOR COOL

you only 20 cents a gallon, and there are 56 drinks in a gallon. Will you refuse to relieve the sufferings of a fellow human being when you can do it for less than two-fifths of a cent?" James B. Dunlap, a son of Dr. Livingston Dunlap, and the first artist of Indianapolis—a very clever one, though self taught,—has preserved the scene of one of these

arguments, with Jerry on the defensive behind the bar, and the dilapidated doctor making for his first line of trenches.

It is interesting to note that in this early period medical remedies for the liquor habit—primitive "Keely cures"—were offered to the public, as may be seen from the advertisement of Dr. Chambers of his "Remedy for Intemperance," which was described to be "as innocent as it is effectual; so much so that it is often given to children in febrile complaints, and frequently used as a family medicine for Dyspepsia." It was offered at $5 a package, but, "In order that the efficacy of Dr. Chambers' Remedy for Intemperance may be thoroughly tested, Editors of Newspapers throughout the country, who will insert our advertisement and this article to it, and send us a copy of the paper containing it, shall receive from us by return mail a quantity sufficient to cure one drunkard, which they will be requested to administer to some patient in the neighborhood, and publish the result. Public Institutions and Philanthropic Societies, by making application (duly authenticated) to the subscribers, shall receive the medicine at a very reduced price."

It should be borne in mind that in the earliest temperance societies "ardent spirits" was not understood to include wine, beer, hard cider, and the like; and occasionally a "total abstainer" would get intoxicated from indulgence in them. It was not until the second National Temperance Convention, at Saratoga, on August 4, 1836, that a stand was made against these; and even then it was not universally accepted. Goodwin says: "As late as 1841, the Christian Advocate and Journal, the oldest and most influential organ of the M. E. Church, opposed 'teetotalism' editorially, as contradicting the acts of the Savior and the advice of Paul." The "teetotal" plan had been adopted by some individual members of temperance societies prior to 1836; and the word "teetotal" is said to have originated from distinguishing such members on the society rolls by the letter "T," standing for "total," while "O. P." —standing for "old pledge"—designated the other members; and from the use of "T-total" grew "teetotal." This system spread rapidly, and the new teetotal societies took the place of the old societies in many places, though there is not much evidence of change in Indiana. There was, however, a growth of temperance work; and a Young Men's Temperance Society was organized on April 2, 1836.[10] The distinction as to the character of the drink was made by the law, the same as by custom. Our early laws applied only to "spirituous or strong liquors," and in 1839 the Supreme Court decided that port wine was not within the law, saying: "Spirit is the name of an inflammable liquor produced by distilla-

[10] Journal, March 19 and April 30, 1836.

tion. Wine is the fermented juice of the grape, or a preparation of other vegetables by fermentation."[11] It was not until 1852 that the phrase "intoxicating liquor" appeared in the general law, although it had been used in some laws essentially local; and it was not until 1859 that the law was broadened to "spirituous, vinous or malt liquor, or any intoxicating liquor." Even under that, it was required to be proven that the liquor used was "intoxicating," the Supreme Court holding, in 1876, that "beer" was not even presumptively intoxicating, and in 1877, the same as to "malt liquors."[12]

It appears probable that this division of opinion as to the character of drinks caused a halt in the progress of temperance growth; but a fresh start was taken when the Washingtonian movement originated in Baltimore, in 1840, from a sudden resolve of a party of convivial drinkers to reform. Their organization grew locally with great rapidity, and was so beneficial that in 1841 members were sent to New York and Boston to hold meetings. These were phenomenally successful; and a wave of reform swept over the country. It reached Indianapolis in February, 1842, when "a reformed inebriate, a Washingtonian from Illinois, on his way to Ohio," gave it a start. This missionary, who is named only as "Mr. Matthews," held his first meeting on February 28, when a Washingtonian Society was formed and 106 signed the pledge of total abstinence from the use of "intoxicating liquors." He was induced to stay a day longer, and on the evening of March 1, 116 more names were added; then he consented to one more day, and the membership went up to 318. As there was no room in the town that would hold the crowds, the meetings adjourned to the East Market house. The secretary announced that "about 15 of those who have signed the pledge have been until very recently, and some up to the present time, considered degraded, confirmed drunkards; a very large number of them only moderate or gentlemanly drunkards." Matthews was followed on March 26 by "Mr. Patterson, a reformed inebriate from Pittsburgh," who had been "a drunkard for more than 20 years;" and on April 19 the society announced that it had 458 members. The Washingtonians did not confine themselves to personal reformation. On April 5 the Journal said: "At a sale held yesterday, the Washingtonians disposed of, at a great sacrifice, the remains of a distillery which they had recently purchased in the vicinity of this place. This was done with the express understanding that the articles sold were not again to be used for the manufacture of intoxicating drinks of any kind whatever." In September a Wash-

[11] State vs. Moore, 5 Blackford, p. 118.

[12] Schlosser vs. State, 55 Ind., p. 82; Shaw vs. State, 56 Ind., p. 188.

ingtonian camp-meeting was held at Greencastle, and in addition to local speakers, "Messrs. Cook of Indianapolis, T. Dowling and S. Gookins of Terre Haute, and J. A. Wright of Rockville," were on the program. The local lodge increased to 600 members, and the Greencastle Vistor said: "Putnam County can boast of having fewer drunkards within her borders, considering her population, than any other county in the West." In Indianapolis, "the winter campaign against King Alcohol" of the Washingtonians was opened on November 11, at the Second Presbyterian Church, with "an address by H. W. Beecher, a member of the society."

The somewhat rapid disappearance of the Washingtonians as active societies was due to the organization of the Sons of Temperance, a secret society, which was started in New York September 29, 1842. The first lodge in Indiana was organized at Brookville, on November 15, 1845, as Indiana Division No. 1; and on January 15, 1846, it was authorized to grant charters in Indiana. Other lodges followed in order at Richmond, Centreville, New Albany, Logan's Cross Roads (Dearborn County), Dublin, Connersville, Madison, Jeffersonville and Indianapolis, the last on April 24. Ten lodges having been formed, a Grand Lodge was organized in May, and the order was fully launched in the temperance work in which it was the chief agency in Indiana for the next decade. In less than five years over 400 lodges had been organized in the State. There were also other orders, as the Templars of Honor and Temperance, organized in 1845, and the Order of Good Templars, organized in 1851. Indeed the period was notable for the growth of temperance sentiment, and temperance meetings were a popular form of entertainment. The Hutchinson family of temperance singers came into prominence in 1843; and such speakers as Dr. Charles Jewett, Rev. Thos. P. Hunt, and Theodore L. Cuyler became popular favorites. John B. Gough joined the Washingtonians in 1842, but fell from grace. In 1844, having reformed again, he leaped into fame at the eighth anniversary of the American Temperance Union in New York City, to remain in active temperance work until his death in 1886. Father Theobald Mathew, after beginning his great work in Ireland and England, came to this country in 1849, and was received everywhere with distinguished honor. He was invited to Indianapolis, but could not come.

An interesting evidence of the prevalence of the reform sentiment is seen in the change of customs of the Masons, in whose lodges it had been customary to serve liquors, in the earlier period. As McDonald says: "In those days when lodges were called to 'refreshments' it meant something more than cessation from labor. The refreshments were in addition to the regular bill of fare three times a day at the 'tavern,' and it is quite likely that they consisted mostly of beverages, such as

whisky, brandy and sugar, applejack, egg nog, Tom and Jerry, and the like. * * * At the meeting of the Grand Lodge in 1843 the Committee on Foreign Correspondence gave it as their opinion that the use of distilled spirits in the lodge rooms at the meetings of the lodges was undeniably of evil example, and might be productive of evil effects; and it was urgently recommended by the committee that in this State the use of such liquors should be expressly forbidden under any pretense whatever. The recommendation was concurred in and adopted, and from that time to the present, now more than half a century, no liquors have been provided as a part of lodge refreshments. This recommendation was followed at the annual meeting of the Grand Lodge in 1844 by the adoption of the following preamble and resolution:

"'Whereas, The excessive use of spirituous liquors as a beverage among many of our brethren has heretofore been the means of bringing reproach upon Masonry; and

"'Whereas, The intemperate use of spirits is forbidden by the divine law and the rules of morality, and therefore grossly unmasonic, and draws in its train a thousand vices which have a tendency to subvert the principles of our Order and bring disgrace upon the Fraternity; therefore, it is

"'Resolved, By this Grand Lodge that we recommend to the subordinate lodges throughout the State the propriety of discountenancing, both by precept and example, the use of spirituous liquors as a beverage among Masons.'"

In 1853 the Grand Lodge took two decided steps of advance, one a declaration that it was "highly unmasonic for any member of the Fraternity to be engaged in the manufacture or traffic of intoxicating liquors as a beverage;" and the other the following resolution: "It is the especial duty of each and every subordinate lodge to correct the evils of intemperance in any of its members as speedily as possible, and if, upon the first and second offense and admonition, the brother does not reform, to suspend or expel him promptly." But its next step, in 1859, was still more significant, for in those six years temperance had come very forcibly into Indiana politics, and the resolutions then adopted come very near committing the Order to a political position. John B. Fravel, of a select committee to which the subject had been referred, made a lengthy report, in which was recounted the action of the Grand Lodge up to that time, and concluded as follows:

"These, in connection with others that might be referred to, do most clearly indicate the feeling of the Grand Lodge for the last thirty-five years in reference to this fearful enemy of men and Masons. All these resolutions passed by this Grand Lodge, though good in themselves, and

breathing a high tone of moral excellence, have not as yet checked the march of this desolating scourge; his triumphs are still seen in the desolated home, the tears of the widow, and the poverty of the helpless and friendless orphan; and we do most confidently believe that the time has come when our time-honored and beloved Institution should take a bold and decided stand and say, 'Thus far hast thou come, but further thou canst not go!' In view of all the foregoing facts, and further, that the Legislature of the State of Indiana has legalized the sale and traffic of ardent spirits as a beverage by license, which, perhaps, some thoughtless member of the Fraternity may plead as a justification of his acts, we offer the following resolutions, and do most ardently desire this Grand Lodge to concur therein:

"Resolved, That the subordinate lodges within this jurisdiction are hereby unconditionally prohibited from conferring the several symbolic degrees upon any applicant who is habitually intoxicated, or who makes it his business to manufacture or sell the same to be used as a beverage.

"Resolved, That every Master Mason, member of a subordinate lodge, who is in the practice of habitual intoxication, or engaged in the manufacture or sale of spirituous liquors to be used as a beverage, as a business, shall, upon charges being preferred and sustained, for the first offense be reprimanded in open lodge by the Worshipful Master, and for the second offense suspended or expelled, as a majority of the members present in their judgment may determine.

"Resolved, That the moral law of Masonry, founded upon the first great light in Masonry (the Holy Bible), is the highest moral law known to man, and that it is not in the power of any legislative body to so legalize that which is morally wrong as to make it proper or morally right for any Mason to practice the legalized wrong."[13]

The Sons of Temperance did not take any political stand for several years, but acted on a bipartisan basis in securing temperance legislation. The laws of the State had for years past been on a purely local basis; and if any two counties or towns, or townships had the same liquor laws, it was because their representatives had happened to incorporate similar provisions in the local laws that they got through the legislature. The first direct effect of the temperance work on legislation was the general law of 1847, that a majority vote of "no license" in any township should insure no license for one year. This law applied to all of the counties but Harrison and Rush; and a vote on the question was required to be taken at the April election. The temperance work was then concentrated on securing a majority for no license in each township. An

[13] History of Freemasonry in Indiana, pp. 191-4.

illustration of the campaign carried on is seen in the following, which appeared in the Lafayette papers in March: "Let there be a fair and full expression of public will on the liquor license question. Let every voter who wants to see Drunkards, Paupers, and Convict Manufacturers succeed according to law, at the expense of wife's tears and her children cry for bread, vote to license the liquor traffic." There was a considerable increase of dry territory under this law, and the local legislation thereafter was chiefly prohibitory in character, until local legislation was done away with by the new constitution. And all the time the temperance sentiment was growing stronger, even in the Sons of Temperance. They were so desirous of avoiding political complication that at the meeting of the Grand Division at South Bend, in July, 1848, a proposal to ask the legislature to amend the liquor law so that no vote could be counted for license unless expressly so cast, was voted down by a large majority. But only nine months later, at Evansville, the Grand Division unanimously decided to take steps for prohibition; and they did not rest until that goal was reached.

The first law passed under the new constitution was not a prohibition law, but was a very stringent local option law. A vote was to be taken at the April election, in each township, on the question of license, and no license could be granted unless a majority of those voting on that question favored it. If the vote favored license, the applicant must give bond of from $500 to $2,000, proportioned to the number of inhabitants of the township, to keep an orderly house, and to pay all fines, penalties and damages recovered against him. The license was for one year only. But there were two provisions that made saloon-keeping precarious. One was that if a man got drunk, the dealer who sold the liquor should keep, board, and care for him until he was able to return to his home; and in default of this, anyone else might do so, and recover from the dealer his expense, with 50 per cent damages. The other was that any wife, child, parent, guardian or employer who should suffer any injury to person, property or means of support by any intoxicated person, or in consequence of such intoxication, could recover from the dealer who sold the liquor for all damages sustained, and also exemplary damages. For these purposes a married woman could sue as if single, and a minor by next friend. A recovery against the dealer was conclusive evidence against his sureties. There are numerous provisions which show that it was a law intended to be enforced, and that could be enforced. But the temperance men did not rely on officials to enforce it. They appointed "vigilance committees" to see that it was enforced. It was not given opportunity for a full test, because on November 29 the Supreme Court decided that the local option feature of the law was unconstitu-

tional, and left the rest of it standing as a license law.[14] It is unnecessary to present the weakness of the decision, as its principles have all been abandoned by the Supreme Court.[15] It is chiefly interesting as another evidence of the fallibility of that august body; and, historically from the fact that it determined the temperance men for prohibition.

By this time feeling on the temperance question had grown very emphatic. In June, 1854, at Shelbyville, a mob of two hundred people, in disguises, broke into the grocery of one Harding, who was retailing illegally, and not only emptied his liquor, but also his molasses, and incidentally destroyed considerable of other groceries.[16] In the same month, the women of Winchester set an example for Carrie Nation. A saloon keeper there had persisted in selling; and one of his customers, formerly sheriff of the county, and a respected citizen, died of delirium tremens. The women of the town gathered at his home, and with his widow at their head, marched to the saloon, wrecked the place, and destroyed all the liquor. The saloon keeper brought suit against them, but as the wives of all the lawyers of the place were defendants, he had to go outside for legal talent to conduct his case. It is also noteworthy that a temperance literature had sprung up. The first known temperance paper published in the West was The Temperance Advocate, published by John W. Osborn at Greencastle, as early as 1837, and sent out by him gratis with The Ploughboy, which he published there. In 1848, the Family Visitor, another Indiana temperance paper appeared. In 1852 the Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance started The Temperance Chart, at Indianapolis, with Jonathan W. Gordon as editor. In the spring of 1849, the Daughters of Temperance organized in Indiana, and in 1854, Mrs. Lavinia Brownlee and M. Louisa Chitwood began at Connersville the publication of The Temperance Wreath, which was removed in the following year to Indianapolis. There was also an abundance of temperance literature from outside the State. It was an era of temperance songs, temperance recitations, temperance poetry of all descriptions. One verse said to have been used effectively by a temperance speaker, was—

> "I'd rather black my visage o'er,
> And put the gloss on boots and shoes,
> Than stand within a liquor store
> And wash the glasses drunkards use."[17]

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[14] Maize vs. the State, 4 Ind., p. 342.
[15] State vs. Gerhardt, 145 Ind., p. 439.
[16] Locomotive, June 24, 1854.
[17] Journal, Dec. 30, 1846.

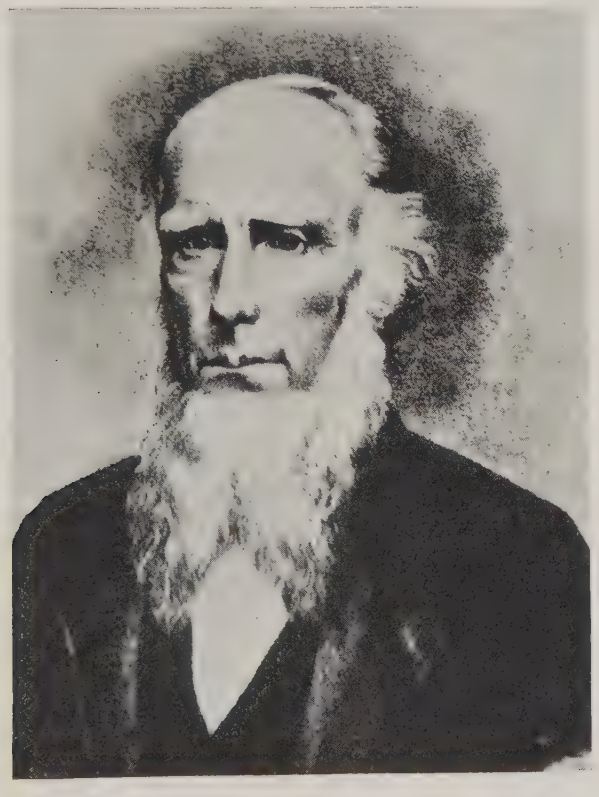
A popular juvenile periodical of the day, The Youth's Cabinet, published the following pledge, which was widely adopted:

"A pledge we make no wine to take,
Nor brandy red that turns the head,
Nor fiery rum that ruins home,
Nor brewer's beer, for that we fear,
And cider, too, will never do.
To quench our thirst, we'll always bring
Cold water from the well or spring;
So here we pledge perpetual hate
To all that can intoxicate."

It was in this atmosphere that the Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance met, in 1853, declared for prohibition, elected Dr. Ryland T. Brown Grand Worthy Patriarch, and requested him to canvass the State for prohibition on the Maine law basis. In January, 1854, a State temperance convention was held at Indianapolis; a State Central Committee was appointed; and $12,000 was raised to organize the counties for "Search, seizure, confiscation and destruction." Ryland T. Brown was a notable character. He was born in Lewis County, Kentucky, October 5, 1807, of Welsh parents, who removed to Ohio in 1809, and to Rush County, Indiana, in 1821. Weak physically, he turned to books, and as there was fortunately a good county library in Rush, he became a great reader and student. His parents were Baptists, and he, being of a serious turn of mind, was converted and joined their church at 15; but in 1836 he became a follower of Alexander Campbell, and in the same year began the study of medicine. He graduated at Ohio Medical College in 1829, and in 1832 located at Connersville, where he practised medicine and served as a preacher for the Disciples. In 1844 he removed to Crawfordsville, continuing in these occupations, and also entering enthusiastically on a study of the natural sciences. In his studies he had the use of the library and apparatus of Wabash College, which conferred the degree of A. M. on him in 1850. He was appointed Geological Agent by the State Board of Agriculture in 1854, and his services in that capacity are recounted elsewhere. In 1858 he was called to the chair of natural sciences in Northwestern Christian University. State Geologist Barrett considers him "one of the ablest all-round scientists that Indiana ever had," and ranks him with David Dale Owen and E. T. Cox in establishing the foundations of geological science in Indiana. He wrote extensively for current publications; and in the Agricultural Reports of the State will be found articles by him on Drainage, Fertilizing Soils,

Dairying, and other subjects that will bear the test of scientific scrutiny today. He was not only an attractive speaker, but one who put a large amount of information into his addresses.

The Democratic State Convention met on May 24, 1854, and resolved squarely, "That we are opposed to any law that will authorize the searching for, or seizure, confiscation and destruction of private property." To this the temperance Democrats responded by public meetings all over



Ryland T. Brown

the State, in which they repudiated the party's stand. The Temperance men and the Knownothings were naturally drawn together because almost all of the saloon keepers were foreigners. Most of the members of both organizations were anti-slavery men, so that their fusion with the Free Soilers in 1854 was easy, especially as all three were openly opposed by the Democratic party. Dr. Brown was an anti-slavery man of deep convictions, as may be seen from the following verses from a poem written by him in 1851:

"What boots a nation's wealth—a nation's fame—
If foul oppression's deeds shall stain her name?
What though her pyramids may pierce the sky,
Her serried hosts may count their millions strong—
There is an ear that hears the plaintive cry
Of the oppressed, and will avenge the wrong.

"Go read the tyrant's doom, from days of old—
Go bid the ruined marts their tale unfold—
Go learn, where broken columns strew the plain
That Justice does not always sleep, nor long
The crushed and trodden millions cry in vain
To Him who guards the weak, against the strong.

"But O! what sickening scenes shall blot the page
Of faithful history, ere that glorious age
Of Justice, Truth and Righteousness shall rise.
What lessons, hard to learn, must yet be learned by men—
How earth shall struggle, groan and agonize—
Are things a prophet's eyes alone can scan."

The campaign of 1854 was a battle royal on moral questions. The church was almost a unit for the fusionists, and the Democrats were foolish enough to attack the preachers for "meddling in politics," as if clergymen were to be blind to the public welfare; and the Democrats were well beaten, as "they jolly well deserved." The prohibition law of 1855 was passed without difficulty, and came to Governor Wright, Democrat, for signature. He signed it, saying: "I have no doubt of its entire constitutionality, hence I can not object on that ground, and I certainly can not on the ground of hasty legislation, for no question was ever more thoroughly discussed before the people." The law prohibited the manufacture, keeping for sale, or selling any liquor that would intoxicate, except that anyone might make cider or wine from domestic fruits, and sell the same in quantities of not less than three gallons. It also permitted the sale by importers of goods in orginal packages, and original quantities. But all retailing was to be done by agents appointed by the commissioners of the several counties, who might also authorize persons engaged in manufacture when the law went into effect to continue, but only for sale to authorized agents, and under bond to conform to the law. The agents could sell only for medicinal, chemical, mechanical and sacramental purposes, and were required to keep records of each sale, with the name of the purchaser, date, quantity, price, and object

as stated by the purchaser. No certificate was required, but the purchaser must be of age, and of good character for sobriety, and the agent must have good cause to believe that the liquor was to be used as stated. The agents might be furnished the money to purchase their stocks by the commissioners, or might advance it themselves at lawful interest; but they could sell only at 25 per cent advance on cost price, and were to account every three months to the commissioners, who were to allow them a reasonable compensation, the excess profits going to the county; but the county was not liable for the agent's debts. Search could be made on the complaint of three reputable persons, but not for a dwelling-house, unless the occupant had previously been convicted of selling at his dwelling. Liquors seized in unauthorized places were to be kept for thirty days; and if no valid claimant established lawful possession, they were then to be destroyed.

It is to be regretted that no record of this experiment was made in its economic aspects, but the books of the County Commissioners usually contain meager accounts, and the newspapers seldom supplement them with anything satisfactory. In Marion County, one might imagine from the newspapers that no agencies were in existence, so completely was the conduct of the agencies ignored. The law was to take effect on June 12, and on June 1, the Marion County Commissioners prepared for it by appointing Reuben Hunter agent for Lawrence Township, and George Espy and Oscar F. Mayhew agents for Center Township—under the law townships of 10,000 or more population were to have an agent for each 5,000. Appropriations were made of $50 for Lawrence, and $1,000 each for Espy and Mayhew in Center, for the purchase of liquors. Espy was to keep his agency in the Dunlop building, on South Meridian Street, and Mayhew had his on Illinois Street, on the ground floor of the Bates House. They each gave $3,000 bond to obey the law, and were allowed salaries of $800 per year. On September 5, Samuel C. Vance was appointed agent for Washington Township, with agency at Allisonville; and Wilford M. Wiley agent for Lawrence, in place of Hunter, who refused to serve. No other appointments for the County are recorded. On December 5, Mayhew and Espy reported their sales, but the amounts are not recorded; and on December 6 Mayhew's agency was ordered discontinued. On December 24 Espy's agency was ordered discontinued, and he was directed to continue the sale of stock on hand at cost until January 15, and then dispose of what was left at auction or private sale, as the County Auditor might decide. On March 5, 1856, Espy reported $1,119.68 in cash and notes on hand, which was accepted in final settlement. It is probable that there was a small margin above the County's investment.

In Clinton County, the record is a little more satisfactory. The County Commissioners of Clinton began preparation on June 6, 1855, by appointing Benjamin B. Jeffries agent for Frankfort, for one year, for "the sum of one hundred and twenty-five dollars per year, including all his services connected with such agency." They made no appropriation for purchase; but Jeffries opened the agency on June 20, and on June 23, the Frankfort Crescent presented the local situation thus: "We regard the appointment as one of the best that could have been made. Mr. Jeffries is a sterling man and will do as much towards carrying out the provisions of the law, according to the spirit, as any person in the county. Mr. Jeffries is the only agent appointed in the county, as no other township made application to the commissioners for an agent. We understand that the agent has been to Cincinnati and laid in a supply of pure liquors, which have been received at this point and are now ready for distribution in cases of necessity. We have not seen a man in town the least 'fuddled' since the new law took effect; and firmly believe it will accomplish the great end for which it was designed—the suppression of drunkenness. If this great end is attained, each of us may well relinquish a portion of our absolute rights, in view of accomplishing so great a general good." The out townships awakened to their needs, and on August 11 a called session of the Commissioners was held, and agents appointed for Johnson, Warren, Honey Creek, and Michigan townships. At the same time Abraham Eichhold was appointed agent "to purchase pure and unadulterated liquors in Cincinnati, Philadelphia or New York for the agents of the county." An agent for Washington Township was appointed on September 3.

On August 18, the Crescent explained that the called meeting of the Commissioners was to relieve the inconvenience of "compelling the citizens of the more remote townships to come to the county seat for every particle of spirits required by them during the sickly season;" and that the liquors ordered by Eichhold would "probably reach this place by the last of next week;" adding: "The sales of spirituous liquors at this place up to the present time, which has not been quite two months, we are informed by the agent amounts to two hundred and seventy-five dollars. This is quite a moderate use of the ardent when we take into consideration that there has been but one agency in the county." This was less than five dollars a day for a county whose population was about twelve thousand; but an enlightened constituency evidently managed to scare up a large amount of "sickness," for, notwithstanding the addition of the six outside agencies, the Crescent of September 8 said: "The number of sales at this point up to the present time is fourteen hundred. We are informed by the agent that the original cost of the liquor thus

disposed of is five hundred dollars, which if sold according to the provisions of the statute, at twenty-five per cent advance, would be one hundred and twenty-five dollars profit—nearly enough, in a little over two months, to pay the expenses of a year's sales.'' Even this showing called forth a communication on the 15th from a correspondent who asked: ''What would have been the probable amount had our agent done his duty and kept a supply on hand all the time, instead of being out at least one-fourth of the time, and that in the season when there was the greatest demand?'' The Crescent came to the defense of the agent, saying: ''Immediately after the appointment of Mr. Jeffries he brought on what he supposed would be enough to supply the community for some time. Being unacquainted with a business of this kind, he had but little idea of what the demand would be.'' But the Bebee case had come up, and made the future uncertain, and, now that its decision was postponed, ''our agent made arrangements for a good assortment of liquors—has them now on hand, and will continue no doubt to keep them hereafter in abundance. We think our correspondent mistaken if he supposes that the agency was without liquor one-fourth of the time. There may not have been an assortment, but there was but very little time when some kind of liquors could not be had; and while our agency was supplying pretty generally, other counties were entirely destitute, for the same causes. Give our agents time to 'get the hang of the barn,' friends, and then things will go on smoothly.'' But the system was ended by the Supreme Court, and on March 3, 1856, the Commissioners took an account of stock, and found that they had on hand liquors amounting to $558.88, which were put into the hands of an agent to dispose of for the county. On June 2, 1857, he reported on hand, 35 gallons of Port wine, @ $2; 3½ gallons of brandy, @ $4; 3¾ gallons of Holland gin, @ $1.75; and 1½ dozen bottles of Catawba wine, @ $5; which were sold in a lump for $95.97; and the county went out of the liquor business, apparently at no loss financially.

What the public was interested in was the prohibitory effect of the law, and as to that the record is quite full. Goodwin's statement of it, which is historically accurate, is as follows: ''It was to take effect on the 12th of June, and it took EFFECT! On the morning of the 13th every saloon in Indiana was closed, and crape was hung upon many of the doors in token of bereavement; and not a single saloon was opened for public business from that day till the 8th day of the following November. Speaking of the workings of the law in Indianapolis, the Indianapolis Sentinel, of the 15th of June, said: 'The temperance law, so far, has been universally and faithfully observed. We hear of no disposition to violate its provisions.'. And the local editor, the same day said: 'The

new liquor law has knocked police items into a cocked hat. Not a single item is to be obtained now on account of John Barleycorn.' Recurring to the subject again on the 20th, it said: 'That the people of Indiana desire and will have a reasonable and constitutional law for the suppression of the evils of intemperance, none are blind enough to deny.' Recurring again to the same subject, on the 28th of June, it said: 'During the past fifteen days there has not been a single commitment to the county jail for the violation of the city ordinances, and in the way of arrests by the city police, there is little or nothing doing.'

"The Indianapolis Locomotive, of the 23d of June, said: 'There has not been a single arrest or commitment to prison since June 12th. The

WOMEN CRUSADERS IN SALOON

Mayor sits quietly in his official chair, and the night watch doze on the store boxes.' Such was the peace and order which followed, that on the 12th of July, just one month after taking effect of the law, the Indianapolis Council reduced the night watch one-half. Referring to this fact the Locomotive of the 21st of July said: 'The temperance law has nearly abolished rioting, drunkenness and rowdying, and the tax-payers are reducing their expenses.' The Journal, referring to this reduction, in its issue of July 24th, said: 'The reduction of the night watch was on account of the diminution of disturbance and drunkenness from the enforcement of the prohibitory law.' The Indianapolis Evening Republican, of the 29th of June, said: 'Rummeys no longer perambulate the streets, making night hideous; and the watchmen have little to do.' The Journal of August 20th said: 'The law diminished crime,

reduced drunkenness, saved money and emptied jails until the Supreme Court took hold of it.' It was the same everywhere. The Sentinel's New Albany correspondent, of June 24th, said: 'The liquor law is generally and faithfully observed in this section of the State;' and the New Albany Tribune of the 27th said: 'The sixty or seventy saloons of this city have been closed for two weeks.' The Lafayette Journal of July 2d said: 'Since June 12th the Mayor's court of this city has been almost deserted. Our jail is now clear of all corporation prisoners, and the good effects of the law have been felt at many firesides.' The Madison correspondent of the Indianapolis Republican, July 3d, said: 'The liquor law works like a charm. Sorrow and sighing have fled away. Liquor can not be purchased illegally in this city.' The Lafayette Courier, of July 2d, said: 'What words can express the heart-felt gratitude of those whose happiness has been promoted by the enforcement of the prohibitory law;' and the Bloomington Times of July 3d said: 'We have not seen a drunken man in town, or heard of a single fight or quarrel since June 12th.' Such was the testimony everywhere."

There are only two additions that need to be made to this statement. One is that there were some violations of the law, but they were by stealth, and they were not numerous enough, or serious enough, to interfere with the general record for sobriety. The other is that the law did not enforce itself. The temperance men everywhere appointed what they called "Carson leagues" to see that the law was enforced. If any violator escaped, it was because he was very quiet about it. In Clinton County, a man was arrested and fined for selling a bottle of "Schiedam Schnapps," which had been masquerading as a medicine for months; and at Indianapolis, J. S. Pope carded the papers to explain that the sole cause for the punishment inflicted on him was that he had sold a bottle of the "Ague and Tonic Compound" with which he had been relieving malarial sufferers for several years. The temperance people were jubilant. Stewart & Bowen got out a prohibition pin, bearing the words, "No Repeal;" and surrounded by the memorable date, "June 12, 1855." The Locomotive bubbled over in verse, of which the following is a sample:

"Demonstrater of the power of suckshen!
This is an episode in your kerear,
A full stop in your ambishus asperachunz
After spirits;
You kant get your morning rashens—
The barr is closed—naree Bottel is wisibul
To the naked i.

As you stand fernenst the kounter,
You anxishly inquire for a drink
& it don't cum,
Demonstrater of suckshen."

But relief for the thirsty was on the way. On July 2, Roderick Bebee, who kept the high-toned saloon of Indianapolis, under the Wright House, invited a police officer in to see him manufacture and sell an intoxicating drink. He was taken before the Mayor, and fined $50, which he refused to pay; and thereupon was committed to jail. A writ of habeas corpus took the case to the Court of Common Pleas, which sustained the law, and an appeal was taken to the Supreme Court. The court was in recess, but the judges were summoned, and on July 9 heard argument. The attorneys for the State asked time to file briefs, and the court adjourned to its November term. Of the movements from that time, Goodwin gives a statement that is to some extent original testimony, and is apparently reliable, though he ignores political influences which the Journal charged to be operating, in the enmity of Jesse D. Bright and his followers, of whom Judge Perkins was one, towards Governor Wright.[18] Goodwin says:

"But the traffic grew impatient. The law was everywhere manufacturing sentiment in its behalf by its happy results, and the liquor sellers demanded immediate action. Meanwhile Judge Perkins had repeatedly foreshadowed his opinion. As early as the 12th of March he had written to the Richmond Jeffersonian and published over his well-known initial, 'P,' a tirade, first against Governor Wright for signing the bill, then against the law itself. The tone of the letter may be inferred from this one sentence: 'It may be enforced here, but it could not be in any despotism in Europe without producing revolution.' And his conversations on the streets and everywhere abounded with such choice illustrations as this: 'Why, the State might as well appoint a commission to do all the begetting of children and make eunuchs of the rest of us, as to appoint a commission to do all the liquor selling.' In order to bring an influence to bear upon the subject, a meeting of the leading Democrats of the State was called for the 27th of August. On the preceding Friday, Judge Perkins called his colleagues to meet in chambers on the 23d, and to decide the case. Judges Gookins and Stuart refused to come, as Judge Perkins had no right to make such a call. The Democratic meeting was held on the 27th, and a series of resolu-

[18] Journal, Aug. 20, 1855.

tions was adopted denunciatory of the law, and one urging the court to hurry up the decision in view of the demoralization of business as the law stood. About the 1st of November Judges Gookins and Stuart signified a desire to have certain points re-argued when the court should convene in November. This alarmed the traffic. It might mean a divided court, and it might mean many additional months of deliberation. Something must be done, and that at once. In this emergency a parley was held at the Bates House saloon on the night of the 7th of November. Whether Judge Perkins was present or not, was never known outside of that little coterie; but the conclusions of that consultation were soon made public. Early on the morning of the 8th, a boy of the saloon, by the name of Herman, openly violated the law. By those in waiting he was at once hustled before the Mayor, where he was fined, and on refusing to pay the fine he was sent to jail. He was hardly in before he was out on a writ of habeas corpus, issued by Judge Perkins, who sat in his judicial chair before 2 o'clock ready to try the case.

"The attorneys for the liquor sellers proposed to submit the case on the argument in the Bebee case, and the attorneys for the State, comprehending the situation at a glance, consented. The judge repeated a few of his arguments against the law that had appeared months before in the Richmond Jeffersonian, and had been often expressed on the street, and concluded by saying, 'The law is void, let the prisoner be discharged.' That was the decision, not the decision in the Bebee case, that unlocked the doors of the saloons now five months closed. On discharging the prisoner he said that he would write out his opinion in a few days and have it published. Four days later it appeared in full in the Indianapolis Sentinel, very much as originally delivered off-hand, and was copied the next day into the Journal, 'revised and corrected by the author,' and at his own request. Two years later it appeared as an appendix to the Eighth Indiana, surreptitiously inserted by Gordon Tanner, and not even indexed; Albert G. Porter, the Democratic Reporter at the time, refusing to print it in the Sixth, as it was in no proper sense a Supreme Court opinion. But, as great as was the outrage upon the State at the time, thousands will be thankful that it is thus preserved, in every county, and in every law library, that those who are to come after in this unending conflict, may know what kind of stuff passed for grave argument when the first prohibitory law of Indiana was on trial. As published, it is substantially the same as appears in the Bebee case, though many a sentence that gave spice to the off-hand speech, on the occasion, to the rabble that gathered to see the law over-

thrown, is omitted. Its existence at all will be news to hundreds of eminent lawyers of to-day, so quietly has it slept all these years.''[19]

The decision is indeed well worth reading, not merely as a liquor decision, but as a specimen of what passes for judicial mentality. There is no pretense that the Constitution says anything on the subject of prohibition. The opinion proceeds on the assumption that the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of liquor is a prohibition of its use, although the law expressly authorizes its use when imported, and under certain forms of domestic manufacture. On this unfounded assumption he says: ''The right of liberty and pursuit of happiness secured by the constitution, embraces the right, in each *compos mentis* individual, of selecting what he will eat and drink. * * * If the people are subject to be controlled by the legislature in the matter of their beverages, so they are as to their articles of dress, and in their hours of sleeping and waking. * * * If the government can prohibit any practice it pleases, it can prohibit the drinking of cold water.'' And yet the government has an unquestionable right to control the ''pursuit of happiness'' in any of these matters, if it becomes detrimental to public welfare. For example, if Mr. Bebee, in the exercise of his right to dress as he liked, had chosen to appear in public clothed in a fig-leaf, even Judge Perkins might have been able to see that there was a reasonable limit to freedom in that line. In the Herman case Judge Perkins undertakes to show that drunkenness is enjoined by the Divine law. After quoting from David and Solomon, he proceeds: ''It thus appears, if the inspired psalmist is entitled to credit, that man was made to laugh as well as weep, and that these stimulating beverages were created by the Almighty expressly to promote his social hilarity and enjoyment. And for this purpose have the world ever used them; they have ever given, in the language of another passage of scripture, strong drink to him that was weary and wine to those of heavy heart. The first miracle wrought by our Saviour, that at Cana of Galilee, the place where he dwelt in his youth, and where he met his followers after his resurrection, was to supply this article to increase the festivities of a joyous occasion; that he used it himself is evident from the fact that he was called by his enemies a wine-bibber; and he paid it the distinguished honor of being the eternal memorial of his death and man's redemption.''[20]

Curiously enough, Judge Perkins has been traditionally credited with

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[19] Seventy-six Years Tussle with the Traffic, pp. 17-9. Even Goodwin overlooked the remarkable fact that although the decision in the Herman case was made on Nov. 8 it is dated October 30.

[20] Herman vs. The State, 8 Ind. Appendix.

"an acute legal mind;" and if he really had one, there was some justification for the man who advocated "an appeal from the Supreme Court to two Justices of the Peace." It may be noted, casually, that the Mormons make a much stronger argument from the Scriptures for polygamy than he does for drunkenness, and that they base it largely on David and Solomon. It is quite generally conceded, however, that those distinguished rulers were more admirable in precept than in example. As a witty Indianan is credited with putting it—

"Solomon and David led merry, merry lives;
They had many, many concubines, and many, many wives;
When they grew old, and had virtuous qualms,
Solomon wrote proverbs, and David wrote psalms."

If the proposition be accepted that a man has such a natural right to gratify his thirst for intoxicating liquor—an artificial thing, not of his own manufacture—that a law to prohibit its manufacture and sale by others is a denial of his natural right; it must be true that his desire to gratify his sexual appetite gives equally a natural right, and that interference with its exercise, under mutual consent, by laws prohibiting prostitution and penalizing seduction, is no less a violation of the constitution.

But back of all the alleged argument, and sham judicial solemnity of the proceeding, is the obvious fact that both decisions, in the Herman and Bebee cases, were putridly political. Their whole historical surrounding makes them disgraces to the Supreme Court of Indiana, and blots on judicial dignity and decorum. That they have stood as the law of the State for more than half a century, would be a reproach to the people, but for the fact that overwhelming public problems pushed the temperance question to one side. It was the Civil War that stayed its progress for years, and not the reasoning of the Supreme Court. The temperance men were discouraged, but not in despair. When they met in convention on February 22, 1856, Dr. Ryland T. Brown as chairman said: "Gentlemen, our hands are tied. Whether we approve or disapprove, the decision of the court is, for the present, the law of the land, and we must submit. But, gentlemen, the people are sovereign in this country. They not only make laws, but they make constitutions, and they make courts, and I now and here notify the rum-power of Indiana that the people of Indiana will make a constitution that will not only tolerate prohibition, but will command it, and they will make a court that will construe it in the interests of society and humanity, and not in the interest of a handful of liquor sellers and drunken politicians."

But the dealers of the new Republican party were afraid of the temperance question, and they wanted the German vote. They knew that the Germans were generally with them on the slavery question; and they probably thought that the temperance men would stay with them anyway. On November 2, 1855, the Journal published an editorial telling how much it was devoted to temperance, but it was convinced that the prohibition law was injuring the Republican party. In the campaign of 1856 the Republican party made temperance a side issue. Goodwin says: "Thousands of Democrats who had left their party because temperance was in issue, returned to their first love, and all of that class of temperance soldiers who are good at a dash, but scorn patient endurance in well-doing, went also. * * * The result of the election was what might have been expected. The majority of 12,623 of two years before when temperance was a large factor, was turned into a Democratic majority of 8,191, notwithstanding the increasing arrogance of the slave power and the multiplied outrages in Kansas, which were relied upon as compensation for an abandonment of temperance."

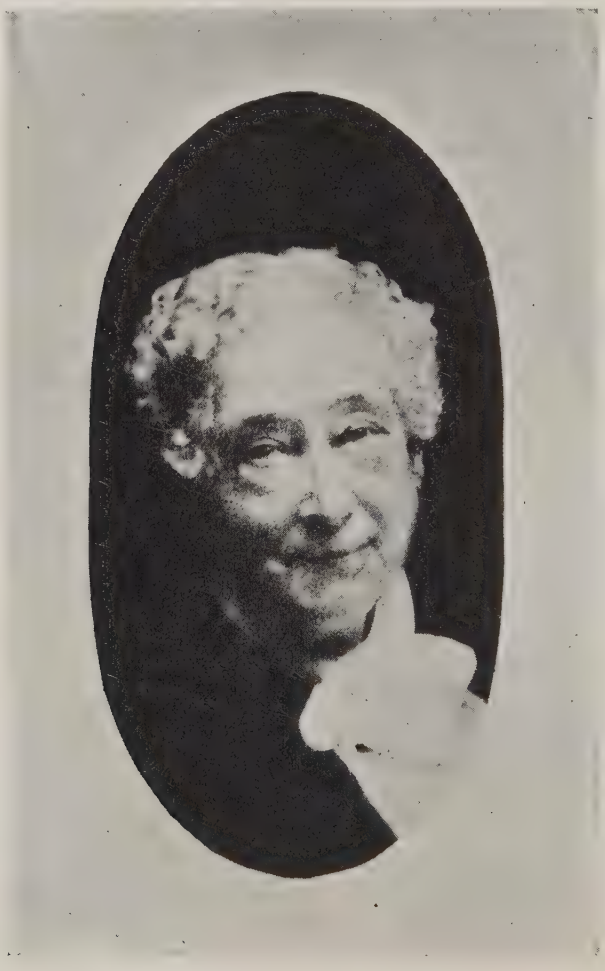
There was some indignation over the overthrow of the prohibition law, and one notable expression of it occurred at Princeton, where the women determined that they would have prohibition, law or no law, and turned out in force and wrecked three stocks of liquor that were brought to the town.[21] In general, however, the liquor business drifted back to its old conditions. In January, 1859, the Supreme Court pronounced what was left of the law of 1855 void; and the legislature adopted a license law, with a right of remonstrance only for immorality or other unfitness of the applicant. Under this intemperance grew apace during the Civil War, and the situation caused a revival of temperance effort. In June, 1868, a call was issued for a State temperance convention, and a State Temperance Alliance was organized. The temperance sentiment grew, until in 1872 a legislature was elected, without any campaign on the subject, that, without regard to party lines, enacted the "Baxter law." This law was on the general lines of the law of 1853, except that instead of holding an election to decide on local option, the applicant for a "permit" had to get a signed petition from a majority of the voters of the ward, town or township in which he desired to sell. If the County Commissioners issued the permit, he gave bond in $3,000 to cover fines and damages to anyone injured through the intoxication of any person, and for compensation to anyone taking care of a drunken person. Judgments were also a lien on the property in which the liquor was sold. No State license fee was charged, but cities

[21] Journal, March 29, April 16, May 7, 1856.

and towns were authorized to charge license fees. All saloons were required to be closed from 9 p. m. to 6 a. m. This law was a surprise to the liquor interests, and they at once organized for its repeal, while the temperance people became active in the effort to prevent the obtaining of signatures, and in creating sentiment for the maintenance of the law. The German press of the State took an united stand against the law, and came to both the Democratic and Republican conventions with open statements that the Germans would oppose any party and any candidate that was favorable to the law. The Republican party virtually indorsed the law, but, says Goodwin, "they nominated a ticket, all of whom, with one exception, were hostile to the law; at least they said not a word in its favor during the canvass, but evaded and dodged the issue everywhere in their attempt to secure the German vote, and they spoke of the law as uncalled for and fanatical." On the other hand the Democratic party took a position squarely against the law, promising its repeal, and the substitution of a law that would bring revenue into the school fund. The natural result was the election of the Democratic State ticket by 17,000 majority, and a legislature Democratic in both branches, which enacted a license law. What was worse, it created the belief among politicians of both parties that the liquor vote was the all-important thing in Indiana, and for several years they acted on that theory.

The work of education had to be done over; but an extraordinary agency was already at work. Over in Hillsborough, Ohio, on December 23, 1873, Dr. Dio Lewis made a temperance speech, in which he told how his mother, driven to desperation by a drunken husband, had led a movement of women to appeal to the better nature of liquor sellers to discontinue the business, and had met with much success. The women of Hillsborough determined to try it, and on December 26 commenced by visiting a saloon, where the first prayer of the "Women's Crusade" was offered by Mrs. J. H. Thompson, a daughter of former Governor Trimble of Ohio; and one of the most remarkable agitations ever known in America was begun. Goodwin says that the women of Shelbyville, Indiana, began the same work at the same time "without either knowing of the other." In reality the Shelbyville women did not begin the visitation of saloons until January 21, but there is no intimation in the current accounts that they were informed of the Hillsborough action. The Shelbyville movement grew out of the arrest of two young boys of the place in a house of ill fame. A "mother's meeting" was held, and those present decided that whisky was the real cause of the demoralization. They determined to try moral suasion to get rid of it. In the current accounts of the movement in Indiana, it is spoken of as originating at Shelbyville. The movement spread rapidly throughout the coun-

try. The movement was started at Indianapolis by meetings in four of the churches on February 22, 1874, followed by other meetings for consultation. On March 3 the local Women's Christian Temperance Union was organized, and on March 6 the movement was indorsed by a



Mrs. Zerelda G. Wallace

meeting of men at Masonic Hall. The first task undertaken was canvassing the wards to prevent signatures to petitions, under the Baxter law. This was followed by visits to saloons, and by putting watchers at the doors of saloons. At the same time temperance meetings were held almost daily, and numbers of persons were induced to sign the pledge.

But the strain was too great to last long. The work was genuine martyrdom to many of the women who engaged in it from a sense of duty, and it took so much of their time that it involved the neglect of domestic duties. Nevertheless they stuck to it until the Baxter law was repealed. Their last action was waiting on the legislature, one hundred strong, headed by Mrs. Zerelda Wallace, and appealing to that body to let the Baxter law stand.

One of the memorable effects of the Crusade was bringing numerous women into public prominence as speakers, and of these none was more notable than Mrs. Wallace. She was the eldest of the five daughters of Dr. John H. Sanders, a Virginian. Her mother, Polly Gray, was from South Carolina, but was also a descendant of a Virginia family, the Singletons. The young couple came west and located at Millersburg, Bourbon County, Kentucky, where Zerelda was born, August 6, 1817. In 1829, Dr. Sanders removed to Indianapolis, where he became a leading physician. He built the brick residence that stood on the ground now occupied by the Traction and Terminal Station, which was later purchased by the State as a residence for the Governors. From childhood Zerelda was an omnivorous reader, and from reading medical works, and association with her father attained a fair acquaintance with medical science. On December 26, 1836, at the age of nineteen, she became the second wife of Lieutenant-Governor David Wallace. Her sisters became Mrs. John H. McRae, Mrs. Robert B. Duncan, Mrs. David S. Beatty, and the youngest the wife of Dr. Richard J. Gatling, the inventor of the Gatling gun. Mrs. Wallace was a thoroughly domestic woman, and exemplary in her devotion to her family, as testified to by her step-son, Gen. Lew Wallace,[22] who is said to have drawn his character of the mother of Ben Hur from her.[23] She joined in the labors of her husband as counselor and critic, and devoted herself to the education of his children.[24] She took no public action until the Women's Crusade, and then at the solicitation of a friend, undertook to speak in public, with fear and trembling. But she was soon at ease, and her first effort was a success. She was made the first president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Indiana, and was recognized everywhere as the foremost woman speaker of the State. She was logical and convincing. One of her addresses was long remembered. It was on The Moral Responsibility of the Liquor Seller, and she based it on Exodus XXI, 28-9, "If an ox gore a man or a woman, that they die; then the ox shall be

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[22] Autobiography, Vol. 1, p. 46.
[23] Journal, March 20, 1901.
[24] Journal, May 17, 1884.

surely stoned, and his flesh shall not be eaten; but the owner of the ox shall be quit. But if the ox were wont to push with his horn in time past, and it hath been testified to his owner, and he hath not kept him in, but that he hath killed a man or a woman; the ox shall be stoned, and the owner also shall be put to death." In 1875 she headed a body of 100 women who went to the legislature to urge against the repeal of the Baxter law, and she addressed the legislators, many of whom showed an open contempt for her speech while it was being delivered. At its close, a senator from Marion County arose, and said that legislative voting was not a matter of individual conviction, but of representing constituents, and his constituents wanted the law repealed. The thought flashed into Mrs. Wallace's mind, why was not she one of his constituents whose desires were considered; and as she left she thanked him, and told him he had made her a woman's suffragist. Thereafter she was an active advocate of woman's suffrage as well as temperance.

There was no disorder in connection with the Women's Crusade, in the way of preventing their work. In New York City the police arrested some of the women, but nothing of that kind occurred in Indiana. There was one approach to a riot at Frankfort, but it resulted without serious disturbance. The Commissioners of Clinton County had issued three "permits" over remonstrances, and the remonstrants had appealed to the courts, when the saloon men undertook to ship in their stocks and begin business. A large crowd gathered at the point where the liquor was to be delivered, and refused to allow it to be unloaded. It was finally returned to the freight depot, excepting one barrel, which was broken open and the contents spilled. The chief practical result of the Crusade was starting temperance sentiment on the up grade once more. It was hardly out of the way until the country was swept by the Murphy, or "Blue Ribbon" movement. Murphy was an Irishman, born in Wexford, April 24, 1836. He served in the Union army in the Civil War, and began the organization of temperance clubs at Portland, Maine, in 1870; but the movement is usually treated as having started at Pittsburg, where in 1876 he induced thousands to take the pledge, and don the blue ribbon. From there it spread over the entire country, and it is said that 10,000,000 people signed the pledge in consequence of his labors. In October, 1879, a Grand Council was organized, composed of temperance men and women of all organizations in Indiana; and it was instrumental in bringing a prohibition amendment before the legislature of 1881. The temperance question had not been up in the campaign, and when 46,000 voters asked for the submission of a prohibition amendment, the legislature, by a small non-partisan majority, passed a resolution for that purpose. There was a repetition of history. The

Democrats took a square stand against the amendment, and the Republicans ran away from it, with the natural result that the Democrats won, and the amendment died where it was. This temporary victory was the beginning of the end. In 1882 the Liquor League was organized to fight the amendment, and its victory made it arrogant. The average politician got the idea that the liquor interest was the most important thing in Indiana, and the crawling in the dirt to the liquor power naturally made it dictatorial. This was resented by hundreds of men who had no strong scruples about the liquor business, but who objected to being controlled by it.

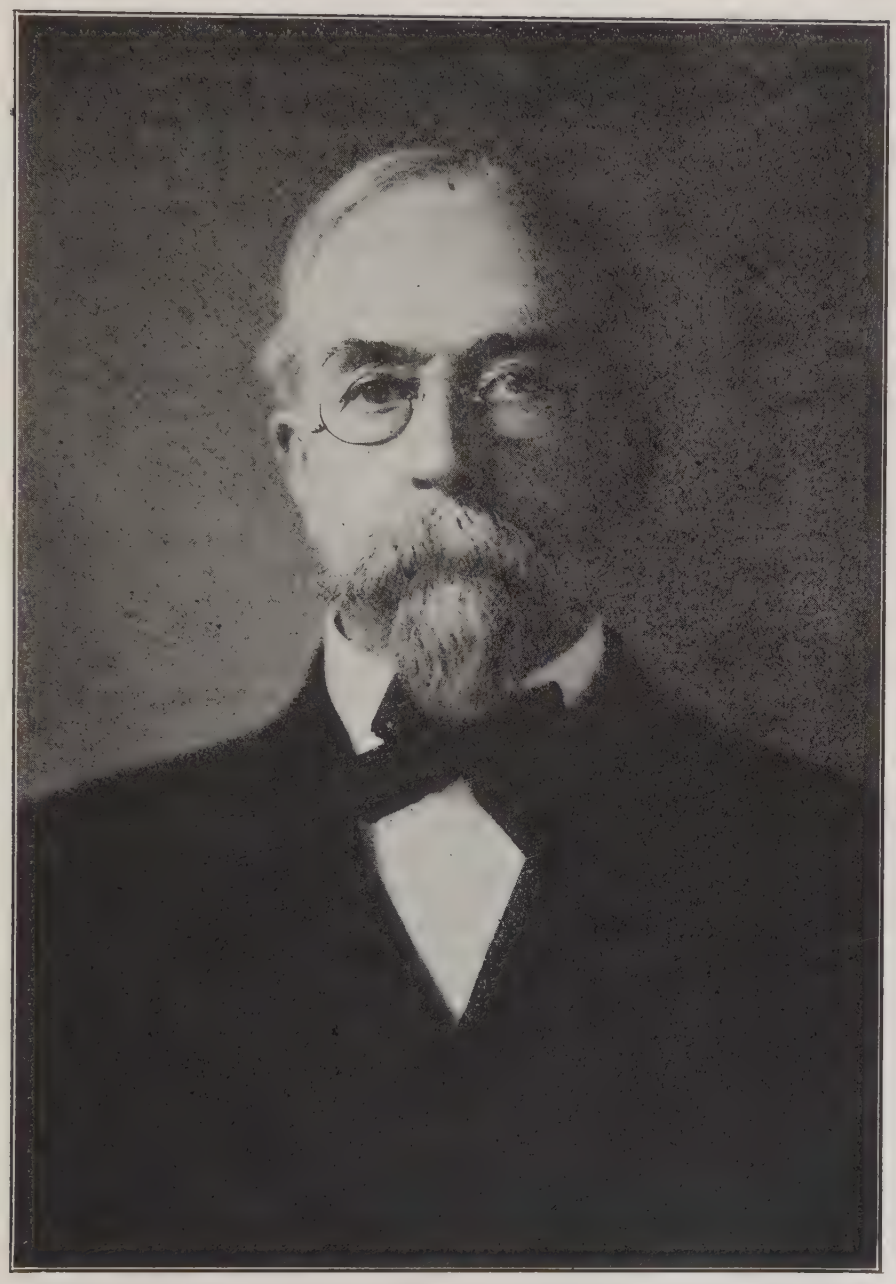
The situation remained unchanged until 1895, when the Liquor League had a hard shock to its dream of security. If anyone had predicted in advance that the legislature of 1895 would pass such a measure as the Nicholson law, he would have been laughed at, even by members of the legislature, for no such issue had been presented in the campaign, and the party leaders on both sides were opposed to the legislation. But a movement was started by Col. Eli F. Ritter, that did the work. He wanted a local option law that would "hold water," and he had devoted months to the preparation of one. It was framed on the basis of taking provisions from the laws of other states that had been upheld and construed by the courts, with the view that our courts would hold the "legislative intent" to be that the provisions were adopted with the construction that had been put on them. After it was prepared, Mr. S. E. Nicholson, representing Howard County, came to Indianapolis desirous to do something for the temperance cause; and after consultation it was arranged that he should introduce the bill, which has since been known by his name.[25] Meanwhile Col. Ritter had associated with two other gentlemen, and, on the principle of "the three tailors of Tooley street," had formed "The Citizens' League," which had arranged for backing by the clergy of the State, the Epworth League, the Christian Endeavor societies, and some other agencies. As soon as the bill was introduced, 10,000 copies were printed and sent out, together with five petitions with each copy of the bill, asking for its passage, by name and number. Within a few days they began to come in to every member of the legislature from his own constituents, in such number that a majority of the legislators did not dare to ignore them, and the bill became a law. But for the hostile attitude of some courts and prosecutors it would have ended the retail liquor business in Indiana long ago.

The liquor people realized that they had been caught napping, and made every effort to overthrow the law in the courts. A test case was

[25] Journal, April 21, 1903.

prepared, and there were more than two dozen of the best lawyers of the State acting for them at the hearing in the Supreme Court. Their case was presented by three ex-Judges of the Supreme Court—Elliott, Hammond and Zollars. The State was represented by W. A. Ketcham, Attorney General, Charles W. Smith, and Eli F. Ritter. The defense of Section 9, providing for remonstrance, which was the most questionable feature of the law, was specially assigned to Ritter. On June 19, 1896, the Court filed its decision sustaining the law in every particular, with two Judges dissenting in part as to Section 2 only. It was this law that broke the strength of the Liquor League in Indiana, and the State is indebted to Col. Ritter for it.

Eli F. Ritter was of Quaker stock, the son of James and Rachel (Jessup) Ritter, who came from North Carolina in 1822, and located in Hendricks County. They were a part of that army of immigrants from the South who came North to get away from slavery. Eli was born June 18, 1838. He attended the common schools of the vicinity, and had begun a course at DePauw when the Civil War came on. Waiving his family peace principles, he volunteered in the Sixteenth Indiana, on April 14, 1861, and remained in the service to the close of the war, most of the time in the Seventy-Ninth Indiana. He rose to the rank of Major at that time, and in 1883, when the Indiana National Guard was organized, Governor Porter appointed him Colonel of the First Regiment, in which capacity he served for three years. He was graduated from DePauw in 1866, as of the class of 1863; and in the same year was admitted to the bar. In his professional studies, his Quaker training and his keen logical mind brought to him in a forcible and practical way the truth that the basis of the Common Law is morality. This is presented in his volume, "Moral Law and Civil Law, Parts of the Same Thing," which is entitled to rank as the foremost ethical work produced by an Indiana author. And it may be added that if it were generally read and absorbed by American jurists, we should have less of vicious decisions on numerous questions of social morality, such as trusts, stock-gambling, and other institutions that are plainly in violation of the fundamental provisions and principles of the Common Law. Our tax system could not stand for a minute in a real court of justice; and many other forms of legalized wrong would be swept away, by a consistent adherence to the rules of common morality. Eli Ritter received little credit for his work. Even the law he wrote is not known by his name. His nearest approach to public recognition was when he went to the great jubilee convention of the Anti-Saloon League, at Columbus, Ohio, in November, 1913, as the guest of the League. But when he died, on De-



COL. ELI F. RITTER

cember 11, 1913, he had to his credit one of the greatest benefits ever accomplished for Indiana.

Under the Nicholson law, the supplementary Moore law of 1905, and the county option law of 1908, whose passage has been recounted heretofore, the process of voting out license proceeded until on November 1, 1909, there were 70 dry counties out of 92; and of the remaining 22 there was only one—Vanderburgh—in which there were not one or more dry townships. Out of a total of 1,016 townships 922 were dry. Out of 89 cities 63 were dry. Out of 360 towns 330 were dry. Much of the work of elimination under the law was due to the Anti-Saloon League, which was conducted independently of party lines, on an "omni-partisan" basis. It originated at Oberlin, Ohio, in September, 1893; and a national organization was effected at Washington City, December 18, 1895. The State organization in Indiana was made in October, 1898, by Rev. W. C. Helt, who was sent here by the national organization for that purpose, and in the course of a few years all of the organizations that were working for temperance, except the Prohibition party, were either merged in it or in alliance with it. The repeal of the county option law in 1911 was followed by wet victories in cities, towns and townships that reduced the number of dry counties to 26; but this was not so serious as it might seem, for a single wet town or township was sufficient to take a county out of the dry column. At the close of 1912, there were 825 dry townships, 27 dry cities, and 300 dry towns.

While hundreds of earnest workers contributed to this result, it was largely due to the management of E. S. Shumaker, the State Superintendent of the Anti-saloon League. Rev. Edward Seitz Shumaker was born at Greenville, Ohio, July 30, 1867. He entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1892, before completing his education, and graduated at DePauw in 1895. He entered the Anti-saloon work in 1903, and in 1907 was made State Superintendent of Indiana, which position he still retains. The notable characteristic of his work has been his rigid adherence to the "omni-partisan" principle, and his refusal to be lured into any alliance with any political organization. The wisdom of this course was demonstrated in the campaign of 1916, when the League made a fight for control of the legislature. In counties that were either strongly Democratic or strongly Republican, the efforts of the League were centred on controlling the primaries of the dominant party, as to legislative nominations. In some counties success in this was endangered by there being several candidates who were reliable temperance men; and in such cases, by diplomatic management, the superfluous candidates were induced to withdraw in favor of the one who, after consultation, was decided to be the strongest in popular favor. In close

counties, the managers of both parties were quietly made to understand, by temperance men of their own parties, that the temperance vote would depend on the temperance principles of the legislative nominees. This was systematically and effectively carried out through the local temperance organizations, which were strong in most of the counties. By these methods a reliable temperance majority was obtained in the legislature of 1917, and the prohibition law of that year was passed. It came at the psychological moment, when the whole country was deeply impressed by the vast restriction of the liquor traffic by European countries for the purpose of increased military efficiency; and the efforts to suppress saloon and vice activities in the vicinity of the camps in this country. It was the most remarkable world-wide admission of the deleterious effects of intoxicating liquors that had ever been known in history, and was the convincing argument to thousands of men who had not previously held radical views on the liquor question. There was also a profound effect from the general realization that the liquor business was largely controlled by the Germans, and that in Indiana, at least, both parties had catered to the German vote by favoring the liquor interests. The race prejudice aroused by the war had a practical effect that could not have been attained by any amount of argument or persuasion; and prohibition was accepted by the great majority of the people with a satisfaction that would have been astonishing under other conditions.

In this atmosphere of regeneration there developed an unique organization—The Flying Squadron Foundation—that is notably connected with Indiana, as it is especially the child of Gov. J. Frank Hanly, and is incorporated under the laws of Indiana. It began in January, 1914, as The Flying Squadron of America, in Indianapolis, and after preliminary organization, struck its first public blow at Peoria, Ill., on September 30, of that year, in the interest of national prohibition. Its aim was to promote that end by means of public addresses and the circulation of literature in any part of the Union where the temperance question was up, and help was needed. Its first season's work demonstrated that there was a field for permanent occupancy, and on June 7, 1915, The Flying Squadron Foundation was organized, chiefly through the efforts of Gov. Hanly, and with him as President of the organization. In aid of this cause he established The National Enquirer at Indianapolis, and has made a rousing temperance organ of it. Its cohorts of talented speakers and singers have carried the war into nearly every state in the Union; and its slogan of "A saloonless nation by 1920" seems to be in fair progress of realization. It is entirely independent of all

other organizations, but cooperates with any temperance organization that has a fight on its hands, and desires assistance.

Of course the prohibition law of 1917 was vigorously contested. The F. W. Cook Brewing Company brought suit to restrain the Chief of Police of Evansville from enforcing the law; and Judge Hostetter, of the Vanderburg Superior Court held that the law was unconstitutional under the decision in the Beebe case. Nobody ever questioned that—the question presented was whether the courts proposed to stand by the Beebe case. The question was elaborately argued before the Supreme Court; and on June 28, 1918, that court—four of the judges concurring, and Judge John W. Spencer dissenting—finally decided that the constitution was superior to the decision in the Beebe case, and that the prohibition law should stand. The final conclusion of the Supreme Court is interesting as indicating the maze into which the courts have wandered. The majority opinion lays down the fundamental doctrine of American government, that the Legislature is the supreme legislative power—vested with "the legislative authority of the State"—and that, "This court is bound by the same constitution, and has no right to curtail legislative authority this side of the expressed limitations in it." On this basis, all that remains is for someone to point out what provision of the constitution is violated by the law; and this nobody has ever offered to do. There is no such limitation, and none was contemplated by the makers of the constitution. But, with scant attention to this one essential principle, the court argues at great length that because the court has upheld local option laws, it must uphold a general prohibition law. The dissenting opinion scornfully refers to the majority opinion as merely "a case decision," but it does not point out any provision of the constitution that is violated. It bases its sublime argument of human rights on a quotation from Tiedeman's Limitations of Police Power, which declares that the police power is based on the maxim, "So use thy own that thou injure not others," and that, "Any law which goes beyond that principle, which undertakes to abolish rights, the exercise of which does not involve an infringement of the rights of others, or to limit the exercise of rights beyond what is necessary to provide for the general welfare and the public security, cannot be included in the police power of the government. It is a governmental usurpation, and violates the principles of abstract justice, as they have developed under our republican institutions." On this basis Judge Spencer argues that the manufacture of intoxicating liquor does not injure anybody, and therefore cannot be prohibited, although the sale may be prohibited. But on the same basis, the sale does not injure anybody. It is the drinking that does the injury, and the man who drinks it is neither manufacturing

nor selling. He is merely using his own property. If one should force some other person to drink, he might come within Tiedeman's rule, but not otherwise.

Christopher Gustavus Tiedeman was a native of South Carolina, but, as his name indicates, of German extraction, and thoroughly tinctured with the German idea of liberty, that a man has a natural right to do what he pleases, if the Kaiser does not object to it. As the Kaiser is not present in America, the only limitation remaining is that of direct injury to others. Tiedeman taught law in the University of Missouri for ten years, and in the University of the City of New York for six years, which are reasonable guaranties that he was "sound on the liquor question." His book presents the common German arguments against the heinousness of prohibitory liquor laws. The fallacy of his argument lies in his phrase, "the exercise of which does not involve an infringement of the rights of others, or to limit the exercise of rights beyond what is necessary to provide for the general welfare and the public security;" for he implies "a necessary and direct infringement of the rights of others," and that the courts have the right to say what is "necessary to provide for the general welfare and the public security." Under the American theory of government, it is the province of the Legislature to say what is "necessary to provide for the general welfare and the public security," except as limited by restrictions of the constitution, and not of the courts. In this case the State is confronted by a gigantic evil, which is universally conceded to be a public as well as a private evil, and the Legislature has the plain right to do whatever is necessary to stop that evil, except as expressly restricted by the constitution. It has been demonstrated by experience that nothing short of absolute prohibition can stop it, and the enemies of prohibition contend that even that does not stop it altogether, which is no doubt true. But neither do laws against perjury stop perjury, nor laws against murder stop murder. Their only effect is to lessen the evils. That the legislative power cannot lessen an evil as much as possible, within the limits of the constitution, is a proposition that the legislative power cannot provide for good government, which is the sole purpose of the legislative department.

Judge Spencer's one other argument is the rule of *stare decisis*, which is a rule that grew up in the English courts, on the theory that when a decision had become "a rule of property," and business men were following it, so that more injury would be done by changing it than by letting it stand, the decision, even if erroneous in principle, would be adhered to. But no English court ever pretended that Parliament could not change a rule of property that had become injurious in its effects; and indeed the English courts themselves have exercised the same power,

in plain cases. But in this case, the principle is applied to an erroneous construction of the constitution, and means that an erroneous decision of the court is superior to the constitution. Are judges sworn to support the constitution, or to support erroneous decisions of the courts? Because one court violates the constitution, are all succeeding courts bound to violate it in the same way? Fortunately the Supreme Court of Indiana has not been deluded by any such doctrine; but it has a lodgement in various legal minds, and the attorneys for the liquor interests are proposing an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, on the ground that the law "impairs the obligation of contracts"—in other words, that, relying on the erroneous decision, persons have invested money in the manufacture and sale of liquors. If a constitution can be done away with by such a process, why waste time talking of its "sanctity?" Unless a constitution is "the supreme law," it is a farce.

But, unless the Supreme Court of the United States changes its attitude, there is little reason to expect any interference with the Indiana decision; and it is fairly safe to say that in this matter, the people of Indiana have finally come to their own. But they may well give pause to consider at what cost. For more than sixty years they have been bound hand and foot by an erroneous decision of the Supreme Court—tied to an evil from which they have vainly struggled through all these years to free themselves. Sixty years' endurance of all the blights of intemperance! Sixty years of ruined manhood and womanhood! Sixty years of wronged childhood! Sixty years of demoralized and corrupted politics! Sixty years of the culture of vice and immorality! And why? Because they have voluntarily enslaved themselves to a Frankenstein of their own creation. No sane man questions the need of courts or the need of very high powers in courts. No sane man questions the vital importance of respect for the decisions of courts. But, in the light of this and other cases that have been cited in these pages—notably the case of the local common school tax—can any sane man question that even Supreme Courts may, either intentionally or ignorantly, make erroneous decisions? And if they do so as to constitutional questions, what is your remedy? Impeachment? Election of other judges? Amendment of the constitution? We have had all of these provided for sixty years, and of what avail? The present relief did not come from any of them. It is the result of public demand—of the assertion of the people that they will no longer submit to this wrong. No court would ever have taken the present action except with the backing of a clear, overwhelming popular sentiment in favor of it. Not that courts are corrupt, or lacking in judicial independence; but because they too have bound themselves by their rule of precedent—of perverted ideas of

stare decisis—until it requires something approaching an earthquake to get them out of a rut.

If this be true—and I think that no intelligent man who considers it fully will dispute that it is historical truth—why not allow public sentiment to control in the outset? Suppose that in 1855 our constitution had provided that whenever the Supreme Court holds a duly enacted law to be unconstitutional, it shall state explicitly what provision of the constitution it violates. In this case the decision was based on an alleged violation of Article 1, Section 1. Suppose it had been provided that in such case the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Speaker of the House of Representatives, or any two of them, as representatives of the Executive and Legislative departments, might appeal to the people on the concrete question: "Did you mean, by the provision of Section 1, Article 1, of the Constitution, declaring that all men have a natural right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, to prevent the enactment of a law prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors?" I take it that nobody will question that every voter in the State could answer this question far more intelligently than he answered the question, "Do you favor the adoption of the Constitution?" When he answered that question he answered "yes" to every decision of the Supreme Court construing the Constitution; and it is an absolute certainty that the ablest lawyer in the State who voted for the Constitution, did not foresee all the constructions that the Supreme Court would put on the Constitution. But the concrete question could be answered intelligently by anyone; and there is little room for doubt that the people, at that time, would have promptly answered "no." It may be said that this is a revolutionary proposal. Certainly it is, as to our traditional system; but you can not get rid of a bad traditional system without a revolution to the extent of removing it. Every amendment to a constitution is more or less revolutionary in this sense. It is a turning from public wrong to public right, in the opinion of those who make the amendment; and that power of peaceful revolution is exactly what is declared to be the right of the people—that they have "at all times an indefeasible right to alter and reform their government."

But, practically, the people of Indiana have made it a rule that the Supreme Court has at all times an indefeasible right to alter and reform their government, by an erroneous decision. Suppose that a man went into a foreign country, with whose language he was not familiar, and was obliged to transact business there. It will be agreed that, if intelligent, he would employ an interpreter. But suppose it were proposed that he should be bound irrevocably by everything the interpreter said as to what he said and what he meant. Unquestionably the interpreter

is more competent to translate than the traveler; but possibly the interpreter may make mistakes, and possibly he may not be honest in his translations. He might subject his employer to arrest for treason or sedition, through mistake or intent, and there would be no remedy. Surely no rational man would agree to such a proposal; and yet that is exactly what the people of America have done as to their courts, for courts are intended to be merely interpreters of the public will, as expressed in the constitution and laws. Our custom of giving the courts the ultimate decision of such questions is universal, and hoary with antiquity; but it is not government of the people, by the people, and for the people, except in that the people voluntarily adopt and maintain it. It is an obvious departure from our theory of three equal and coordinate branches of government; for it gives the Judicial Department absolute control over the Executive and Legislative Departments, in the exercise of their constitutional functions, if it chooses to assume that control. Unless they have the right of appeal to the people, whom we assert to be the source of all governmental power, and of whom all three of these departments are theoretically the servants, we have a condition where the courts are not only able to control the other departments of government, but are also masters of the people themselves.

CHAPTER XIX

NEW HARMONY

New Harmony has always had something of a foreign flavor to the remainder of Indiana. The attitude of the people of the State towards the communities there has been one of curiosity, more than anything else, and yet not a curiosity that caused much investigation. Even today, when a sort of halo has developed around the place, most of those who take the trouble to visit it do so much as they would visit a museum, and with similar lasting impressions of unusual things seen, which furnish topics of conversation of interest to others who have not had the experience. While the communities existed, they received more notable or at least more sympathetic attention in Europe than in the United States. When "Hoop Pole Township, Posey County" became a term to represent the "jumping-off place" of civilization, it used to be retorted that Posey County, in which New Harmony is situated, was better known in Europe than any other county west of the Alleghenies; and the claim was also truthfully made for many years, that Posey County was the home of more learned men than any other county west of the Alleghenies. After the failure of the Owen communistic experiment, New Harmony, in 1837, through the appointment of David Dale Owen as United States Geologist, became the headquarters of the United States Geological Survey, and so continued until 1856, making it a gathering place for scientific men, and a center of interest to the scientific world. Since then, the interest in the place has been chiefly historical; and with all the foreign interest that had been shown, it is somewhat gratifying to Indiana that by far the most thorough study, and the best account of a new Harmony and its people is by an Indiana man, George B. Lockwood. Lockwood was born at Forest, Ill., November 7, 1872, but his father, who was a newspaper man, removed to Peru, Indiana, where George graduated at the High school, and then went to De Pauw. Here he took "The New Harmony Communities" as a subject for research work, in political science, studying at New Harmony in the summer of 1893. He became engrossed in the subject, and continued his study at all available points, and in 1902 published The New Harmony Com-

munities from his own press at Marion. Meanwhile he had quite an eventful career. In 1894 he established the Terre Haute Evening Tribune, which he edited until 1896; then became private secretary to Col. George W. Steele, congressman, and Secretary of the National Soldiers' Home. At the same time he was put in charge of the press bureau of the Republican State Central Committee, and continued in this position until the election of Governor Durbin, in 1902, when he became private secretary to the Governor. In February, 1905, he resigned to take the position

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of assistant general manager of the Winona Assembly and Schools; and after several years resumed newspaper publishing. He is now proprietor and publisher of The National Republican, a purely political paper, published at Washington, D. C. He is an enthusiastic fraternity man, and is editor of The Shield, the organ of the Phi Kappa Psi. His New Harmony book attracted wide attention from the judicious, and in 1905, with the collaboration of Charles A. Prosser, of New Albany, he issued another volume, "The New Harmony Movement," largely a reproduction of the first. It was designed for school use, had additional chapters on education, and was published by Appletons.

The only flaw in Mr. Lockwood's work is that he is so infatuated with his subject that he writes from the Owens standpoint. In that cyclopedia of social wisdom, The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table, Dr. Holmes points out that in a conversation between John and Thomas there are six persons, that is to say, "1, The real John, known only to his Maker. 2, John's ideal John; never the real one, and often very unlike him. 3, Thomas's ideal John; never the real John, nor John's John, but often very unlike either. 4, The real Thomas. 5, Thomas's ideal Thomas. 6, John's ideal Thomas." There is a similar situation in historical writing, and Mr. Lockwood gives us the glorified New Harmony. For example, he says: "There the doctrine of universal elementary education at public expense, without regard to sex or sect, as a duty of the state, was first proclaimed in the Middle West, and through the labors of Robert Dale Owen, more than any other one man, this conception of the state's duty has found expression in a common school system that is the glory of the republic."[1] This strains the facts. The Ordinance of 1787 merely said: "Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged; "but the Constitution of 1816, adopted ten years before the Owen community was fairly launched, went far beyond Owen. It says: "Knowledge and learning generally diffused, through a community, being essential to the preservation of a free government, and spreading the opportunities and advantages of education through the various parts of the Country, being highly conducive to this end, it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to provide, by law, for the improvement of such lands as are, or hereafter may be granted, by the United States to this State, for the use of schools, and to apply any funds which may be raised from such lands, or from any other quarters to the accomplishment of the grand object for which they are or may be intended. * * * The General Assembly shall from time to time pass such laws as shall be calculated to encourage intellectual, scientifical, and agricultural improvement, by allowing rewards and immunities for the promotion and improvement of arts, sciences, commerce, manufactures, and natural history; and to countenance and encourage the principles of humanity, honesty, industry, and morality. It shall be the duty of the General Assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide, by law, for a general system of education, ascending in a regular gradation, from township schools to state university, wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all." This covers not only elementary schools but

[1] New Harmony Communities, p. 13.

higher education. It not only proclaims a duty, but requires by law the performance of the duty. And it not only proclaims general education a public duty, but declares that it is "essential to the preservation of a free government." Robert Owen brought some valuable educational ideas to Indiana, but he was not a pioneer of public education. Indeed, years after, Robert Dale Owen said of this provision of the Constitution of 1816 to the students of the State University: "You may look through the constitutions of every state in the Union and you will not find in one of them a prospective provision for public education so liberal and comprehensive as this of our own young State. Read aright, that single paragraph should attract as settlers to the forests of Indiana every emigrant who feels, as parents ought to feel, the engrossing importance of the subject."

The first community at New Harmony was begun in the spring of 1815, by a colony of 800 German peasants, led by George Rapp. Rapp was a product of "Pietism," which, in Germany, like "Methodism" in England, was a term of ridicule for those who maintained that Christians ought to live Christian lives. He was born in 1757, and at thirty years of age began preaching in his own house, attracting numbers of followers. He refused to affiliate with the established church of Germany—Lutheran—which he regarded as corrupt. He advised the payment of tithes, and obedience to all laws; but he and his followers refused to attend the state church services. This drew persecution; and in 1803 they began moving the United States, making their first settlements in Pennsylvania, which were communistic, in imitation of the apostolic church. In 1807 Rapp took on a new doctrine, through an effort to explain the infinities. The Bible nowhere speaks of sex in heaven; and Christ expressly declared that "in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of heaven." But as Christ was understood to be God's son in heaven, before coming on earth, the only solution he could see was that God was bi-sexual; and as Adam was created in his image, he must have been the same. This was confirmed by the fact that when God desired to make woman, he took Adam's rib to make her from. This, then, was Adam's fall, and if one desired to attain the primal purity, the obvious method was to live in celibacy, as Christ had done, and as Paul enjoined. The renunciation of marriage was made in 1807. In 1813, finding their location unsuitable for want of access to a navigable stream, and their lands not suited to the culture of fruit—Rapp, and many of his followers were vine-dressers—young Frederick Rapp was sent west to look for a new location. He selected the one on the Wabash, bought twenty thousand acres of Government lands, and about ten thousand acres of farms;

and in 1814 a party was sent out to clear land and build cabins, the remainder following the next year by boats, down the Ohio.

The Harmonists proceeded to make their new home comfortable and profitable by steady labor. Everyone arose between five and six o'clock, and breakfasted between six and seven. Then work. A lunch was served at nine, dinner at twelve, another lunch at three, supper between six and seven. At nine the curfew bell rang, and all went to bed. Such was the daily routine, except that Sundays and Thursdays were given to religious services; also four holidays—Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and Good Friday, and three feast days—February 15, the anniversary of the founding of the society, Harvest Home, and an annual "Lord's Supper" in the fall. The one recreation was music. They had an excellent band, which usually led parties to work in the fields, and gave concerts in the evenings, besides playing on all other available occasions. They sang much. The women sang at their work, and for the entertainment of guests. The women worked in the fields, and in the shops, as well as attending to housework. Wm. Hebert, who visited the place in 1823, says: "They appear to do everything with a mechanical regularity. Their town is consequently very still, the sounds of mirth or conviviality being rarely heard within it, excepting when their American or English neighbors resort there for purposes of trade or to negotiate their money transactions." Wm. Faux, who visited New Harmony in 1819, says: "This people are never seen in idle groups; all is moving industry; no kind of idling; no time for it. Religious service takes place three times every day. They must be in the chains of superstition, though Rapp professes to govern them only by the Bible, and they certainly seem the perfection of obedience and morality. * * * The people appear saturnine, and neither very cleanly nor very dirty. They are dressed much alike, and look rather shabby, just as working folk in general look. None are genteel. The women are intentionally disfigured and made as ugly as it is possible for art to make them, having their hair combed straight up behind and before, so that the temples are bared, and a little skull-cap, or black crape bandage, across the crown, and tied under the chin. This forms their only headdress." This idea of the woman's dress was probably due to his not being acquainted with the fashion. William Hebert, who was there in 1823, says: "These good people retain their German style of dress. There is nothing remarkable in that of the men. The women wear close and long-bodied jackets, or spencers, and gipsy bonnets."

A local view of the community was given by a correspondent of the Corydon Gazette, on October 3, 1822, detailing "the progress of this singular society, under the direction of Mr. Rapp, who appears to possess

extraordinary power, as the civil and ecclesiastical ruler of this famous community." He says: "For about six years the married women have not had any children, and that among many handsome girls and fine young men an astonishing degree of obedience to (supposed) orders has been observed. * * * It appears that they honored the last anniversary of American independence, and furnished a free dinner and plenty of beer to all who pleased to visit them, treating them also to fine music from their band. * * * Besides the great quantities of grain and other vegetables, beef, pork, &c. that they raise, the amount of their manufacturing industry may be estimated as follows:

Hatters and shoemakers, value per day	$30
Distillers and brewers	30
Spinning and carding	15
Blacksmiths and coopers	15
Various cloths (cotton)	25
Various cloths (woolen)	70
Flannels and lindsey	20
The tannery	15
Wagon makers and turners	12
Steam and other mills	15
Saddlers, &c.	15
	$262

* * * From what we know of the society, it is probably within the earnings of this laborious people. We must confess, however, that zealous to see as much as we can, the power of the republic in population and force, we cannot approve of the neglect of the first command in a 'legitimate' way."

Indeed the sexual separation was what attracted attention to the Rappites more than any of the other features of their religion, but usually in the rather light vein shown here. Byron, who thought it "a compliment to be read in America," kept an eye on America; and he wrote:

"When Rapp the Harmonist embargo'd marriage
In his harmonious settlement (which flourishes
Strangely enough as yet without miscarriage,
Because it breeds no more mouths than it nourishes,
Without those sad expenses which disparage
What Nature naturally most encourages)—
Why called he 'Harmony' a state *sans* wedlock?
Now here I've got the preacher at a dead lock.

"Because he either meant to sneer at harmony
Or marriage, by divorcing them thus oddly.
But whether reverend Rapp learn'd this in Germany
Or no, 'tis said his sect is rich and godly,
Pious and pure, beyond what I can term any
Of ours, although they propagate more broadly.
My objection's to his title, not his ritual,
Although I wonder how it grew habitual."

The neighboring people of Indiana simply could not understand these communists. The general sentiment was that they were a lot of ignorant foreigners, deceived by crafty and designing leaders—anyone who cannot speak English being presumptively ignorant to begin with. The American view was reported by Captain William Newnham Blaney, who visited New Harmony in 1822: "The Harmonites all dress very plainly and wear nearly the same clothes; but Rapp and the head men live in better houses, and have plenty of wine, beer, groceries, &c.; while the rest of their brethren are limited to coarse, though wholesome food, are debarred the use of groceries, &c., have a less quantity of meat, and are even obliged to make use of an inferior kind of flour. * * * If they spoke English, and were allowed a free intercourse with the Americans, they would soon learn, that with the same habits of temperance, industry and economy, they could in that rich and fertile district have every comfort they at present enjoy, with the additional satisfaction of amassing money for themselves, and of having children who would doubtless rise to opulence and consideration. At present however Rapp points out to them the difference between their situation and that of the Backwoodsmen in the neighborhood, leaving them to suppose that this superiority is owing to their peculiar tenets and mode of life. Moreover, as I am informed, Rapp, like all other priests, holds out eternal punishment in the next world to those who secede. * * * Hence this society presents the extraordinary spectacle of a most complete despotism in the midst of a great republic; for with the exception perhaps of being a little better clothed and fed, the lower orders of the Harmonites are as much vassals, or more so, than they were in Germany. The settlement was once a benefit to the neighborhood; but at present most of the Americans consider it as injurious. At first the people, for a great distance around the Settlement, being supplied with goods that they could not easily procure elsewhere, considered it advantageous to them; but they now think precisely the contrary; for the Harmonites, not having to pay their workmen, are enabled to undersell every one who would wish to set up a store, and thus prevent com-

petition. Moreover, as in exchange for their cloths, linens, hats, whiskey, &c., they receive vast sums of money which they never spend, and thus diminish the circulating medium of the country. 'If,' say the Americans, 'an ordinary merchant could come among us, and set up a store, as he grew rich he would increase his expenditure, and the money would circulate and enrich those who supplied him with meat, bread, &c.; but these people spend nothing, and therefore we should be very glad to see their society destroyed.' Old Rapp has transferred most of the active superintendence of the temporal concerns of the society to his adopted son Frederic Rapp, thus accustoming the people to a sort of hereditary despotism. We may however very much doubt whether the society will hold together after the old man's death, an event which in the course of nature must soon take place." [2]

What these outsiders could not grasp was the fact that these people were millenarians—confidently expecting the Day of Judgment and the end of the world in a short time. If that belief could be firmly fixed in the minds of everyone in the world, there would be no occasion for missionaries, no need for persuasion to repent. A man who was sure that the end of the world would come in a year, or five years, or twenty years, could not be kept away from a religious life. This was Rapp's teaching, but it was his understanding of the Bible; and he evidently believed it himself as much as any of them. On his death bed, he called some of his followers around him, and his last words were: "If I did not know that the dear Lord meant that I should present you all to him, I should think my last moments come." It is absurd to question the sincerity of a faith like that. You might as well doubt the confidence of the gentleman who stood on the mountain peak, with the flood lapping his chin, and told Noah to go ahead with his ark, " 'cause it a'n't a goin' to rain much anyway." There are only two alleged instances of his imposing on the credulity of his followers. One is a tradition, that he used to pass from his house to the church by an underground tunnel, and make them believe that he had been transported by supernatural means. This is false on its face; for they must have dug the tunnel. The other is the story of "Gabriel's Rock," a limestone slab, ten feet by five, and five inches thick, bearing what appear to be the imprints of two human feet. "The tradition is that Father Rapp informed his followers that these were the imprints of the feet of the Angel Gabriel, who had alighted upon earth to convey to the society a message from heaven." [3] The latest version of the "tradition" is this: "Public attention was first called to these prints by the Rev. Frederick Rapp, the

[2] Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers, pp. 289-290.

[3] The New Harmony Movement, p. 20.

head of the religious sect of 'Harmonites,' who had them removed to his village of Harmony, and who, it is said, taught that they were the impressions of the feet of the Saviour."[4] Poor George Rapp! There is every indication that the "tradition" is pure fiction. The nearest approach to direct evidence that we have is the statement of William

SUPPOSED HUMAN FOOTPRINTS IN LIMESTONE
"Gabriel's Rock" (After David D. Owen)

Owen, who went to New Harmony in 1824 with his father. In his diary for December 18, he gives an account of their being shown over the village by George Rapp, saying: "We then visited some cellars under the new church and under Mr. Rapp's house, which were all well filled with wine, cider, etc., also a small garden behind Mr. Rapp's house,

[4] Report of the National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, 1904, p. 263.

which Gertrude Rapp is fond of cultivating. In the center stands a mound covered with petrifactions formed by a spring on the property. In a back yard we saw a stone with the mark of two feet upon it, with a ring in front, supposed to have been made by an Indian before the stone was hardened. Mr. Rapp found it upon the Mississippi and sent some men to hew it from the rock. Mr. Rapp returned with us to the inn and dined with us."[5] If Rapp had been saying that these were the footprints of the Angel Gabriel, he certainly would not have told these visitors that they were made by an Indian. If he had desired to impress a miraculous origin on his followers he certainly would not have put this wonder in his back yard; but would have given it a place of honor in the church, as other people do with miraculous relics. It is hardly credible that he would have claimed that the angel was bringing a message from heaven to the society, when the footprints were evidently formed long before the society existed, or when the Angel had alighted miles away from the society, and never came to their knowledge for years after, and then only by his footprints. That would be too serious a reflection on Gabriel's intelligence to be charged to the pious Mr. Rapp. The probabilities are that the long array of scientists who have chuckled over the credulity of Rapp's followers have shown their own credulity by swallowing a humbug tradition.

In fact, the scientists have had a rather severe struggle with these footprints, without reaching any very satisfactory conclusion. The first man of a scientific turn who described them was Schoolcraft, who says: "By an accurate examination, it will however be ascertained, that they are not the impressions of feet accustomed to the use of European shoes, for the toes are pressed out, and the foot is flat, as is observed in persons who walk barefoot. The probability is that they were caused by the pressure of an individual that belonged to an unknown race of men, ignorant of the art of tanning hides, and that this took place in a much earlier age than the traditions of the present Indians extend to, this probability I say, is strengthened by the extraordinary size of the feet (10½ inches in length) here given. In another respect, the impressions are strikingly natural, since the muscles of the feet are represented with the greatest exactness and truth. This circumstance weakens very much the hypothesis that they are possibly evidences of the ancient sculpture of a race of men living in the remote ages of this continent. Neither history nor tradition gives us the slightest information of such a people. For it must be kept in mind, that we have no proof that the people who erected our surprising west-

[5] Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs. Vol. 4, p. 77.

ern tumuli, ever had a knowledge of masonry, even much less of sculpture, or that they had invented the chisel, the knife, or the axe, those excepted made from porphyry, hornstone, or obsidian. * * * The rock which contains these interesting traces, is a compact limestone of a bluish-gray color." The Duke of Saxe-Weimar quotes Schoolcraft with approval, and adds: "This rock with the unknown impressions are remembered as long as the country about St. Louis has been known, this table is hewn out of a rock, and indeed out of a perpendicular wall of rock." As nobody gives the exact location from which this slab was obtained, this statement is very suggestive of the Piasa Rock, of which mention has heretofore been made; and in that connection, it is to be remembered that Marquette's monsters, and other inscriptions on that rock are described as being at points apparently inaccessible to man. In 1842, David Dale Owen described these prints in an article in the American Journal of Science, and quoted the opinions of Maclure, Troost, Say, and Lesueur to the effect that they were of artificial origin; but the English paleontologist Mantell inclined to Schoolcraft's opinion. Owen considered them artificial, and carved by aborigines with stone instruments. Inasmuch as the stone in which they appear belongs to the Lower Carboniferous period, no scientist would now accept the idea that they were the impressions of human feet. The Gabriel theory were preferable to that, from the scientific standpoint. But science cannot point to any other such artistic sculpture as Schoolcraft describes in this case, and science has not suggested any probable cause for such labor by Indians or moundbuilders. It is a pretty puzzle; and it is to be regretted that the original information concerning the "footprints" is not more explicit and full."[6]

The assumption of the ignorance of Rapp's followers is based wholly on their religious belief, and consequent absorption in their salvation. William Owen and his father, who were skilled in mechanical devices, and material progress in general, did not notice any ignorance. When Rapp's colony first located, and for several years after, they were much afflicted with malaria, like other Indiana settlers, but in a few years this disappeared. On his first day in New Harmony, William Owen noted the information that the first thing the Rappites did when they arrived "was to drain all the pools, etc., so that now as soon as the river falls the water runs off again." On the same day he visited "a cotton spinning establishment, driven by a horse and a cow, walking on an inclined plane, a green for dyeing and bleaching, a dyeing house, a cotton and woolen mill, the former with power looms and the latter with a patent machine for cutting the nap. These are driven by a steam engine,

[6] For recent discussion, see Report of the National Museum for 1904, pp. 262-4.

which also sets an adjoining flour mill in operation.'' The next day they visited the green house, with ''fine orange and lemon trees,'' the house ''so constructed that it can be rolled away in the summer time, leaving the trees in the open air.'' Then they went to a distillery where ''the water required is pumped by two dogs, who moved alternately a tread wheel. Each dog pumps for an hour. They make 2nd and 3rd spirits without any trouble. As the machine performs the whole process, the whiskey runs out quite ready for use.'' A little later at a dye house, ''they showed us some very good madder grown here, much superior to what they had imported. From this we passed to another building in which is a steam engine of —horse power, made by themselves. It appears to work well. In an adjoining building is a cotton spinning and weaving establishment.'' They wound up at a new cotton mill, ''driven by oxen walking on an incline plane.'' They passed several weeks before they had investigated all the industries. On January 18 they went to the oil mill, where two men were at work. ''They were engaged making linseed oil, by grinding linseed under large stones and then pressing it. They made oil from hemp, walnuts, peachstones, etc.'' On the 21st they visited the chandler's, who was making candles. ''He had nearly finished 1,000 during the day. We then proceeded to the ropemakers, where three men are employed, who heckle hemp and flax and make during the summer about 6,000 lbs. of rope. They have an extensive rope-walk through an orchard.'' On the 22d they went to ''the smithy, with six forges and the brick kilns, where we found a number of excellent brick.'' On the 24th they visited the brewery, ''where about 500 gallons of beer is brewed every other day, and then to the distillery in which 36 gallons of whiskey is produced daily.'' On the 28th they went to the pottery, the carpenter shop and the cooperage. At the last there were nine men. ''Each makes about two barrels per day, sometimes three. The wood they use is usually two years old but sometimes they lay it in water for a month, which seasons it nearly as well. We then saw the tinman, who is in a shop alone. He is nearly self-taught. He never saw a tinman at work.'' On the 31st they went to the stocking weavers. ''We found there four looms. One weaver weaves four pairs of coarse stockings in one day, which one woman would require four days to. Fine stockings he weaves one and one-half pair per day.'' And our Indiana people, who thought these people ignorant, worried over their own lack of manufacture for years; and then voted for tariff taxes to build up the manufactures of New England!

But Rapp decided to leave Indiana. Just why is not certain, but it is said that he thought his people were getting too luxurious, and

needed the hard work of a new establishment to restore their spirituality. This seems plausible, though it is also said that they were afraid of their neighbors, and the fact that their stone granary was built like a fort, with loop-holes, is pointed to as evidence of this. On the other hand there is no record of any trouble, and the election of Frederick Rapp to the legislature, and to the Constitutional Convention of 1816, would indicate friendly relations. The chances are that Rapp was put on a "slate" in the Convention election, because he controlled the New Harmony vote, and that of a number of neighbors who got their beer and whisky at New Harmony. He did not show any especial ability in the Convention, and voted with the rest of the Gibson County delegation for slavery, on every test question that was raised. Subsequent favors shown to him by Jennings, such as his appointment on the Commission to locate the State capital, may indicate that he was amenable to reason in politics, when he saw that the other side had the control. He was apparently a good business man, and had charge of nearly all the dealings of the community with the outside world. He was also artistic, and the "labyrinth" and other attractive features of New Harmony are attributed to his influence. Whatever the consideration that influenced him, George Rapp trusted Edward Flower, a member of the Birkbeck colony of English immigrants in Illinois, to find a purchaser for the New Harmony property. It would be an historical misdemeanor to mention this agent without mentioning that his daughter, Sarah Flower Adams, was the author of that wonderful hymn, "Nearer My God to Thee." The property was brought to the attention of Robert Owen, of New Lanark, who was looking for an opportunity to establish a community on his own ideals. He came over with his son, William, to inspect it, and bought the entire 30,000 acres, with all improvements, for less than five dollars an acre. On the under side of a stairway in one of the community houses, there still remains the inscription made by one of the Rappites, "On the twenty-fourth of May, 1824, we have departed. Lord, with thy great help and goodness, in body and soul protect us."

There was nothing secret about the new community. In fact its most prominent feature was the publicity department. Robert Owen had made some practical and valuable reforms at New Lanark, in the way of improving the conditions of the working classes, and the treatment of children. His success led him to an aspiration to reform the world. His basic proposition, as he expressed it, was: "The religious, political and commercial arrangements of society have been on a wrong basis since the commencement of history." In other words, "Whatever is, is wrong." Hence he proposed the establishment of a "New Moral

World," in which the remainder of mankind should give up their customs and ideas, and adopt his. He believed that people were the products of environment, and consequently the most important thing was to give them proper environment in youth. The social organization must be put on a communal basis, and private property be abandoned as soon as the first generation had learned the principles of the new system. "The family must give way to the scientific association of from five hundred to two thousand people;" not in a marital way, as was charged by some of his critics, but for social purposes. All that was needed was a "cordial union of mankind," to be directed "by those who understand the laws of God and principles of society." It was perfectly simple. "Armies, churches, lawyers, doctors and exclusive universities are the greatest obstacles to progress." The middle-man was to be abolished, and work was to "be made so attractive that labor will be a pleasure which all will desire." There was a great deal more of it, especially of detail, for his book, in which "the principles" are set forth, comprises nearly three hundred closely printed pages. The substance of it was that there were evils in all forms of social organization, and that his system was the panacea for all of them. There was enough of truth in his presentation of existing evils to awaken interest in his proposed solution. He made two addresses on his plans, in the Hall of Representatives at Washington in February and March, 1825, which were attended by the elite of the capital, and which were published and circulated broadcast, as well as addresses in other cities; and the new project became the talk of the country. He issued a manifesto announcing that while his plans could not be fully carried out at New Harmony, a "preliminary society" would be formed there in April, to demonstrate the advantages of the plan, and serve as a model for other communities, inviting those who were in sympathy with the movement to become members.

His principal accession, and one who contributed most to the educational showing made by New Harmony, was William Maclure, born in Ayr, Scotland, in 1763, who came to the United States in 1799 with the purpose of making a geological survey of the country. He worked at this with extraordinary persistence, crossing the Alleghenies more than fifty times and tramping over most of the states in his field work. In 1809 he published the results of his labors, with a colored geological map, the publication receiving the plaudits of the scientific world, and very justly giving him the title of "The Father of American Geology." He was a man of wealth and leisure, especially interested in the natural sciences. He was the principal founder of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, and for twenty-three years, from 1817, was its

president. He was not a convert to the social theories of Owen, but agreed largely with his ideas of education. He had visited New Lanark, and viewed the work there with approval. He had visited Pestalozzi's school in Switzerland, and had brought Joseph Neef to this country to introduce the system here. Neef tried two schools in Pennsylvania, but abandoned the effort in 1814, on account of public prejudice against his avowed atheism, and went to farming near Louisville, until brought to New Harmony, in 1826. Maclure, himself, was a pronounced atheist, and Owen, while admitting that there was some sort of Supreme Being, who would be gratified by the establishment of the "new social system," rejected absolutely all known forms of religion. A very congenial partnership, therefore, was formed by Owen and Maclure in the investment, and in their spheres of control, Maclure took charge of the educational interests. This was fortunate, for while Maclure was not himself a very impressive scientist, he had gathered about him some men who were really of high grade. Aside from his first geological work, he was too diffusive for scientific research. He dabbled in many things, and was especially hopeless in his economic theories. His first venture was the purchase of ten thousand acres of land near the city of Alicante in Spain, on which he founded an agricultural school. But the unappreciative Spaniards got up a political revolution, and confiscated his property. He theorized on many subjects, sometimes very rationally, and sometimes not—he avowed, for example, that at the time when he left Philadelphia, real estate there had reached a price beyond which it could not materially advance. While at New Harmony he published there three volumes of his "Opinions," which are now of passing interest as curios, chiefly because they were printed in New Harmony, though his ideas on education are quite judicious from the present point of view.

In the winter of 1825-6, Maclure and his party came down the Ohio from Pittsburg in a keel boat, reaching New Harmony in the middle of January. He was accompanied by Robert Dale Owen, who had reached New York in November, 1825, to make America his home, bringing with him Captain McDonald, a young English officer who was an enthusiastic Owenite. Perhaps Maclure's most important recruit was Thomas Say. He was born in Philadelphia, July 27, 1787, of Quaker parents, his father being a physician. He first undertook business life, but was so complete a failure that his father was reconciled to his taking up natural science, for which he had a natural taste, and which he followed thereafter, stopping to serve as a volunteer in the War of 1812. He was with Maclure a charter member of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, and began scientific work under its auspices. In 1817,

he was with Maclure in an investigation of the natural history of the Floridan peninsula; in 1818 explored the islands off the coast of Georgia; in 1819 was the chief zoologist of Long's expedition to the Rocky Mountains; in 1823 accompanied Long's expedition to the St. Peter's river. At New Harmony, he was a tireless worker, not only writing about one hundred articles for the scientific publication of the day, but completing there his American Entomology, in three volumes, and his American Conchology, in six volumes. These are veritable works of art, illustrated by plates, made chiefly at New Harmony, by C. H. Lesueur, L. Lyon, and James Walker, and painted by Mrs. Say. The Conchology was printed at New Harmony, and when it was issued no state of the Union could boast of its equal as a scientific publication. It is conceded by scientists that no other man ever described so many new species rationally—that is, so that the work did not have to be changed by later workers; and this is the more remarkable because he was working in the backwoods, almost without books, and without scientific counsel. He remained at New Harmony until his death, on October 10, 1834, and was buried there. The soil of Indiana covers the remains of no more notable man. Another notable scientist in this first company of Maclure's, was Gerard Troost. He was born at Bois-le-Duc, Holland, March 15, 1776, and was educated at the University of Leyden. In 1809 he was sent on a tour of scientific investigation to Java, by King Louis Bonaparte of Holland. The vessel in which he sailed was captured by a privateer, and he came to the United States in 1810, and located at Philadelphia, where he became the first president of the Academy of Natural Sciences, holding that office until 1817. He remained at New Harmony for two years, during which he gave lectures on chemistry to the "adult school"—pupils over twelve years of age—and then went to Nashville, where he was made professor of chemistry, mineralogy and geology in the university there, and in 1831, Geologist of Tennessee, holding both offices until his death, on August 14, 1850. Troost established the first alum works in the United States, in 1814.

The women in this party were almost as notable as the men. Maclure's avowed purpose was to make New Harmony the center of education in the United States, through the Pestalozzian system, and, to assist Neef, who was to be called from his agricultural retirement, he brought Madame Marie D. Fretageot, and Mr. Phiquepal d'Arusmont, Pestalozzian teachers who had been conducting private schools at Philadelphia. He also brought Miss Lucy Sistare and her sisters, accomplished and talented young ladies, Miss Lucy later marrying Thomas Say. Still more notable was Frances Wright, who already had a reputation as a reformer, on account of her attempt to solve the negro problem

through a co-operative community, which she established in 1825, on Wolf river, thirteen miles above Memphis. She was born at Dundee, Scotland, September 6, 1795; and she and her younger sister, Camilla, were left orphans at an early age, with large fortune. Their guardian was the renowned Jeremy Bentham, who was some years in advance of his time, and closed an eventful and useful career by bequeathing his body to be dissected, in the interest of science. The girls were educated on a basis very unusual for female education at that time, and as Fanny was of a somewhat masculine type of mind, she expressed her views with a freedom that was generally frowned on at the time, though at present her position would not be considered extreme. For her negro

NASHOBA—FRANCES WRIGHT'S COLONY

experiment, she purchased two thousand acres of land, and fifteen negroes, the central idea being that these slaves should earn their freedom by receiving credit for one-half of their community earnings, for this purpose. This community settlement, half slave and half free, was a dismal failure—a feature which is artistically portrayed, though probably with unconscious art, by the crayon sketch of it that is used to illustrate Mrs. Trollope's book. After some weeks at Nashoba, it seems to have occurred to her that it would be well to learn something about successful socialism, and she went to Economy to study the system of the Rappites. From these she turned to the Owenites, who at least were more congenial associates.

She was a strikingly handsome woman. Robert Dale Owen says: "She had various personal advantages—a tall, commanding figure,

somewhat slender and graceful, though the shoulders were a little bit too high; a face the outline of which in profile, though delicately chiseled, was masculine rather than feminine, like that of an Antinous, or perhaps more nearly typifying a Mercury; the forehead broad, but not high; the short chestnut hair curling naturally all over a classic head; the large blue eyes not soft, but clear and earnest." Mrs. Trollope was not quite so critical in her description of Miss Wright. She says: "It is impossible to imagine anything more striking than her appearance. Her tall and majestic figure, the deep and almost solemn expression of her eyes, the simple contour of her finely formed head, unadorned, excepting by its own natural ringlets, her garments of plain white muslin, which hung around her in folds that recalled the drapery of a Grecian statue, all contributed to produce an effect unlike anything I have ever seen before or ever expect to see again." With the Owen talent for seeing the weaknesses of others, Robert Dale Owen also noted her mental defects, which, by the way, were not greatly different from his own. He says: "She was thoroughly versed in the literature of the day, was well informed on general topics, and spoke French and Italian fluently. She had traveled and resided for years in Europe, was an intimate friend of General Lafayette, had made the acquaintance of many leading reformers, Hungarian, Polish, and others, and was a thorough republican; indeed an advocate of universal suffrage without regard to color or sex. * * * Refined in her manner and language, she was a radical alike in politics, morals, and religion. She had a strong, logical mind, a courageous independence of thought, and a zealous wish to benefit her fellow creatures; but the mind had not been submitted to early discipline, the courage was not tempered with prudence, the philanthropy had too little of common sense to give it practical form and efficiency. Her enthusiasm, eager but fitful, lacked the guiding check of sound judgment. Her abilities as an author and lecturer were of a high order, but an inordinate estimate of her own mental powers, and obstinate adherence to opinions once adopted, detracted seriously from the influence which her talents and eloquence might have exerted. A redeeming point was, that to carry out her convictions she was ready to make great sacrifices, personal and pecuniary."

There were other notables at New Harmony who did not come on Maclure's keel-boat. John Chappelsmith, who came from England with Owen, was a wealthy artist and engraver, and his wife was an enthusiastic entomologist, who lectured at times.[7] Josiah Warren, a native of

[7] Richard Owen, a son of Robert, was a talented chemist. He commanded a regiment in the Civil War, and for fifteen years, beginning in 1864, was professor of natural sciences at the Indiana State University.

Frances Wright.

Pioneer Advocate of Women's Rights in America

Boston, musician, inventor, and all round genius, was perhaps the brightest mind of the community. He originated the "time-note," for the direct exchange of labor for commodities, and invented numerous articles, from lard lamps to stereotypes that were the basis of present stereotyping. In 1840 he constructed the first press used to print newspapers from a continuous roll. He made some money from his inventions, but lost most of it in communistic experiments. Rafinesque, the naturalist, came as near living at New Harmony for several years as could be said to live anywhere. He did an immense amount of original research, but classified so recklessly that his work was discredited, and not justly appreciated until long after his death. He did one good thing for Indiana in the preservation of the "Walum Olum." the national record of the Delaware Indians, which was obtained from our Indians on White River, and is one of the most important specimens of American pictographic writing in existence. There was a distinguished group of scientists who gathered at New Harmony later, in the days of the geological survey, but who had no connection with the community experiment; among them Col. Charles Whittlesey, the geologist; F. B. Meek, the paleontologist; Leo Lesquereux, the fossil botanist; Dr. Elderhorst, the blowpipe analyst; Dr. C. C. Parry, the botanist; Robert Henry Fauntleroy, physicist of the United States Coast Survey, who married Robert Owen's daughter, Jane Dale Owen. There were notable opportunities for education at New Harmony, and some creditable scientists came from it, such as Major Sidney Lyon of the Coast Survey, Prof A. T. Worthen, State Geologist of Illinois, and Prof. E. T. Cox, State Geologist of Indiana.

But all of the learning of the Owen community produced very little effect on Indiana at the time. In reality, the scientific learning of that day was not very accurate, from the standpoint of the present, and the natural sciences had not attained the point of practical utility. To the average citizen, the collection of bugs and shells, and labeling them with Latin names, was little more than a harmless form of insanity. For practical purposes, the backwoodsmen knew the animals and plants that were useful to him as well as any scientist, and he had names for them that were ample to distinguish them. In agriculture and manufacture the learned Owenites were not as successful as the supposedly ignorant Rappites, chiefly because they were not so industrious; but partially because they did not manufacture intoxicating liquors, and discouraged their use or sale in the community, in every way possible. From the material standpoint, there was nothing inspiring about the Owen experiment for its contemporaries. In other respects, the influence they might have exerted was killed by their religious attitude. Most of the

United States was fairly religious at the time, and Indiana was a little more so than the average, because there was nothing here to attract the dishonest or the frivolous. The state afforded an opportunity to people who wanted to make homes, and were willing to work and undergo hardships to that end. That was the class of people that came and stayed, and that class is usually serious minded. Robert Owen put himself in hostility to the religious sentiment of the country from the start. The Duke of Saxe-Weimar, who was very conservative in his religious views, and a close observer, said: "Mr. Owen is an enemy to all sects, the spirit of which has generated so much evil under the imposing name of religion. He allows each person liberty to believe in what he may consider to be good; so that a pure deism is the peculiar religion of his adherents. On this account he was very obnoxious to the prevailing sects in Great Britain, and accordingly his system could not extend itself there. He was therefore induced to turn his attention to the United States, and particularly to the western part of the Union, where, as he says, there is less hypocrisy of religion prevailing than to the east. * * * In the eastern states there is a general dislike to him. It was thought unadvised that he issued a proclamation to the Americans on his last arrival in New York, in which he told them, that among many virtues they possessed great faults, among which he alluded to an ill-directed propensity to religious feelings, and proposed himself as their reformer in this respect. I heard at that time unfavorable expressions from persons in the highest public offices against him; and one of them gave Mr. Owen to understand very plainly that he considered his intellects rather deranged. In one family alone, where theory took place of experimental knowledge, did I hear conversation turn to his advantage."[8]

His New York proclamation was quite characteristic. If he had delivered the address on Mars Hill, instead of Paul, he would have said: "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that you are engulfed in ignorance. What you need is someone to tell you what is good for you. If you knew as much as I do, you would abandon all your present customs, and become happy and prosperous by so doing, etc." The result was that his ideas were received with ridicule, where they did not arouse indignation, public attention being centered on his social and religious theories almost exclusively, and his practical and rational ideas being almost wholly overlooked. An apt illustration of his reception is seen in the following verses, published in the Philadelphia Gazette, in January, 1826:

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[8] Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers, p. 421.

The devil at length scrambled out of the hole
Discovered by Symmes at the freezing North Pole;
He mounted an iceberg, spread his wings for a sail,
And started for earth, with his long, barbed tail.

He heard that a number of people were going
To live on the Wabash with great Mr. Owen;
He said to himself, "I must now have a care,
Circumstances require that myself should be there.

"I know that these persons think they are impelled,
And by power of circumstance all men are held,
And owe no allegiance to heaven or me;
What a place this for work for the devil will be.

"Since Adam first fell by my powerful hand,
I have wandered for victims through every known land,
But in all my migrations ne'er hit on a plan
That would give me the rule so completely o'er man.

"I have set sects to fighting and shedding of blood,
And have whispered to bigots they're all doing good,
Inquisitions I've founded, made kings my lies swallow,
But this plan of free living beats all my schemes hollow.

"I have tempted poor Job, and have smote him with sores;
I have tried all good men, and caught preachers by scores,
But never on earth, through my whole course of evil,
Until now could I say, 'Here's a plan beats the devil.'

"I am satisfied now this will make the coast clear,
For men to all preaching will turn a deaf ear;
Since it's plain that religion is changed to opinions,
I must hasten back home, and enlarge my dominions."

The devil then mounted again on the ice,
And dashed through the waves, and got home in a trice,
And told his fell imps whom he kept at the pole
Circumstances required they should widen the hole.

To appreciate this, it must be known that at this time Symmes's Hole was a standing newspaper joke. Captain John Cleves Symmes was

a veteran of the War of 1812, who had located at Louisville, and there developed an astronomical theory that the earth and the planets were hollow spheres; and for several years his product of Western Literature attracted more attention than anything else in the country. In 1822 he sent a petition to Congress for two ships with which to "discover" the opening, which he located somewhere near parallel 82; and this was presented by Senator R. M. Johnson, who did or did not kill Tecumthe, according to the political affiliation of the reader; but the sordid politicians of Congress refused to aid him. He tried it again in 1823, with no better luck. Symmes had the details all figured out. The interior of the earth was lighted by two suns, Pluto and Proserpine, and the whole theory was supported by an array of facts that was confusing if not plausible. As late as April, 1873, the Atlantic Monthly published an article seriously arguing the probability of the theory. According to Symmes, the hole at the North Pole was some two thousand miles in diameter, and that at the South still larger; so that the allegation of need to enlarge it on account of the New Harmony community will serve as an early example of that grotesque exaggeration which is a feature of American humor. The intimation of "free love," so broadly thrown out in the poem, was widely accepted by Americans, to whom the idea of a community of men and women, who rejected the ordinary view of marriage, and whose children were schooled and cared for at public expense, could not reasonably have any other interpretation. There was, however, no justification for this view in fact.

It was only natural that occasionally some preacher would be impelled to visit New Harmony, and rebuke the residents for their sins. The Owenites rather welcomed them, for they longed for someone to argue with. Commonly they were answered by Mr. Jennings, the "preacher" of the community. Jennings was an Englishman, educated for the army, but gave up military for clerical life. He located at Cincinnati as an Universalist preacher, and was attracting some notice in that line, when he adopted "the new social system," and announced himself an atheist. Probably there is nothing that would give a better idea of intellectual life at New Harmony in community times, than a few extracts from the letters of William Pelham. Pelham was a Virginian of artistic and literary tastes, to whom the place was a haven of rest. His letters were written to his son, and are evidently frank expressions of his feelings:

"Sept. 7, 1825 * * * On Sunday the Rev. Mr. Jennings commonly delivers a lecture in the forenoon (without any formal text) in which he explains the manner of receiving religious impressions. I have not yet heard one of these Sunday lectures, but from several con-

versations I have had with him, I can plainly see that he will never try to stupefy the understanding of his hearers with unintelligible dogmas, and incomprehensible jargon. What he says is plain, and easy to be understood. On the Thursday, that is, the next day following my arrival, a Baptist preacher came into the town, and announced his intention of delivering a discourse in the evening in the church. Accordingly, a large congregation assembled and listened to him with great attention. He is certainly one of their first rate preachers, and he managed his matters with much address. The next evening—(Friday) Mr. Jennings delivered a lecture in the same place, and ably demonstrated the sandy foundation of the ingenious gentleman's arguments, without any pointed allusion to him or his arguments. * * * I have now been here two Sundays. On the first (Mr. Jennings being absent on business) Mr. Wm. Owen read to the congregation some extracts from his father's publications—and last Sunday, Mr. Jennings being indisposed, another member read several extracts from other portions of Mr. Owen's works. In both instances these extracts were accompanied with appropriate remarks of the reader explaining and connecting the passages. Last Sunday afternoon we were regaled with a truly Christian harangue from a rambling shaking Quaker who happened to be here. You would be surprised to see how punctually I attend these Sunday meetings in the church, and how frequently I am perambulating the streets, and falling in and conversing familiarly with successive groups before the door of the Tavern, particularly in the evening when these groups commonly assemble—not to drink and carouse, but for the purpose of rational conversation. * * * Those who are incapable of this appear still to take an interest in discussions of this kind, or separate into groups to talk over the occurrences of the day, occasionally introducing some jocular remark, tending to excite mirth without wounding the sensibility of any.

"Sept. 8, 1825. * * * I can speak my sentiments without fear of any bad consequences, and others do the same—here are no political or religious quarrels, though there is a great diversity of opinion in matters of religion. Each one says what he thinks, and mutual respect for the sentiments of each other seems to pervade all our intercourse. Mr. Jennings is our preacher, and I hear him with approbation and satisfaction. The Methodists have likewise a preacher among them, who sometimes holds forth to the great delight of those who take pleasure in confounding their understanding.

"September 11, * * * I have just returned from meeting;—and strange as it my appear to you, I am a constant attendant. The orator was Mr. Jennings; and the substance, and indeed the whole of his discourse was a moral lecture, in the plainest and most intelligible lan-

guage. He began by reading an extract from Robert Dale Owen's 'Outline of the System of Education at New Lanark,' beginning at the 1st page, in which the author disclaims all necessity for reward or punishment in the education of children. The orator then proceeded to illustrate by familiar examples, the beneficial results of a course in which rewards and punishments are exploded, and the pernicious effects of an opposite course.

"Sept. 19. Yesterday at 10 o'clock A. M. Mr. Jennings ascended the pulpit in the old church (which is now called the church) and continued the reading of Robert Dale Owen's outline of Education. His auditors were about as numerous as usual. He again expatiated on the indispensable necessity of establishing the principle of equality as the basis of liberty. * * * At 2 o'clock P. M. it was announced by the ringing of the bell that something was to be said or done at church. I immediately repaired hither, and found the pulpit occupied by a stranger who thought he could say something that would be useful. Very few persons were present. The gentleman began by giving out a hymn to be sung by the congregation—only one person joined him. After hobbling through one verse, the remainder was laid aside and 'Let us pray' pronounced in an audible voice. Some knelt down, some stood, and others remained sitting. The preacher delivered a devout prayer, and seemed much relieved by this effusion of the spirit. He then commenced an attempt to reconcile some contradictions in the holy book—and talked about three-fourths of an hour in the usual incoherent, unintelligible manner. * * * At 8 p. m. the bell again rang and I again attended, where I found a considerable number of persons assembled to hear a preacher of the Methodist doctrine, whose name I could not learn though I inquired of several persons. I found, however, that he was one of the Circuit preachers. This man appeared to have learned his lessons very accurately, for his cant phrases flowed from him with remarkable ease and rapidity, and were answered by many spiritual groans, and other evidences of entire sympathy. When he gave out a hymn, a considerable number of male and female voices were joined with his, and really the music was delightful, for singing is taught here scientifically. He then named a text, and talked as usual about sin, and the devil, and heaven, and the straight and narrow way leading to salvation, the utter impossibility of being saved but through the merits of our blessed Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, &c, &c. I mustered patience to sit and hear him to the end, and when the judge pronounces against me 'Depart ye wicked, &c,' I intend to plead this command of myself in mitigation of the sentence. After he had finished, a member of the community with whom I am acquainted, and who is a sort of a

Methodist preacher, took his place in the pulpit, and in a moderate tone and manner related his individual experience as an example to others, he was also attended to though he said nothing but what had been said a thousand times. It seems he is unwilling to exchange his belief in divine revelation for all the joys and pleasures of the world. So be it, for notwithstanding this whimsical notion, he is really a good member of the Society, and devoted to the system as far as he comprehends it. You would be amused to come into the church while we are at our devotions. The walls bare—the ceiling lofty—the beams and joists uncovered, the pulpit itself nothing but a raised platform furnished with a bench, and sort of desk, the preacher in his ordinary clothing, a striped roundabout and linen pantaloons—(this is the common appearance of Mr. Jennings, Mr. Owen and some others) benches ranged for the congregation, on one side for the men, on the other for the females, many of the former in their shirt sleeves, among the latter a variety of ornamental drapery, and among the whole the greatest order and decorum. No one troubles himself about his neighbor's appearance unless there be an affectation of finical attention to dress. * * * I have just returned from the hall (the old Rappite church), where there is music and dancing every Tuesday evening. Every Friday evening there is a concert in the same place. Some biggots are dreadfully scandalized that these parties are held in a building originally intended for divine worship, nevertheless, the fire and brimstone have not yet descended from heaven to destroy us for this wicked perversion. Yesterday evening there was a drunken frolic among some young men who contrived to procure some whiskey from the country people who came in to make their purchases in the store. The Committee took cognizance of the matter today, and have expelled three of the offenders, who are deemed incorrigible, being not only addicted to drink, but likewise gamblers and idlers. What sort of character will these men give us when they return to their homes?

"Sept. 26. * * * Yesterday at the usual hour, Mr. Wm. Owen ascended the pulpit in the church, and read that portion of Robert Dale Owen's 'Outline of Education' which treats of religion, with explanatory remarks and comments of his own. He is a good reader and speaker, except that his voice is not sufficiently strong and firm. His audience was numerous and attentive. * * * As you have had the opportunity of seeing a great number of newspapers, I wish you would send me a list of such as you recommend in exchange, omitting all that you know to be violent party papers. * * * What do you think of the Athens Mirror in this point of view? I think it is a literary paper and it is such we want. But we want not any of the canting, hypo-

critical, lying religious papers so-called, which tell us everything but the truth."[9]

"Oct. 3. Yesterday morning I was prevented by circumstances from shaving and dressing myself till the second bell rung for meeting. I was unwilling to be absent and finally at the instigation of Wm. Owen I determined to go as I was, viz. with a long beard, dirty shirt and cravat, and my little short coat which is the coat I most commonly wear when the weather is warm. Mr. Jennings began with reading something from a late publication on Political Economy, after which he delivered an excellent discourse on Equality:—showing that it was essential to the happiness of society, as all arbitrary distinctions and partialities not founded on real merit, and all distinctions arising from extravagance in dress and external appearance have no solid foundation —that every person's worth should be measured by his capacity to be useful to his fellow beings. Many ladies were present, some of whom were fashionably dressed and decorated with ribbons and artificial flowers. I suspect that some of them did not quite approve of his remarks.

"Oct. 5. Yesterday evening being the regular dancing evening a number of ladies appeared at the ball in a new uniform dress of cheap American manufacture. I was prevented from seeing this exhibition by having to read a proof-sheet which I did not get till after dark. As soon as I had performed this duty I sallied out with the intention of going to the Hall. As soon as I got out of doors I perceived that the church also was lighted up, and as it lay in my way I called there first and found about twenty devotees listening to the ranting of a stranger who occupied the pulpit, and who was holding forth with great strength of voice about the 'scribes and Pharisees.' I did not sit down, and only remained a few minutes. Having heard as much about these gentlemen of the ancient world as I desired, I proceeded to the ball-room, but too late to gratify my curiosity with the sight of the new dresses.

"Oct. 10. Yesterday according to my new custom, I went punctually to church, and heard Mr. Jennings continue the reading of select portions of Thompson's Essay on the Distribution of Wealth. The author shows distinctly, that a very considerable part of the evils suffered in Society may be traced to the unequal, and unjust division of property, and that this again may be attributed to the principle of individual competition. * * * Mr. J. then expatiated on his favorite topics, equality, economy, and good feelings toward one another. At the close of the discourse, he was requested by one of the members to give notice

[9] Pelham was one of the editors of the New Harmony Gazette, the Community organ.

Rappite Church

that at 3 P. M. there would be preaching in the church. * * * As I understand, for I did not attend, the Revd. Mr. Slocum, a Methodist preacher, delivered a very edifying sermon, that is to say, a sermon full of words and phrases quite unintelligible both to the speaker and his hearers—all of whom have probably persuaded themselves that they fully understand as well as profess to believe such things. In the evening the weather being warm and clear, many were assembled as usual before the door of the Tavern, (which is a sort of Literary Exchange)—where, seated on chairs and benches, we discussed with mutual respect, and perfect freedom, the various ideas of religion entertained by each—and here we sat and talked of God, the soul, eternity, matter, spirit, &c. &c. (without thinking of anything to drink) till after the Tavern doors were closed, which is always done at 10 o'clock.

"Nov. 27. * * * Our Light Infantry Co. & some other companies in full uniform are now (Sunday afternoon) parading the street under the command of their Major the Revd. Mr. Jennings, who is an active and intelligent military officer—He preached in the forenoon in the church, and this afternoon appeared on horseback in his military dress to exercise the troops.

"December 27. For the last three weeks we have heard a great deal about a numerous assemblage of Methodists expected in this place on the 24th & 25th inst. These days are passed, but only about fifteen or twenty came, including one preacher. On enquiring of one of the brethren how this happened, he informed me that a report was circulated in the country that the Committee had refused the use of the church, though it is a notorious fact that the Committee very readily granted them the church for the exercise of their religious worship. This is a specimen of the means resorted to, in order to injure the reputation of the Harmonians. Facts are distorted & misrepresented, and when facts are wanting for this purpose, malevolent ingenuity can easily fabricate them. * * * On Sunday last, our military men as usual were paraded before the door of the Tavern, from whence they marched a little way out of town for the purpose of drilling, as usual, under the command of Mr. Jennings, who is certainly an excellent disciplinarian, & well acquainted with military tactics. This drill on Sunday will no doubt be called a profanation of the Sabbath, as all other Sunday Schools are, whether they be literary, or military. It is at least evident that if a Sunday School for military instruction is a profanation, the other for clerical purposes are not less so."

The Community was beginning to approach the shoals. On March 16, 1826, Pelham wrote: "I do not doubt you very frequently hear the most unfavorable accounts of this place; but you need not fear a dissolu-

tion of this Society, for it cannot happen. Various modifications have been, and probably will be made, without touching the foundation, which stands on a rock not to be shaken by priestcraft or any other worldly craft. You will perceive that I have given a new complexion to the Gazette in discouraging those long-winded metaphysical disquisitions with which Mr. J(ennings) was wont to fill its columns. There are some able pens employed in the service of the Gazette, and when we get in order I am in hopes the paper will become more useful than it has hitherto been. You will understand that my criticisms on the paper are entirely confidential." When Mr. Pelham had become weary of the "disquisitions" of Mr. Jennings, whose discourses on equality he had found so satisfactory six months earlier, it is evident that the novelty of the experiment was wearing off; and that is probably a feature of the failure of all socialistic schemes when reduced to practice, for they are commonly entered into with great enthusiasm; and after the failure nobody admits that there was anything weak in the theory. Robert Owen practically "threw up the sponge" on May 27, 1827; though in his parting address, on starting for Europe at that time, he assured the Harmonians that if they clung to "the principles," and were virtuous, industrious, and intelligent, they certainly would be happy. The reasons given for the failure are multifarious. Robert Dale Owen probably struck one of them, when, in later years he gave as the cause, that there is no human passion or principle that can replace the desire for individual ownership—to have things that are your own. A quarter of a century ago, I talked with Mrs. Richard Owen on the subject—she was a daughter of Joseph Neef. She attributed the failure to ignorance of the majority of the members; and illustrated it by her own experience. She was quick in her work, and when she had finished her tasks, would "dress up" and play the piano, or amuse herself otherwise. This made the slower females envious, because they could not understand how she did it unless she was favored in the work. In my opinion this suggests the real cause of the failure of all socialistic ventures that are not based on some strong common interest. There is a point in any just socialistic scheme, in which equal participation in benefits must be based on equal service or effort, where there must be absolute submission to a taskmaster—someone who must decide when each one has performed his task. This cannot be left to the worker, and it cannot be decided by joint action of the Society. There must be a judge.

In the Rappite community this made no trouble, for the members were interested only in working out their salvation; and, as they considered Rapp an inspired leader, they obeyed him without question. But in the Owen community, "equality" was constantly preached as

the one great desideratum, and submission to the authority of another was necessarily obnoxious. The Duke of Saxe-Weimar mentions an illustration of it, in the case of Virginia Sistare, a pretty and cultivated girl. He was calling on some of the ladies, and presumably it was an occasion that agitated even their philosophic souls to have a live duke in the house. Virginia was called on for some music, and he says: "While she was singing and playing very well on the piano forte, she was told that the milking of the cows was her duty, and that they were waiting unmilked. Almost in tears, she betook herself to this servile employment, deprecating the new social system, and its so much prized equality." People who are not members of trades unions often wonder at the obedience paid to the "walking delegate"; but in a trades union there is a common interest, and the control is limited to the work, the member being his own master in other respects. At New Harmony, under Owen, there was no bond of union, unless it was atheism, and that is purely negative. In addition to the intelligent members, the project attracted a number of headstrong cranks, and some crooks. The expulsion of three of these latter is mentioned above by Pelham; but the community did not always escape them so easily. Col. Richard Owen wrote to John H. Holliday that, "There were a good many who came thinking to make money by getting lands and houses into their hands on pretense of being strong advocates of socialism. Some of them were very unscrupulous in the means employed, notably William Taylor, who afterward was in the Ohio penitentiary, I think, for forgery." Owen formed a sort of partnership with Taylor, and when he discovered his character, and wanted to dissolve the relation, Taylor would consent only on condition that Owen would deed him 1,500 acres of land, on which to establish a new community of his own. This was finally agreed to, the deed running for the land "with all thereon," and to take effect on a day fixed. On the night before it went into effect, Taylor moved all the live stock, agricultural implements, and other movables he could lay hands on, to his tract; and not satisfied with this *coup de main,* he established a distillery on his place, and sold whiskey to thirsty Owenites.[10] Robert Owen took comfort in the belief that the trouble was due to the members not being educated up to "the principles" and in this he showed some reason. If you could form a community of perfect people, or at least of intelligent people, who were honest and unselfish, it might succeed; but unhappily the community maker must deal with humanity as it comes. And it may be added that perfect people could live very happily under almost any kind of government.

After Robert Owen returned to England he entered into negotiations

[10] The New Harmony Movement, pp. 156, 182.

with the Mexican government to establish a community there, and returned to this country to carry out this project; but the Mexican government withdrew its consent on account of his attitude to religion. While at New Orleans he delivered some lectures that called out criticism from the clergy; and on January 28, 1828, he issued a proposal to meet them publicly or privately and discuss the subject. In this he said: "I propose to prove, as I have already attempted to do in my lectures, that all the religions of the world have been founded on the ignorance of mankind; that they are directly opposed to the never-changing laws of our nature; that they have been and are, the real source of vice, disunion, and misery of every description; that they are now the only real bar to the formation of a society of virtue, of intelligence, of charity in its most extended sense, and of sincerity and kindness among the whole human family; and that they can be no longer maintained except through ignorance of the mass of the people, and the tyranny of the few over that mass." As no one else accepted this challenge, Alexander Campbell took up the gauntlet. They met at Cincinnati, on the second Monday in May, 1829, about a year after the acceptance of the challenge, during which both of the champions "loaded for bear." The Presbyterian church was the largest in the place, but Mr. Wilson, the pastor, refused to allow it to be used, and they had to content themselves with the Methodist church, which accommodated about a thousand people. The pulpit was occupied by Campbell's aged father, and the disputants and the stenographers were on a temporary platform in front of it; while on another platform sat seven citizens who had consented to act as moderators. Half of the church was reserved for ladies, and the building was crowded through the fifteen sittings for which the debate continued. The whole argument was printed in book form by the two jointly; and it was the most read book in the world for the next few years—certainly the most universally read in the West. Perhaps the nearest approach to an unprejudiced hearer in the audience was Mrs. Trollope, not that she did not have settled convictions, but because she did not agree fully with either speaker. Her account, in part, is as follows:

"It was in the profoundest silence, and apparently with the deepest attention, that Mr. Owen's opening address was received; and surely it was the most singular one that ever Christian men and women sat to listen to. When I recollect its object, and the uncompromising manner in which the orator stated his mature conviction that the whole history of the Christian mission was a fraud, and its sacred origin a fable, I cannot but wonder that it was so listened to; yet at the time I felt no such wonder. Never did anyone practice the suaviter in modo with more powerful effect than Mr. Owen. The gentle tone of his voice; his

mild, sometimes playful, but never ironical manner; the absence of every vehement or harsh expression; the affectionate interest expressed for 'the whole human family'; the air of candor with which he expressed his wish to be convinced he was wrong, if indeed he were so—his kind smile—the mild expression of his eyes—in short, his whole manner, disarmed zeal, and produced a degree of tolerance that those who did not hear him would hardly believe possible. * * * Mr. Campbell then arose; his person, voice, and manner all greatly in his favor. In his first attack he used the arms which in general have been considered as belonging to the other side of the question. He quizzed Mr. Owen most unmercifully; pinched him here for his parallelograms; hit him there

THE OWEN-CAMPBELL DEBATE
(After Mrs. Trollope)

for his human perfectibility, and kept the whole audience in a roar of laughter. Mr. Owen joined in it most heartily himself, and listened to him throughout with the air of a man who is delighted at the good things he is hearing, and exactly in the cue to enjoy all the other good things that he is sure will follow. * * * He sat down with, I should think, the universal admiration of his auditory. Mr. Owen again addressed us; and his first five minutes were occupied in complimenting Mr. Campbell with all the strength his exceedingly hearty laughter had left him. But then he changed his tone, and said the business was too serious to permit the next half hour to pass so lightly and so pleasantly as the last; and then he read us what he called his twelve fundamental

laws of human nature. * * * To me they appear twelve truisms, that no man in his senses would ever think of contradicting; but how any one can have conceived that the explanation and defense of these laws could furnish forth occupation for his pen and his voice, through whole years of unwearying declamation, or how he can have dreamed that they could be twisted into a refutation of the Christian religion, is a mystery which I never expect to understand. From this time Mr. Owen entrenched himself behind his twelve laws, and Mr. Campbell, with equal gravity, confined himself to bringing forward the most elaborate theological authorities in evidence of the truth of revealed religion. Neither appeared to me to answer the other; but to confine themselves to the utterance of what they had uppermost in their own minds when the discussion began. I lamented this on the side of Mr. Campbell, as I am persuaded he would have been much more powerful had he trusted more to himself and less to his books. Mr. Owen is an extraordinary man, and certainly possessed of talent, but he appears to me so utterly benighted in the mists of his own theories, that he has quite lost the power of looking through them, so as to get a peep at the world as it really exists around him. * * * It was said that at the end of the fifteen meetings the numerical amount of the Christians and the Infidels of Cincinnati remained exactly what it was when they began. This was a result that might have been perhaps anticipated; but what was much less to have been expected, neither of the disputants appeared to lose their temper. I was told they were much in each other's company, constantly dining together, and on all occasions expressed most cordially their mutual esteem. All this, I think, could only have happened in America. I am not quite sure that it was very desirable it should have happened anywhere."[11]

It is evident that Mrs. Trollope had discussed the debate extensively with her American associates at Cincinnati before she wrote this; and her view is quite similar to that which prevailed in the West. An Indianapolis paper of the time said: "We learn that Mr. Campbell has quite foiled his opponent. Christianity, we believe, can gain but little in our day by such contests; although we are not displeased to find the doctrine of such moralists as Mr. Owen and Miss Wright exploded. It might perhaps be as well for these reformers instead of endeavoring to make proselytes of Brother Jonathan's folks to their 'new social system,' to go back to England, and convert old John Bull from the error of his ways, as it is generally believed he is still much inclined to favor the ancient institutions of religion and matrimony."[12] And this attitude

[11] Domestic Manners of the Americans, pp. 207-12.

[12] Indianapolis Gazette, May 14, 1829.

of the general public towards the New Harmony philosophers continued for years after Robert Owen and Frances Wright had left; for Maclure, and most of the people who remained were professed atheists or deists. In 1839, Robert Dale Owen was defeated as a candidate for Congress, on the Democratic ticket, in the "Pocket" district, on religious grounds. The Whig organ of the State called attention to the fact that in 1831, in a controversy with Origen Bacheler, a Presbyterian minister, he had denied the "authenticity of the Christian religion," and "the existence of a God." This was the first recorded campaign in Indiana in which women took a hand, and it was against Mr. Owen. After the campaign, the grateful Whig managers presented Mrs. George Miller a dress pattern, in recognition of her services in behalf of "religion and morals."[13]

There is one other item in Mrs. Trollope's account of the Owen-Campbell debate that is significant in this connection. She says: "At the conclusion of the debate, Mr. Campbell desired the whole assembly to sit down. They obeyed. He then requested all who wished well to Christianity to rise, and a very large majority were in an instant on their legs. He again requested them to be seated, and then desired those who believed not in its doctrines to rise, and a few gentlemen and one lady obeyed. Mr. Owen protested against this maneuver, as he called it, and refused to believe that it afforded any proof of the state of men's minds, or of women's either; declaring, that not only was such a result to be expected, in the present state of things, but that it was the duty of every man who had children to feed, not to hazard the sale of his hogs, or his iron, by a declaration of opinions which might offend the majority of his customers." This was characteristic not only of Mr. Owen, but also of earnest "liberals" generally. Real tolerance in religious matters is usually an indication of indifference. It is difficult for anyone who has intense convictions on religious matters, for or against, and of any shade, to understand that any intelligent person can honestly believe otherwise, as likewise it is in politics, and in other things that human beings get excited about. This was shown at New Harmony. The Duke of Saxe-Weimar visited the first two seceding communities, known as No. 2, or Macluria, and No. 3. Macluria had about eighty people, and he says: "They are mostly backwoodsmen with their families, who have separated themselves from the community No. 1, in New Harmony, because no religion is acknowledged there, and these people wish to hold their prayer meetings undisturbed. * * * The community No. 3, consisted of English country people, who formed a new association, as the mixture, or perhaps the cosmopolitism of New

[13] Journal, July 13, Aug. 24, 1839.

Harmony did not suit them; they left the colony planted by Mr. Birkbeck, at English Prairie, about twenty miles hence, on the right bank of the Wabash, after the unfortunate death of that gentleman, and came here. This is a proof that there are two evils that strike at the root of the young societies; one is a sectarian or intolerant spirit; the other, national prejudice."

After the Campbell-Owen debate the religious hostility towards New

Monument to Robert Dale Owen
(Erected by Indiana Women)

Harmony gradually wore away. It had been demonstrated to the satisfaction of the average citizen that the atheistic intellect could not stand before the Christian intellect in debate; and the failure of the community experiment was sufficient evidence that the New Harmony intellect was not so superior as it claimed to be. In the peaceful paths of science, David Dale Owen did service that won public approval in his

geological surveys; Robert Dale Owen had been useful in the Constitutional Convention, and in establishing the Smithsonian Institution.[14] Richard Owen had been a popular professor at the State University. When the Civil War came on, Richard entered the army, and Robert Dale made himself conspicuously valuable as agent of the State in the purchase of arms and war supplies, and in the war spirit the past was largely forgotten. But in the meantime another event of much weight had occurred. In 1858 it began to be noised through Indiana that a granddaughter of Robert Owen was engaged in aggressive religious work at New Harmony. Jane Dale Owen had married Major Robert Henry Fauntleroy, of the U. S. Coast Survey, a Virginian of an old Huguenot family, and their daughter, Constance Fauntleroy, was conducting a live Sunday School where the early missionaries had made no impression. This remarkable woman was born at Indianapolis, January 15, 1836. Like other members of the Owen family, she was kept away from any religious instruction until adult life. The story of her conversion is so extraordinary that it is best presented in her own words. She says:

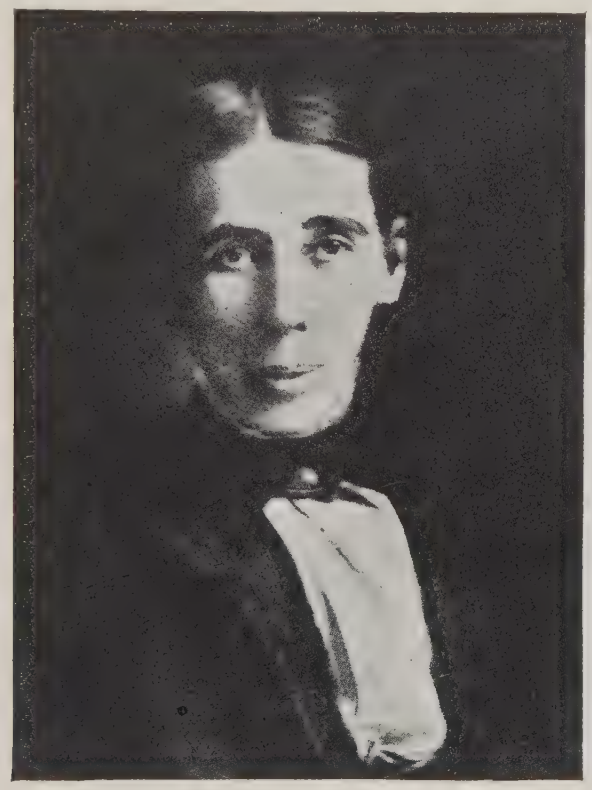
"I was the second grandchild born to Robert Owen, of New Lanark, Scotland, and my earliest recollections are centered in New Harmony, Indiana, the village my grandfather bought of Rapp, and the place in which he hoped to realize his experiment of raising the standard of education and morality among men, by adopting his peculiar views of holding property in common, and abolishing the line between the rich and poor. * * * A tradition there was that all the Bibles of the town had been burned in the public square. This I never believed. Years after I had entered upon a Christian life, my father's sister (then quite old) related to me the early experience of the few who assembled together on the Lord's day for divine service. Large stones were hurled against the door, and overhead still larger ones were rolled up and down, making a noise like thunder; or a half dozen men in heavy boots would wait until service had begun, then one after another, with great noise, would shuffle in, waiting only a few moments to shuffle out again, intent upon tormenting and disturbing the little congregation. And later on, when hoping to build for themselves a little church, the subscription paper was torn to atoms, and they were unable to collect even a small amount. 'And worse than all,' said my aunt, smiling sadly, 'was to know and feel yourself misunderstood and despised; to be accounted deficient in common sense, and considered mentally inferior because you confessed Christ crucified.' * * * Among all this cul-

[14] On March 2, 1911, the women of Indiana unveiled a memorial monument to him, sculptured by Frances Goodwin, and presented to the State of Indiana.

ture and mental vigor there was a little band of ignorant and poor people, who were called religious, and had a small meeting house somewhere, a place we never frequented, as we despised this class of people, setting them down as weak and ignorant, taking no notice of their proceedings, and pitying them as persons only worthy of our compassion and contempt. * * *

"It was when I was at the age of sixteen, in the summer of 1852, that my uncle Robert Dale Owen was appointed ambassador to the court at Naples. My father had died nearly two years before, and my mother determined to take her children to Europe to complete their education. In company, then, with Uncle Robert and his family, we left our village home * * * finally settling down in Stuttgart, Germany. Now began a truly delicious life of study and travel. * * * I never heard in my whole life, until I was twenty-one years old, that anything was wrong to do outside of being untruthful, dishonest, hypocritical and loving scandal. * * * We told the truth, but we attended the opera every Sunday night. It is true our German friends were scandalized at our not attending Church, and asked if we had not been baptized. 'Baptized!' What was that? No, indeed, we knew nothing at all of what they meant. * * * But it happened one Sunday, in the providence of God, that the little Countess Julia, hearing I was not well, came to pay me a visit. She would kneel down by my side and kiss my hands, telling me how much she loved me. This day she carried her prayer-book, and on going away accidentally (could it be called accident?) left it behind her. For the first time that I can recollect, my attention was intelligently fastened upon a prayer; and I must have been fully twenty-one years of age, I think. The language fascinated me. I loved German, and the lofty style of thought and composition took possession of me. I read it for the beauty of the language alone. The sonorous phrases pleased my ear, the noble construction of the prayers appealed to my love of exalted thought and feeling, and, finally, it made me wish to see the Bible, that I might understand what all this meant. My grandmother Owen, a Scotchwoman, had been a strictly pious person, calling the young Owens up before daylight for prayers, and her long-forgotten Bible was now taken down and opened. I approached this new study with ardor, which was soon mingled with awe. To accomplish this I retired to my bedroom, and as it was shared with my sister, I was obliged to maneuver to lock myself in alone in order to examine the Bible, which claimed to be the word of God. I was very much ashamed of my weakness, and afraid of being found out and laughed at. At this time an American lady put into my hand a tract, which I secreted and read also when locked up with the Bible. I

remember my first trembling attempt to sink on my knees; I did not know how to pray. When Sunday evening came I framed some excuse, and remained at home from the opera. This at first was not noticed, but after a few Sundays my companions eyed me suspiciously. 'What is the matter with you?' they asked; 'trying to be religious?' I blushed deeply, but I was not yet able to make a confession; so I read and prayed in secret every night, waiting until my sister slept, when, creeping



CONSTANCE FAUNTLEROY RUNCIE

softly out of bed, I said my prayers. Before daybreak I rose again to pray, and for six months I daily read the word of God, many times entering my room through the day in order to throw myself on my knees in prayer. 'Repent,' said the Bible, 'and be baptized.' * * * Then I must be baptized. So I went to my mother. I told her all, and her answer I have never forgotten. 'My dear Constance,' she said, 'you have been purposely kept free from all prejudice and superstition. Your soul has been a blank, a white page, kept free by me, that when

the time came for you to think and choose for yourself, you might yourself write your religion there. Go and be baptized, but take heed to walk worthy of your belief. Show by your actions the inner belief of your soul.' ''

They were about to return to America, and no opportunity for baptism was presented until they reached Cincinnati, where Constance made a brief visit to a friend, of whom she says: ''She could sympathize with me for she too had lived in New Harmony, wholly devoid of religious teaching, and only after her marriage and removal to Cincinnati had she come into the church.'' This friend called in Dr. Butler, an Episcopalian clergyman, who found it a case that did not come within any of the Episcopalian forms. To his first question, whether she desired to enter the Episcopalian church, she answered that she did not know what the Episcopalian church was. This was a stumper, and in the further questioning she summed up the situation in the statement: ''I only know that Christ died for me, and I wish to enter His Church by baptism.'' Dr. Butler urged that she should defer baptism for ''instruction''; but she told him she was going to New Harmony, where religious instruction was not to be had. Dr. Butler finally baptized her; and she went on to New Harmony, where the news that she had ''joined church'' preceded her, and made her a seven days' wonder. While she had been away, Bishop Upfold, of the Episcopalian church, had sent James Runcie, a young missionary worker, to New Harmony, and he had effected a lodgment, and built a small church, which was now in charge of a Rev. Mr. Armstrong. He took her education in hand, which was not difficult, as she had the proverbial zeal of a new convert. She even ventured on a letter to the village paper protesting against the profanation of the Sabbath, which was promptly answered in true New Harmony spirit. Having completed her instruction, she was confirmed by Bishop Upfold; and soon after Mr. Armstrong resigned, and the church was without a pastor. She writes: ''For two years I worshipped with the Methodists, except when our own church was open for occasional services. During all this time I carried on a Sunday school, with about one hundred and twenty-five members. I have no remembrance of a vestry in those days, but virtually took the key of the church in my own possession. Not knowing it to be contrary to the custom of the Church, I would write and deliver short sermons to the children from the pulpit. I also visited from house to house where the parents were quite indifferent toward religion, and the children often had to rise and dress themselves on Sunday morning, eating a cold crust of bread for breakfast, as the parents took no interest in their religious training, and would not rise in time to get them

ready for Sunday school. On one occasion nearly the whole school demanded baptism, to which I did not dare to accede in the face of the opposition of the parents; and a more eager, interested set of children I have never since seen. Now and then a missionary sent by Bishop Upfold would officiate, and before my leaving New Harmony eighteen (I think) were baptized, and thirteen presented to the bishop for the apostolic rite of confirmation."

The occasion for her leaving New Harmony was her marriage to Mr. Runcie, the young missionary. She realized that the status of a clergyman's wife was "not to be entered into lightly or unadvisedly," and she went through a course of reading, including "Butler's Analogy," "Pearson on the Creed," "Wordsworth on the Apocalypse," "Coxe on the Services," and several church histories, arriving at the satisfying conclusion that the Episcopalian is "the one true and Holy Apostolic Church." But the most striking part of her story is of the results in her immediate family, as to which she says: "Just before my marriage our uncle, Robert Dale Owen, returned from Europe, having embraced spiritualism about the same time that I entered the church. 'Tell me, Constance,' I well remember him saying to me one day, 'now that you also have begun to think of these matters pertaining to a belief in a life in another world, what do you think becomes of the soul immediately after death?' How I longed inexpressibly to be able to explain the Scriptural doctrine regarding the soul! But, alas! I was too ignorant. I had for two years preached and taught only what I knew—'repent and be baptized,' and 'Believe and love the Savior Christ.' As yet I knew nothing else. There rises up before me the mild and penetrating countenance of our uncle, David Dale Owen, when he also touched on this question, but assured me the whole creature man, when he perished, passed off into gases, and became absorbed into the economy of nature. Not long before my mother's death, which occurred before I was married, the reader can feel with me when I heard her say: 'Now I believe in your religion; you have made it a reality. It has done for you that which your mother, with all her love, was unable to accomplish. It has made you conquer yourself. Once I trembled at your future—I grieved over your proud nature; but I have watched you, I have proved your religion. It has changed, it has subdued you; I no longer fear for you. With such a check upon your disposition your character should be both a noble and a capable one. Only continue to let your religion be your guide.' How my heart swelled with joy! My mother not only loved me, but approved. * * * In taking farewell of New Harmony I left Florence Dale Owen, their (Mr. and Mrs. David Dale Owen's) eldest daughter, a communicant, who took my place in the

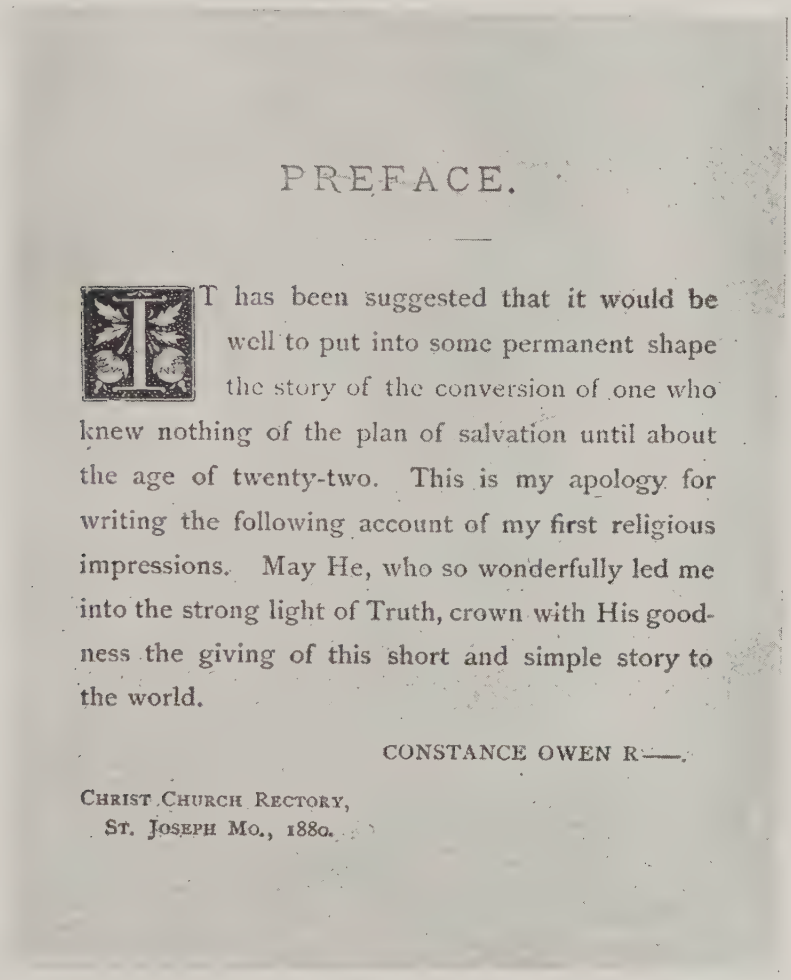
Sunday school, and who for six months read aloud in the church a letter written by me every week. * * * There is only this to add, that since coming into the church, fifteen of my immediate family have been baptized and confirmed, besides bringing to baptism some eighteen or twenty of their children. Among them were Robert Dale Owen's two daughters, the wife and two grown sons of Richard Owen and their wives (himself, being absent from New Harmony, was received into the Presbyterian denomination about the same time), my own sister, and the two daughters of my father's sister."

No less remarkable than this was Robert Dale Owen's embracing spiritualism, as she mentions. She says: "The speculative minds of the Owens grasped every new phase of thought. I remember their eager interest and experiments in mesmerism, psychology, and in table-turning. It was years after this that the news reached us of Robert Owen's becoming deeply interested in spiritualism, and not one of his children deplored what they deemed his 'infatuation' more than his son Robert Dale Owen. They attributed his easy credulity to his extreme old age. No suspicion crossed my uncle's mind at that time that he should ever give in his allegiance and become so eloquent an advocate of this doctrine of spiritualism. He, with his brothers and their sister, my mother, spoke with deep gravity concerning their father's sad hallucination." And yet Robert Dale Owen went into spiritualism with even more abandon than he had shown in his more youthful hobbies, culminating in his becoming the sponsor and champion of "Katie King," whose "mysteries" were the sensation of New York, and of the country, some years ago. But some skeptics exposed the fraud of Katie's manifestations, and Robert Dale Owen was left in the pitiable condition of a self-recognized dupe. There is surely cause for wonder in the contemplation of a mind that can lightly cast aside the philosophy of, "The heavens declare the glory of God; the firmament showeth his handiwork;" and yet be convinced by the shallow trickery of an alleged spiritual medium.

In 1873, Mrs. Runcie published the story from which the above excerpts are made, under the title, "Divinely Led, or Robert Owen's Granddaughter." It was republished in New York, in 1881; and was reproduced in The Church Chronicle, of Indianapolis, in 1901. It is not, however, her chief cause of celebrity. On September 20, 1859, she organized, at her home in New Harmony, "The Minerva," the first women's club in the United States.[15] In 1861 she went with Mr. Runcie for a stay of ten years at Madison, Indiana; and there, in 1867, she or-

[15] Since this was written, I am advised that an earlier date is claimed for some club in New England, but I have no details.

ganized "The Bronte," the second women's club in the United States. From Madison they went to St. Joseph, Mo., where, in 1894, she organized "The Runcie Club," of which she was made life president. In recognition of these achievements she was made an Honorary Vice



PREFACE.

IT has been suggested that it would be well to put into some permanent shape the story of the conversion of one who knew nothing of the plan of salvation until about the age of twenty-two. This is my apology for writing the following account of my first religious impressions. May He, who so wonderfully led me into the strong light of Truth, crown with His goodness the giving of this short and simple story to the world.

CONSTANCE OWEN R——.

CHRIST CHURCH RECTORY,
ST. JOSEPH MO., 1880.

PREFACE TO "DIVINELY LED"

President of the National Women's Federation of Clubs. She was the author of numerous musical compositions, including a Te Deum, a cantata, and an air for the popular hymn, "There is a Land of Pure Delight." She also published a volume of poems, and a novel—"The Burning Question." She died at a sanatorium at Winnetka, Illinois,

May 17, 1911. The fame of her conversion, and her work at New Harmony spread widely over Indiana long before her story was published; and had a very quieting effect. Those who had been worrying about the godlessness of that place, said: "That settles it. There is nothing dangerous about New Harmony atheism. The Lord will take care of it in his own way, when he gets ready."

After Robert Owen left New Harmony, Maclure made further efforts to do something with his educational scheme, but he was too flighty to carry any plan to conclusion that required protracted effort; and he was met by religious opposition. In 1826 he had presented to the State Legislature a bill for the incorporation of the New Harmony Educational Society. It recited that he "had bought, in and adjoining New Harmony, one thousand acres of land with suitable buildings erected thereupon, devoted to the establishment of schools, and had furnished a liberal endowment, embracing many thousands of volumes of books, with such mathematical, chemical and physical apparatus as are necessary to facilitate education, and is desirous to obtain an act of incorporation to enable him more fully to carry out his benevolent designs." Usually acts of incorporation for educational purposes were mere matters of course, but this bill was defeated in the Senate by a vote of fifteen to four, on account of the prevailing impression that the object was to teach atheism. The New Harmony Gazette, commenting on the action, said: "We presume, from their conduct, that they have no confidence in our society or its intentions;" and they certainly did not. At the time, atheism was the vital atmosphere of New Harmony—the town fairly exhaled it. Joseph Neef was at the head of the school, and the Duke of Saxe-Weimar describes him as "still full of the maxims and principles of the French revolution; captivated with the system of equality; talks of the emancipation of the negroes, and openly proclaims himself an atheist." His principal assistant, at first, was Rev. Mr. Jennings before mentioned, whose special function was resisting the assaults of Christianity. It is true that Neef did not always teach up to his ideas. Robert Dale Owen tells of his rebuking one of the boys for profanity—

"But, Mr. Neef," said the boy, hesitating and looking half frightened, "if—if it's vulgar and wrong to swear, why—"

"Well, out with it. Never stop when you want to say anything; that's another bad habit. You wished to know why—"

"Why you swear yourself, Mr. Neef?"

"Because I'm a damned fool! Don't you be one too!"

Notwithstanding the reports of "troops of happy children" by enthusiastic visitors to the schools, there is no indication that the pupils

felt materially different from any other lot of youngsters that would be subjected to a semi-military life, with manual training in the form of regular domestic tasks, and plain, substantial food—largely mush and milk. Mrs. Sarah Cox Thrall, one of the pupils, said of the school: "We had bread but once a week—on Saturdays. I thought if I ever got out, I would kill myself eating sugar and cake. We marched in military order, after breakfast, to community house No. 2. I remember that there were blackboards covering one side of the school room, and that we had wires, with balls on them, by which we learned to count. We also had singing exercises by which we familiarized ourselves with lessons in various branches. At dinner we generally had soup, at supper mush and milk again. We went to bed at sundown in little bunks suspended in rows by cords from the ceiling. Sometimes one of the children at the end of the row would swing back her cradle, and when it collided on the return bound with the next bunk, it set the whole row bumping together. This was a favorite diversion, and caused the teachers much distress. At regular intervals we used to be marched to the community apothecary shop, where a dose that tasted like sulphur was impartially dealt out to each pupil, just as in Squeer's Dotheboy's School. Children regularly in the boarding school were not allowed to see their parents, except at rare intervals. I saw my father and mother twice in two years. We had a little song we used to sing:

"Number 2 pigs locked up in a pen,
When they get out, it's now and then,
When they get out, they sneak about,
For fear old Neef will find them out."[16]

Maclure was strong on great projects, but few of them materialized. One of his earliest announcements was of an agricultural college, but nothing came of it except some temporary instruction to the New Harmony boys in farming. In 1827 he announced the establishment of Maclure's Seminary, stating: "Young men and women are received without any expense to them, either for teaching, or food, lodging and clothing. Hours, from five in the morning until eight in the evening, divided as follows: The scholars rise at five; at half past five each goes to his occupation; at seven the bell rings for breakfast; at eight they return to work; at eleven their lessons begin, continuing until half past two, including half an hour for luncheon; then they return to their occupation until five, when a bell calls them to dinner. Afterward until half past six they exercise themselves in various ways then the evening

[16] The New Harmony Communities, pp. 194-5.

Community House No. 2

lessons begin, and last until eight. The basis of the institution is that the scholars repay their expenses from the proceeds of their seven hours' labor, but to effect this will require several years more." There did not appear any general desire for these advantages; and on May 27, 1827, he announced The Orphan's Manual Training School. There was a scarcity of orphans, and he next announced the School of Industry, and on January 16, 1828, began publishing The New Harmony Disseminator, "containing hints to the youth of the United States; edited, printed and published by the pupils of the School of Industry." The paper succeeded, though the school did not. New Harmony had a large supply of people who had views to express, and information to communicate, and the paper never lacked for original copy, especially on "political economy, philosophy and science, and the abolition of slavery." Maclure's health failed, and in 1828 he went to Mexico to recuperate, but did not improve materially, and therefore remained until his death, in 1840. He contributed lengthy articles on political economy, however, to the Disseminator, and kept in touch with New Harmony generally. His most lasting enterprise was the establishment, in 1838, of the New Harmony Workingmen's Institute and Library, to which he gave a considerable endowment in the shape of an order on a London bookseller for books to the value of one thousand dollars, and a wing of the old Rappite church for a library building.

This institution later absorbed one of the Maclure libraries established under his will, and the township library established by the State. William Michaux donated to it his library and $1,000, the interest on which is devoted to the purchase of "books treating on science and facts." Alexander Burns left it $1,000. In 1874, the Rappite community at Economy sent Jonathan Lentz to New Harmony, and he purchased for them the old church building. This he had torn down, excepting the wing occupied by the library, and with the brick constructed the wall which now surrounds the old Rappite cemetery. He also, at an expense of $2,000, repaired the wing occupied by the library, and presented the lot to the town. But the best was to come from a New Harmony product. This was Dr. Murphy, an Irish waif, born in Cork, in 1813. When a child, he was brought to Louisville by a brute of a man who claimed to be his uncle, but who mistreated the boy so badly that he took refuge in flight. Ragged, barefoot, half starved, he drifted into New Harmony soon after the inauguration of the Owen's community, and found a home. He was made for New Harmony, and New Harmony was made for him; for it is evident that the real lack of the community was suitable material on which to practice philanthropy. He was taken in, educated, and taught the trade of a tailor—the essen-

tial feature of New Harmony was to make a "workingman" of everyone—but just why they laid so much stress on tailoring is not apparent. The only opportunity for business success for a tailor was to get away from New Harmony, where, by precept and example of the leaders, the desirable thing was to wear clothes cut out by a circular saw. Murphy failed successively at tailoring, farming and keeping a clothing store. Then, having exhausted all of his New Harmony manual training, he went to Louisville, and studied medicine. In this his New Harmony general culture counted, and he achieved success. In 1893 he induced the Library Society—a corporation of twenty-six members, of which he was one—to sell their old building, and accept his aid in erecting a new one. A handsome building was put up, with ample quarters for the library, a museum, an art gallery, and a large auditorium. Dr. Murphy then made extensive contributions of books, articles for the museum, and paintings for the art gallery. In 1899 he added a donation of $45,000; in 1900 $31,000 more; and at his death, in December of that year, the Library Society was remembered with $79,000 additional. From its funds the Society now has an income of $6,000, one-third of which is spent for books and periodicals, and $1,200 is used for a lecture course. I know of no place of its size in the United States that has such an equipment in art and literature. Certainly there is none in Indiana—nor indeed any place of twice its size. It is claimed, also, that New Harmony has the lowest percentage of illiteracy of any point in the United States.

Maclure's later years were largely employed in making wills, and adding codicils to them. In these he always disposed of not only all that he owned, but of all that he ever had owned, including his confiscated Spanish properties—his house No. 7 Calle del Lobo, in Alicante, his convent of St. Gines and accompanying estate of 10,000 acres in Valencia, his convent and estate of Grosmana, near Alicante, his estate of Carman de Croix in the Valley of Murada, and over half a million reals in Spanish securities. He also had, in addition to his New Harmony property, an extraordinary collection of notes and mortgages on property in England, France, Spain and Virginia; the remainders of the editions of Michaux's Sylva, Condillac's Logic, and Garner's Dictionary; more than 100 boxes of minerals, prints, etc.; and some 2,000 copper plates of engravings and illustrations. In the last codicil, executed at the City of Mexico, in 1840, he directed, among other things, that his executors should donate "the sum of five hundred dollars out of my other property in the United States of America to any club or society of laborers who may establish, in any part of the United States, a reading and lecture room with a library of at least one hundred vol-

umes." For certainty, "laborers" were defined as "the working classes who labor with their hands and earn their living by the sweat of their brows." Furthermore, on account of "the melancholy state of morality which prevents dead men's wills from being fulfilled or executed when they give any property for the use and benefit of the poor and working classes, but on the contrary the money aristocracy find means to purloin the said property for the use, support and maintenance of their privileged classes;" he changed executors, and made his brother Alexander and sister Anna the executors of this last will. They received the advice of attorneys that the library feature was void, as the beneficiaries were not persons in existence; and, being the natural heirs, they proceeded to enjoy the estate. But Alvin P. Hovey, a young lawyer of Posey County, took a different view of the law, and instituted proceedings to displace them. He succeeded, and was himself appointed administrator. The estate was reduced to cash, and in 1855 the distribution began.

It was not very difficult to get up a club of laborers in an Indiana town, nor to collect a library of 100 volumes, if you were not particular about the volumes. In all, 144 of these associations were formed in Indiana, in 89 of the 92 counties, and each received $500 for a library. It has been said: "The books purchased through Maclure's generosity were almost exclusively standard works of a scientific and technical character, designed for a limited coterie of readers, and possessing little or no interest for the majority of the very class which their donor sought to reach."[17] This is another delusion resulting from an examination of the remains of some of the libraries. The distribution was not of books, but of money, and the various societies bought what books they wished. But the popular books were "read to pieces" in the libraries that held together. Most of them, however, were divided among the members of the societies after a short time, because it was too expensive to maintain a library room, and there was no obligation to do so. The real benefit of the donation was the distribution of $72,000 worth of books throughout Indiana at a time when books were needed. The division of the libraries did not interfere materially with the use of the books, and it is the use of a book that gives it practical value. The books that were read to pieces were far more valuable to the public than those that remained on the shelves. Of their quality I can testify only in a very limited way. My maternal grandfather, William Tate, who was a carpenter, was a member of the society at Lawrenceburg, and in the division of the library there fell to his share a set of Chambers'

[17] The New Harmony Movement, p. 333.

Miscellany of Useful Knowledge. Although somewhat cyclopaedic in character, this work contains a number of excellent stories, historical extracts, poems, and biographies that made it a treasure-house to me, twenty years later. My belief is that the most useful thing that came to Indiana from New Harmony was this donation.

If I made any exception, it would be New Harmony itself, for the town is a notable addition to the State, not only in its unusual history and its quaint buildings, but also in its people, who are about twenty years ahead of the average of the State. They remind one of Boston in their extreme social independence, especially on the part of the women. It is really fortunate that this little community remained so long shut off from railroad communication, to develop in its own way along natural lines, and furnish the student the material for speculation on the psychological growth of such a settlement. Whatever view he may take of it, he is certain to realize that it is one of the most alluring fields for research and reflection that the State presents.

CHAPTER XX

THE WORD HOOSIER

There is not necessarily anything annoying in having a nickname, but to have one whose meaning you do not know, and when you cannot tell how, or when, or why you acquired it, is somewhat disturbing. This was for many years the situation of Indiana as to the word "Hoosier"—and possibly the mystery is not yet fully solved. Naturally the problem has attracted the attention of numerous investigators—perhaps on the principle of the man who lost a cent, and on being remonstrated with for wasting several days in search for it, replied: "I don't care anything about the cent, but I want to know where the d—d thing is." My interest was first drawn to the puzzle by the publication of Meredith Nicholson's volume of essays, "The Hoosiers," in 1900, and I devoted spare time for some two years to an effort to make a methodical study of the question, the results of which were published in the summer of 1902. Five years later, as rewritten, they were published by the Indiana Historical Society; and as the story of the search covers practically all the literature on the subject, it is deemed worth while to reproduce it here, with the results of later search, bringing the subject down to date, and presenting, for the use of anyone who may desire to pursue it farther, the sum of what has been brought to light thus far. The original publication was as follows:

During the period of about three-quarters of a century in which the State of Indiana and its people have been designated by the word "Hoosier," there has been a large amount of discussion of the origin and meaning of the term, but with a notable lack of any satisfactory result. Some of these discussions have been almost wholly conjectural in character, but others have been more methodical, and of the latter the latest and most exhaustive—that of Mr. Meredith Nicholson[1]—sums up the results in the statement "The origin of the term 'Hoosier' is not known with certainty." Indeed the statement might properly have been made much broader, for a consideration of the various theories offered leaves the unprejudiced investigator with the feeling that the real solution of the problem has not even been suggested. This lack of

[1] "The Hoosiers," pp. 20-30.

satisfactory conclusions, however, may be of some value, for it strongly suggests the probability that the various theorists have made some false assumption of fact, and have thus been thrown on a false scent, at the very beginning of their investigations.

As is natural in such a case, there has been much of assertion of what was merely conjectural, often accompanied by the pioneer's effort to make evidence of his theory by the statement that he was "in Indiana at the time and knows the facts." The acceptance of all such testimony would necessarily lead to the adoption of several conflicting conclusions. In addition to this cause of error, there have crept into the discussion several misstatements of fact that have been commonly adopted, and it is evident that in order to reach any reliable conclusion now, it will be necessary to examine the facts critically and ascertain what are tenable.

The traditional belief in Indiana is that the word was first put in print by John Finley, in his poem "The Hoosier's Nest," and this is noted by Berry Sulgrove, who was certainly as well acquainted with Indiana tradition as any man of his time.[2] This belief is at least probably well founded, for up to the present time no prior use of the word in print has been discovered. This poem attracted much attention at the time, and was unquestionably the chief cause of the widespread adoption of the word in its application to Indiana, for which reasons it becomes a natural starting-point in the inquiry.

It is stated by Oliver H. Smith that this poem originally appeared as a New Year's "carriers' address" of the Indianapolis Journal in 1830,[3] and this statement has commonly been followed by other writers, but this is clearly erroneous, as any one may see by inspection of the files of the Journal, for it printed its address in the body of the paper in 1830, and it is a totally different production. After that year it discontinued this practice and issued its addresses on separate sheets, as is commonly done at present. No printed copy of the original publication is in existence, so far as known, but Mr. Finley's daughter—Mrs. Sarah Wrigley, former librarian of the Morrison Library, at Richmond, Indiana—has a manuscript copy, in the author's handwriting, which fixes the date of publication as Jan. 1, 1833. There is no reason to question this date, although Mr. Finley states in his little volume of poems printed in 1860, that this poem was written in 1830. The poem as it originally appeared was never reprinted in full, so far as is known, and in that form it is entirely unknown to the present generation, although it has been reproduced in several forms, and in

[2] History of Indianapolis and Marion County, p. 72.

[3] "Early Indiana Trials and Sketches," p. 211.

two of them by direct authority of the author.[4] The author used his privilege of revising his work, and while he may have improved his poetry, he seriously marred its historical value.

As the manuscript copy is presumably a literal transcript of the original publication, with possibly the exception that the title may have been added at a later date, I reproduce it here in full:

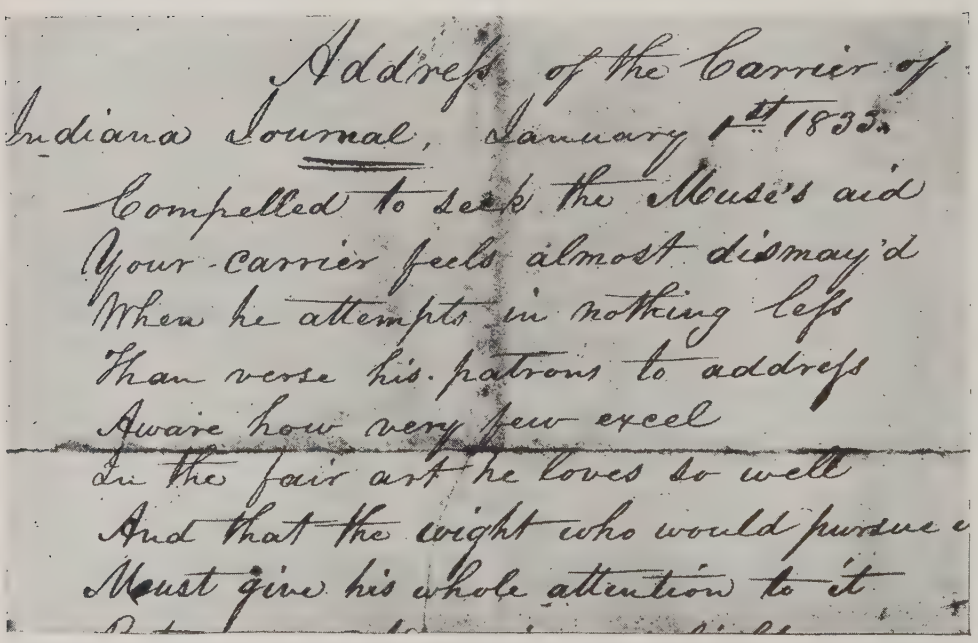
ADDRESS OF THE CARRIER OF THE INDIANAPOLIS JOURNAL, JANUARY 1, 1833.

THE HOOSIER'S NEST

Compelled to seek the Muse's aid,
Your carrier feels almost dismay'd
When he attempts in nothing less
Than verse his patrons to address,
Aware how very few excel
In the fair art he loves so well,
And that the wight who would pursue it
Must give his whole attention to it;
But, ever as his mind delights
To follow fancy's airy flights
Some object of terrestrial mien
Uncourteously obtrudes between
And rudely scatters to the winds
The tangled threads of thought he spins;
His wayward, wild imagination
Seeks objects of its own creation
Where Joy and Pleasure, hand in hand,
Escort him over "Fairyland,"
Till some imperious earth-born care
Will give the order, "As you were!"
From this the captious may infer
That I am but a groveling cur
Who would essay to pass for more
Than other people take me for,
So, lest my friends be led to doubt it,
I think I'll say no more about it,
But hope that on this noted day
My annual tribute of a lay
In dogg'rel numbers will suffice
For such as are not over nice.

[4] Coggeshall's "The Poets and Poetry of the West," and Finley's "The Hoosier's Nest and Other Poems" published in 1860.

The great events which have occur'd
(And all have seen, or read or heard)
Within a year, are quite too many
For me to tarry long on any—
Then let not retrospection roam
But be confined to things at home.
A four years' wordy war just o'er
Has left us where we were before


Address of the Carrier of
Indiana Journal, January 1st 1835.
Compelled to seek the Muse's aid
Your Carrier feels almost dismay'd
When he attempts in nothing less
Than verse his patrons to address
Aware how very few excel
In the fair art he loves so well
And that the wight who would pursue
Must give his whole attention to it

Opening Lines of the Hoosier's Nest

Fac Simile of Finley's Mss.

Old Hick'ry triumphs,—we submit
(Although we thought another fit)
For all of Jeffersonian school
Wish the majority to rule—
Elected for another term
We hope his measures will be firm
But peaceful, as the case requires
To nullify the nullifiers—
And if executive constructions
By inf'rence prove the sage deductions
That Uncle Sam's "old Mother Bank"
Is managed by a foreign crank

And constituted by adoption
The "heir apparent" of corruption—
No matter if the facts will show
That such assertions are not so,
His Veto vengeance must pursue her
And all that are appended to her—
But tho' hard times may sorely press us,
And want, and debts, and duns distress us,
We'll share a part of Mammon's manna
By chart'ring Banks in Indiana.

Blest Indiana! In whose soil
Men seek the sure rewards of toil,
And honest poverty and worth
Find here the best retreat on earth,
While hosts of Preachers, Doctors, Lawyers,
All independent as wood-sawyers,
With men of every hue and fashion,
Flock to this rising "Hoosher" nation.
Men who can legislate or plow,
Wage politics or milk a cow—
So plastic are their various parts,
Within the circle of their arts,
With equal tact the "Hoosher" loons,
Hunt offices or hunt raccoons.
A captain, colonel, or a 'squire,
Who would ascend a little higher,
Must court the people, honest souls,
He bows, caresses and cajoles,
Till they conceive he has more merit
Than nature willed he should inherit,
And, running counter to his nature,
He runs into the Legislature;
Where if he pass for wise and mute,
Or chance to steer the proper chute,
In half a dozen years or more
He's qualified for Congress floor.

I would not have the world suppose
Our public men are all like those,
For even in this infant State
Some may be wise, and good, and great.

But, having gone so far, 'twould seem
(Since "Hoosher" manners is the theme)
That I, lest strangers take exception,
Should give a more minute description,
And if my strains be not seraphic
I trust you'll find them somewhat graphic.

Suppose in riding somewhere West
A stranger found a "Hoosher's" nest,
In other words, a buckeye cabin
Just big enough to hold Queen Mab in,
Its situation low but airy
Was on the borders of a prairie,
And fearing he might be benighted
He hailed the house and then alighted
The "Hoosher" met him at the door,
Their salutations soon were o'er;
He took the stranger's horse aside
And to a sturdy sapling tied;
Then, having stripped the saddle off,
He fed him in a sugar trough.
The stranger stooped to enter in,
The entrance closing with a pin,
And manifested strong desire
To seat him by the log heap fire,
Where half a dozen Hoosheroons,
With mush and milk, tincups and spoons,
White heads, bare feet and dirty faces,
Seemed much inclined to keep their places,
But Madam, anxious to display
Her rough and undisputed sway,
Her offspring to the ladder led
And cuffed the youngsters up to bed.
Invited shortly to partake
Of venison, milk and johnny-cake
The stranger made a hearty meal
And glances round the room would steal;
One side was lined with skins of "varments"
The other spread with divers garments,
Dried pumpkins overhead were strung
Where venison hams in plenty hung,

Two rifles placed above the door,
Three dogs lay stretched upon the floor,
In short, the domicile was rife,
With specimens of "Hoosher" life.

The host who centered his affections,
On game, and range, and quarter sections,
Discoursed his weary guest for hours,
Till Somnus 'ever potent powers
Of sublunary cares bereft them
And then I came away and left them.
No matter how the story ended
The application I intended
Is from the famous Scottish poet
Who seemed to feel as well as know it
"That buirdly chiels and clever hizzies
Are bred in sic a way as this is."
One more subject I'll barely mention
To which I ask your kind attention
My pockets are so shrunk of late
I can not nibble "Hoosher bait."

It will be noted that throughout the manuscript the word is spelled "Hoosher" and is always put in quotation marks. Mrs. Wrigley informs me that her father had no knowledge of the origin of the word, but found it in verbal use when he wrote. She is confident, however, that he coined the word "Hoosheroon," and the probability of this is increased by the fact that he did not quote it in his manuscript. In later editions of the poem he used the form "Hoosier." His original spelling shows that the word was not common in print, and several years passed before the spelling became fixed in its present form.

Although the word "Hoosier" has not been found in print earlier than January 1, 1833, it became common enough immediately afterwards. In fact the term seems to have met general approval, and to have been accepted by everybody. On January 8, 1833, at the Jackson dinner at Indianapolis, John W. Davis gave the toast, "The Hooshier State of Indiana."[5] On August 3, 1833, the Indiana Democrat published the following prospectus of a new paper to be established by ex-Gov. Ray and partner:

[5] Indiana Democrat, Jan. 12, 1833.

"Prospectus For Publishing The Hoosier At Greencastle, Indiana—By J. B. Ray & W. M. Tannehill.

"We intend publishing a real newspaper. To this promise (though comprehensive enough) we would add, that it is intended to make the moral and political world contribute their full share, in enriching its columns.

"The arts and sciences, and agriculture and commerce, and literature shall all receive a due portion of our care.

"Left to our choice we might refrain from remark on presidential matters; but supposing, that you may require an intimation, suffice it to say, that our past preference has been for General Jackson and his administration; and we deem it premature to decide as to the future without knowing who are to be the candidates. Those men who shall sustain Western measures, shall be our men. Believing that there is but one interest in the West, and but little occasion for partyism beyond the investigation of principles and the conduct of functionaries, we would rather encourage union than excite division. We shall constantly keep in view the happiness, interest and prosperity of all. To the good, this paper will be as a shield; to the bad, a terror.

"The Hoosier will be published weekly, at $2 in advance and 25 cents for every three months delay of payment, per annum, on a good sheet of paper of superroyal size, to be enlarged to an imperial as the subscription will justify it.

"This paper shall do honor to the people of Putnam county; and we expect to see them patronize us. The press is now at Greencastle. Let subscription papers be returned by the 1st of September when the first number will appear."

On Oct. 26, 1833 the Indiana Democrat republished from the Cincinnati Republican a discussion of the origin and making of the word "Hoosier," which will be quoted in full hereafter, which shows that the term had then obtained general adoption. C. F. Hoffman, a traveler who passed through the northern part of the state, says, under date of Dec. 29, 1833:

"I am now in the land of the Hooshiers, and find that long-haired race much more civilized than some of their Western neighbors are willing to represent them. The term 'Hooshier,' like that of Yankee, or Buckeye, first applied contemptuously, has now become a soubriquet that bears nothing invidious with it to the ear of an Indianian."[6]

On Jan. 4, 1834, the Indiana Democrat quoted from the Maysville, Ky., Monitor, "The Hoosier State like true democrats have taken the

[6] "A Winter in the West," p. 226.

lead in appointing delegates to a National Convention, etc.'' On May 10, 1834, the Indianapolis Journal printed the following editorial paragraph:

''The Hooshier, started some time ago by Messrs. Ray and Tannehill, at Greencastle, has sunk into repose; and a new paper entitled the 'Greencastle Advertiser,' published by James M. Grooms, has taken its place.''

It is quite possible that this statement was made with the mischievous intent of stirring up Gov. Ray, for he was rather sensitive, and the Whigs seemed to delight in starting stories that called forth indignant denials from him. If this was the purpose it was successful, for on May 31 the Journal said:

''We understand that another No. of the Hooshier has been recently received in town, and that it contains quite a bitter complaint about our remark a week or two ago, that it had 'sunk into repose.' We assure the editor that we made the remark as a mere matter of news, without any intention to rejoice at the suspension of the paper. Several weeks had passed over without any paper being received, and it was currently reported that it had 'blowed out' and therefore, as a mere passing remark, we stated that it had 'sunk into repose.' We have no objection that it should live a thousand years.''

The new paper, however, did not last as long as that. It was sold in the fall of 1834 to J. W. Osborn, who continued the publication, but changed the name, in the following spring to the ''Western Plough Boy.'' On Sept. 19, 1834, the Indiana Democrat had the following reference to Mr. Finley:

''The poet laureat of Hoosierland and editor of the Richmond Palladium has threatened to 'cut acquaintance with B. of the Democrat!' The gentleman alluded to is the same individual that was unceremoniously robbed, by the Cincinnati Chronicle, of the credit of immortalizing our State in verse, by that justly celebrated epic of the 'Hoosier's Nest.' ''

On Nov. 29, 1834, the Vincennes Sun used the caption, ''Hoosier and Mammoth Pumpkins,'' over an article reprinted from the Cincinnati Mirror concerning a load of big pumpkins from Indiana.

These extracts sufficiently demonstrate the general acceptation of the name in the two years following the publication of Finley's poem. The diversified spelling of the word at this period shows that it was new in print, and indeed some years elapsed before the now accepted spelling became universal. On Jan. 6, 1838, the Fort Wayne Sentinel, republished the portion of the poem beginning with the words, ''Blest Indiana, in her soil.'' It was very probable that this publication was

made directly from an original copy of the carrier's address, for Thomas Tigar, one of the founders and editors of the Fort Wayne Sentinel, had been connected with the Indianapolis press in January, 1833, and the old-fashioned newspaperman was accustomed to preserve articles that struck his fancy, and reproduce them. In this publication the poem is given as in the Finley manuscript, except that the first two times the word occurs it is spelled "hoosier" and once afterward "hoosheer," the latter evidently a typographical error. At the other points it is spelled "hoosher." This original form of the word also indicates that there has been some change in the pronunciation, and this is confirmed from another source. For many years there have been periodical discussions of the origin of the word in the newspapers of the State, and in one of these, which occurred in the Indianapolis Journal, in 1860, when numerous contemporaries of Finley were still living, Hon. Jere Smith, a prominent citizen of Winchester, made this statement:

"My recollection is that the word began to be used in this country in the fall of 1824, but it might have been as late as 1826 or 1827, when the Louisville & Portland canal was being made. I first heard it at a corn-husking. It was used in the sense of 'rip-roaring,' 'half horse' and 'half alligator,' and such like backwoods coinages. It was then, and for some years afterwards, spoken as if spelled 'husher,' the 'u' having the sound it has in 'bush,' 'push,' etc. In 1829, 1830 and 1831 its sound glided into 'hoosher,' till finally Mr. Finley's 'Hoosier's Nest' made the present orthography and pronunciation classical, and it has remained so since."[7]

Of course, this is not conclusive evidence that there was a change in pronunciation, for Mr. Smith's observation may have extended to one neighborhood only, and it may have taken on a variant pronunciation at the start, but his testimony, in connection with the changed spelling, is certainly very plausible.

There have been offered a number of explanations of the origin of the word, and naturally those most commonly heard are those that have been most extensively presented in print. Of the "authorities" on the subject perhaps the best known is Bartlett's "Dictionary of Americanisms" which was originally published in 1838 and was widely circulated in that and the subsequent edition, besides being frequently quoted. Its statement is as follows:

"Hoosier. A nickname given at the West, to natives of Indiana.

"A correspondent of the Providence Journal, writing from Indiana, gives the following account of the origin of this term: 'Throughout all

[7] Indianapolis Journal, January 20, 1860.

the early Western settlements were men who rejoiced in their physical strength, and on numerous occasions, at log-rollings, and house-raisings, demonstrated this to their entire satisfaction. They were styled by their fellow-citizens, hushers, from their primary capacity to still their opponents. It was a common term for a bully throughout the West. The boatmen of Indiana were formerly as rude and primitive a set as could well belong to a civilized country, and they were often in the habit of displaying their pugilistic accomplishments upon the levee at New Orleans. Upon a certain occasion there one of these rustic professors of the "noble art" very adroitly and successfully practiced the "fancy" upon several individuals at one time. Being himself not a native of the Western world, in the exuberance of his exultation he sprang up, exclaiming, in a foreign accent, "I'm a hoosier, I'm a hoosier." Some of the New Orleans papers reported the case and afterwards transferred the corruption of the word "husher" (hoosier) to all the boatmen from Indiana, and from thence to all her citizens. The Kentuckians, on the contrary, maintained that the nickname expresses the gruff exclamation of their neighbors, when one knocks at a door, etc., "Who's yere?" ' "

Both of these theories have had adherents, and especially the latter, though nobody has ever found any basis for their historical features beyond the assertion of this newspaper correspondent. Nobody has ever produced any evidence of the use of the word "husher" as here indicated. It is not found in any dictionary of any kind—not even in Bartlett's. I have never found any indication of its former use or its present survival. And there is no greater evidence of the use of the expression, "Who's yere?" when approaching a house. As a matter of fact, the common custom when coming to a house and desiring communication with the residents was to call, "Hallo the house!" And this custom is referred to in Finley's line:

"He hailed the house, and then alighted."

Furthermore, if a person who came to a house called "Who's yere?" what cause would there be for calling the people who lived in the house "who's yeres?" There is neither evidence nor reason to support it. But there is still a stronger reason for discarding these theories, and most others. To produce the change of a word or term by corruption, there must be practical identity of sound and accent. It was natural enough for the Indiana pioneers to convert "au poste" into "Opost." It was natural enough for the New Mexican settlers to change "Jicarilla" to "Hickory." It was natural enough for the Colorado cowboys to transform "Purgatoire river to "Picketwire river." But there is scant possibility of changing "husher," or "who's yere"—as it would probably be spoken—into "hoosh-er." This consideration has led to

the suggestion that the expression from which the word came, was "who is yer?" but there is nothing to support this. The early settlers did not use "is" for "are" but usually pronounced the latter "air." And they did not say "yer" for "you," though they often used it for "your."

Another theory, almost as popular as these, derives the word from "hussar," and this theory, in its various forms, harks back to a Col. John Jacob Lehmanowsky, who served under Napoleon, and afterwards settled in Indiana, where he became widely known as a lecturer on the Napoleonic wars. The tradition preserved in his family is that once while in Kentucky he became engaged in a dispute with some natives,

"The Hoosier's Nest"

(From painting by Marcus Mote, "the Quaker Artist," to illustrate Finley's Poem)

and sought to settle the matter by announcing that he was a hussar. They understood him to say that he was a "hoosier," and thereafter applied that name to everybody from Indiana. This theory has several shapes, one being presented by the Rev. Aaron Wood, the pioneer preacher, thus:

"The name 'hoosier' originated as follows: When the young men of the Indiana side of the Ohio river went to Louisville, the Kentucky men boasted over them, calling them 'New Purchase Greenies,' claiming to be a superior race, composed of half horse, half alligator, and tipped off with snapping turtle. These taunts produced fights in the market house and streets of Louisville. On one occasion a stout bully

from Indiana was victor in a fist fight, and having heard Colonel Lehmanowsky lecture on the 'Wars of Europe,' who always gave martial prowess to the German Hussars in a fight, pronouncing hussars 'hoosiers,' the Indianian, when the Kentuckian cried 'enough,' jumped up and said: 'I am a Hoosier,' and hence the Indianians were called by that name. This was its true origin. I was in the State when it occurred."[8]

Unfortunately, others are equally positive as to their "true origins." The chief objection that has been urged to this theory is that Lehmanowsky was not in the State when the term began to be used, and the evidence on this point is not very satisfactory. His son, M. L. Lehmanowsky, of DePauw, Ind., informs me that his father came to this country in 1815, but he is unable to fix the date of his removal to Indiana. Published sketches of his life[9] state that he was with Napoleon at Waterloo; that he was afterwards imprisoned at Paris; that he escaped and made his way to New York; that he remained for several years at New York and Philadelphia where he taught school; that he came to Rush County, Indiana, and there married and bought a farm; that after bearing him seven children his wife died; that he then removed to Harrison County, arriving there in 1837. These data would indicate that he came to Indiana sometime before 1830. The date of the deed to his farm, as shown by the Rush county records, is April 30, 1835. Aside from the question of date, it is not credible that a Polish officer pronounced "hussar" "hoosier," or that from the use of that word by a known foreigner a new term could spring into existence, and so quickly be applied to the natives of the State where he chanced to live.

To these theories of the origin of the word may be added one communicated to me by James Whitcomb Riley, whose acquaintance with dialect makes him an authority on the subject. It is evidently of later origin than the others, and not so well known to the public. A casual conversation happening to turn to this subject, he said: "These stories commonly told about the origin of the word 'Hoosier' are all nonsense. The real origin is found in the pugnacious habits of the early settlers. They were very vicious fighters, and not only gouged and scratched, but frequently bit off noses and ears. This was so ordinary an affair that a settler coming into a bar room on a morning after a fight, and seeing an ear on the floor, would merely push it aside with his foot and carelessly ask, 'Who's year'?" I feel safe in venturing the opinion that this theory is quite as plausible, and almost as well sustained by historical evidence, as any of the others.

[8] Sketches, p. 45.

[9] Salem Democrat, October 25, 1899; March 28, 1900.

In this connection it is of interest to note the earliest known discussion of the meaning of the word, which has been referred to as republished in the Indiana Democrat of Oct. 26, 1833. It is as follows:

HOOSHIER

"The appellation of Hooshier has been used in many of the Western States, for several years, to designate, in a good natural way, an inhabitant of our sister state of Indiana. Ex-Governor Ray has lately started a newspaper in Indiana, which he names 'The Hoshier' (sic). Many of our ingenious native philologists have attempted, though very unsatisfactorily, to explain this somewhat singular term. Mordecai M. Noah, in the late number of his Evening Star, undertakes to account for it upon the faith of a rather apocryphal story of a recruiting officer, who was engaged during the last war, in enlisting a company of Hussars, whom by mistake he unfortunately denominated Hooshiers. Another etymologist tells us that when the state of Indiana was being surveyed, the surveyors, on finding the residence of a squatter, would exclaim 'Who's here,'—that this exclamation, abbreviated to Hooshier was, in process of time, applied as a distinctive appellation to the original settlers of that state, and, finally to its inhabitants generally. Neither of these hypotheses are deserving any attention. The word Hooshier is indebted for its existence to that once numerous and unique, but now extinct class of mortals called the Ohio Boatmen.—In its original acceptation it was equivalent to 'Ripstaver,' 'Scrouger,' 'Screamer,' 'Bulger,' 'Ring-tailroarer,' and a hundred others, equally expressive, but which have never attained to such a respectable standing as itself. By some caprice which can never be explained, the appellation Hooshier became confined solely to such boatmen as had their homes upon the Indiana shore, and from them it was gradually applied to all the Indianians, who acknowledge it as good naturedly as the appellation of Yankee—Whatever may have been the original acceptation of Hooshier this we know, that the people to whom it is now applied, are amongst the bravest, most intelligent, most enterprising, most magnanimous, and most democratic of the Great West, and should we ever feel disposed to quit the state in which we are now sojourning, our own noble Ohio, it will be to enroll ourselves as adopted citizens in the land of the 'Hooshier.'—Cincinnati Republican."

Here is a presentation of the question, ten months after Finley's publication, covering most of the ground that has since been occupied. The "hussar" theory is carried back to the war of 1812, long before Col. Lehmanowsky was in this country. The "who's here" theory is

carried back to the government surveys, although it is certain that there were few, if any, "squatters" on government lands in Indiana before the surveys were made. The "husher" theory, in embryo, is presented in the writers theory, which is apparently conjectural, except perhaps as evidence that the word was applied to the rather rough-looking class of flat-boatmen who made their trips down the Ohio and Mississippi.

There has been notable tendency to locate these stories at Louisville, and to connect them with the building of the Louisville and Portland canal which was under construction from 1826 to 1831, inclusive. The "husher" story is located there by several of its advocates. Another story, of recent origin, coming from one Vanblaricum, was recounted by Mr. George Cottman in the Indianapolis Press of February 6, 1901. Vanblaricum claimed that while passing through southern Tennessee he met a man named Hoosier, and this man said that a member of his family had a contract on the construction of the Louisville and Portland canal; that he employed his laborers from the Indiana side, and the neighbors got to calling them "Hoosier's men," from which the name "Hoosier" came to be applied to Indiana men generally. Vanblaricum could not give the address of his informant, or any information tending to confirm the story. At my request Mr. Louis Ludlow, Washington correspondent of the Indianapolis Sentinel, made inquiry of the representatives from the southern districts of Tennessee, and learned that none of them had ever heard of such a story, or knew of the name "Hoosier" in his district. An examination of the directories of Atlanta, Augusta, Baltimore, Chattanooga, Cincinnati, Kansas City, Little Rock, Louisville, Memphis, Nashville, New Orleans, Philadelphia, Richmond, St. Louis, St. Joseph, Savannah, Wheeling, Wilmington, the District of Columbia, and the state of Tennessee, failed to reveal any such name as Hoosier. As it is hardly possible for a family name to disappear completely, we may reasonably drop the Vanblaricum story from consideration. The same conclusion will also apply to the story of a Louisville baker, named Hoosier, from whom the term is sometimes said to have come. It is now known that the occurrence of "Hoosier" as a Christian name in the minutes of an early Methodist conference in Indiana, was the result of misspelling. The members name was "Ho-si-er (accent on the second syllable) J. Durbin," and the secretary in writing it put in an extra "o." It may be mentioned in this connection that "Hooser" is a rather common family name in the South, and that "Hoos" is occasionally found.

One of the most interesting wild-goose chases I ever indulged in was occasioned by a passage in the narrative of Francis and Theresa Pulszky, entitled "White, Red and Black." The Pulszkys accompanied

Kossuth on his trip through the States and visited Indianapolis in 1852. In the account of this visit Mrs. Pulszky says:

"Governor Wright is a type of the Hoosiers, and justly proud to be one of them. I asked him wherefrom his people had got this name. He told me that 'Hoosa' is the Indian name for maize, the principal produce of the State."

This opened a new vista. The names "Coosa" and "Tallapoosa" came to memory. How simple! The Indiana flat-boatmen taking their loads of corn down the river were called "Hoosa men" by the Southern Indians, and so the name originated. But a search of Indian vocabularies showed no such name for maize or for anything else. The nearest approaches to it are "Hoosac" and "Housatonic," which are both probably corruptions from the same stem, "awass," meaning beyond or further. The latter word is supposed to be the Indian "wassatinak," which is the New England form of the Algonquin "awassadinang," meaning beyond the mountains.

In 1854 Amelia M. Murray visited Indianapolis, and was for a time the guest of Governor Wright. In her book entitled "Letters from the United States, Cuba and Canada" (page 324), she says:

"Madame Pfeiffer (she evidently meant Mrs. Pulszky, for Madame Pfeiffer did not come here and does not mention the subject) mistook Governor Wright, when she gave from his authority another derivation for the word 'Hoosier.' It originated in a settler's exclaiming 'Huzza,' upon gaining the victory over a marauding party from a neighboring State."

With these conflicting statements, I called on Mr. John C. Wright, son of Governor Wright. He remembered the visits of the Pulszkys and Miss Murray, but knew nothing of Madame Pfeiffer. He said: "I often heard my father discuss this subject. His theory was that the Indiana flatboatmen were athletic and pugnacious, and were accustomed, when on the levees of the Southern cities, to 'jump up and crack their heels together' and shout 'Huzza,' whence the name of 'huzza fellows.' We have the same idea now in 'hoorah people,' or 'a hoorah time.'"

It will be noted that all these theories practically carry three features in common:

1. They are alike in the idea that the word was first applied to a rough, boisterous, uncouth, illiterate class of people, and that the word originally implied this character.

2. They are alike in the idea that the word came from the South, or was first applied by Southern people.

3. They are alike in the idea that the word was coined for the pur-

pose of designating Indiana people, and was not in existence before it was applied to them.

If our primary suspicion be correct, that all the investigators and theorists have followed some false lead from the beginning, it will presumably be found in one of these three common features. Of the three, the one that would more probably have been derived from assumption than from observation is the third. If we adopt the hypothesis that it is erroneous, we have left the proposition that the word "hoosier," was in use at the South, signifying a rough or uncouth person, before it was applied to Indiana; and if this were true it would presumably continue to be used there in that sense. Now this condition actually exists, as appears from the following evidence.

In her recent novel, "In Connection with the De Willoughby Claim," Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett refers several times to one of her characters—a boy from North Carolina—as a "hoosier." In reply to an inquiry she writes to me:

"The word 'hoosier' in Tennessee and North Carolina seems to imply, as you suggest, an uncouth sort of rustic. In the days when I first heard it my idea was also that—in agreement with you again—it was a slang term. I think a Tennesseean or Carolinian of the class given to colloquialisms would have applied the term 'hoosier' to any rustic person without reference to his belonging to any locality in particular. But when I lived in Tennessee I was very young and did not inquire closely into the matter."

Mrs. C. W. Bean, of Washington, Ind., furnishes me this statement:

"In the year 1888, as a child, I visited Nashville, Tenn. One day I was walking down the street with two of my aunts, and our attention was attracted by a large number of mountaineers on the streets, mostly from northern Georgia, who had come in to some sort of society meeting. One of my aunts said, 'What a lot of hoosiers there are in town. In surprise I said, 'Why I am a Hoosier.' A horrified look came over my aunt's face and she exclaimed, 'For the Lord's sake, child, don't let any one here know you're a hoosier.' I did not make the claim again for on inspection the visitors proved a wild-looking lot who might be suspected of never having seen civilization before."

Miss Mary E. Johnson, of Nashville, Tenn., gives the following statement:

"I have been familiar with the use of the word 'hoosier' all my life, and always as meaning a rough class of country people. The idea attached to it, as I understand it, is not so much that they are from the country, as that they are green and gawky. I think the sense is much the same as in 'hayseed,' 'jay,' or 'yahoo.' "

Hon. Thetus W. Sims, Representative in Congress from the Tenth Tennessee district, says:

"I have heard all my life of the word 'hoosier' as applied to an ignorant, rough, unpolished fellow."

Mrs. Samuel M. Deal (formerly Miss Mary L. Davis of Indianapolis) gives me this statement:

"While visiting Columbia, S. C., I was walking one day with a young gentleman, and we passed a rough-looking countryman, 'My! what a

A Real Hoosier's Nest

hoosier,' exclaimed my escort. 'That is a very noble term to apply to such an object,' I said. 'Why so,' he inquired. 'Why I am a Hoosier—all Indiana people are,' I answered. 'Oh! we do not use it in that sense here,' he rejoined. 'With us a hoosier means a jay.'"

The following three statements were furnished to me by Mr. Meredith Nicholson, who collected them some months since:

John Bell Henneman, of the department of English, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, writes:

"The word 'hoosier' is generally used in Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee as an equivalent for 'a country hoodlum,' 'a rough, uncouth countryman,' etc. The idea of 'country' is always attached to it in my

mind, with a degree of 'uncouthness' added. I simply speak from my general understanding of the term as heard used in the States mentioned above."

Mr. Raymond Weeks, of Columbia, Mo., writes:

"Pardon my delay in answering your question concerning the word 'hoosier' in this section. The word means a native of Indiana, and has a rare popular sense of a backwoodsman, a rustic. One hears: 'He is a regular hoosier.'"

Mrs. John M. Judah, of Memphis, writes:

"About the word 'Hoosier'—one hears it in Tennessee often. It always means rough, uncouth, countrified. 'I am a Hoosier,' I have said, and my friends answer bewilderingly, 'But all Indiana-born are Hoosiers,' I declare, 'What nonsense!' is the answer generally, but one old politician responded with a little more intelligence on the subject: 'You Indianians should forget that. It has been untrue for many years.' In one of Mrs. Evans's novels—'St. Elmo,' I think—a noble philanthropic young Southern woman is reproached by her haughty father for teaching the poor children in the neighborhood—'a lot of hoosiers,' he calls them. I have seen it in other books, too, but I can not recall them. In newspapers the word is common enough, in the sense I referred to."

It is scarcely possible that this widespread use of the word in this general sense could have resulted if the word had been coined to signify a native of Indiana, but it would have been natural enough, if the word were in common use as slang in the South, to apply it to the people of Indiana. Many of the early settlers were of a rough and ready character, and doubtless most of them looked it in their long and toilsome emigration, but, more than that, it is an historical fact that about the time of the publication of Finley's poem there was a great fad of nicknaming in the West, and especially as to the several States. It was a feature of the humor of the day, and all genial spirits "pushed it along." A good illustration of this is seen in the following passage from Hoffman's "Winter in the West"[10] referred to above:

"There was a long-haired 'hooshier' from Indiana, a couple of smart-looking 'suckers' from the southern part of Illinois, a keen-eyed, leather-belted 'badger' from the mines of Ouisconsin, and a sturdy, yeomanlike fellow, whose white capot, Indian moccasins and red sash proclaimed, while he boasted a three years' residence, the genuine 'wolverine,' or naturalized Michiganian. Could one refuse to drink with such a company? The spokesman was evidently a 'red horse' from Kentucky, and nothing was wanting but a 'buckeye' from Ohio to render the assemblage as complete as it was select."

[10] Published in 1835, Vol. 1, Page 210.

This same frontier jocularity furnishes an explanation for the origin of several of the theories of the derivation of the name. If an assuming sort of person, in a crowd accustomed to the use of "hoosier" in its general slang sense, should pretentiously announce that he was a "husher," or a "hussar," nothing would be more characteristically American than for somebody to observe, "He is a hoosier, sure enough." And the victim of the little pleasantry would naturally suppose that the joker had made a mistake in the term. But the significance of the word must have been quite generally understood, for the testimony is uniform that it carried its slurring significance from the start. Still it was not materially more objectionable than the names applied to the people of other States, and it was commonly accepted in the spirit of humor. As Mr. Finley put it, in later forms of his poem:

"With feelings proud we contemplate
The rising glory of our State;
Nor take offense by application
Of its good-natured appellation."

It appears that the word was not generally known throughout the State until after the publication of "The Hoosiers' Nest," though it was known earlier in some localities, and these localities were points of contact with the Southern people. And this was true as to Mr. Finley's locality, for the upper part of the Whitewater valley was largely settled by Southerners, and from the Tennessee-Carolina mountain region, where the word was especially in use. Such settlements had a certain individuality. In his "Sketches" (page 38) the Rev. Aaron Wood says:

"Previous to 1830 society was not homogeneous, but in scraps, made so by the electic affinity of race, tastes, sects and interest. There was a wide difference in the domestic habits of the families peculiar to the provincial gossip, dialect and tastes of the older States from which they had emigrated."

The tradition in my own family, which was located in the lower part of the Whitewater valley, is that the word was not heard there until "along in the thirties." In that region it always carried the idea of roughness or uncouthness, and it developed a derivative—"hoosiery"—which was used as an adjective or adverb to indicate something that was rough, awkward or shiftless. Testimony as to a similar condition in the middle part of the Whitewater valley is furnished in the following statement, given me by the Rev. T. A. Goodwin:

"In the summer of 1830 I went with my father, Samuel Goodwin, from our home at Brookville to Cincinnati. We traveled in an old-

fashioned one-horse Dearborn wagon. I was a boy of twelve years and it was a great occasion for me. At Cincinnati I had a fip for a treat, and at that time there was nothing I relished so much as one of those big pieces of gingerbread that were served as refreshment on muster days, Fourth of July and other gala occasions, in connection with cider. I went into a baker's shop and asked for 'a fip's worth of gingerbread.' The man said, 'I guess you want hoosier-bait,' and when he produced it I found that he had the right idea. That was the first time I ever heard the word 'hoosier,' but in a few years it became quite commonly applied to Indiana people. The gingerbread referred to was cooked in square pans—about fifteen inches across, I should think—and with furrows marked across the top, dividing it into quarter-sections. A quarter-section sold for a fip, which was 6¼ cents. It is an odd fact that when Hosier J. Durbin joined the Indiana Methodist Conference, in 1835, his name was misspelled 'Hoosier' in the minutes, and was so printed. The word 'Hoosier' always had the sense of roughness or uncouthness in its early use."

At the time this statement was made, neither Mr. Goodwin nor I knew of the existence of the last four lines of Finley's poem, in which this same term "hoosier-bait" occurs, they being omitted in all the ordinary forms of the poem. The derivation of this term is obvious, whether "bait" be taken in its sense of a lure or its sense of food. It was simply something that "hoosiers" were fond of, and its application was natural at a time when the ideal of happiness was "a country-boy with a hunk of gingerbread."

After the word had been applied to Indiana, and had entered on its double-sense stage, writers who were familiar with both uses distinguished between them by making it a proper noun when Indiana was referred to. An illustration of this is seen in the writings of J. S. Robb, author of "The Swamp Doctor in the Southwest" and other humorous sketches, published in 1843. He refers to Indiana as "the Hoosier state," but in a sketch of an eccentric St. Louis character he writes thus:

"One day, opposite the Planter's House, during a military parade, George was engaged in selling his edition of the Advocate of Truth, when a tall hoosier, who had been gazing at him with astonishment for some time, roared out in an immoderate fit of laughter.

" 'What do you see so funny in me to laugh at?' inquired George.

" 'Why, boy,' said the hoosier, 'I wur jest a thinkin' ef I'd seed you out in the woods, with all that har on, they would a been the d—dest runnin' done by this 'coon ever seen in them diggins—you're ekill to the elephant! and a leetle the haryest small man I've seen scart up lately.' "

Unfortunately, however, not many writers were familiar with the double use of the word, and the distinction has gradually died out, while persistent assertions that the word was coined to designate Indiana people have loaded on them all the odium for the significance that the word has anywhere.

The real problem of the derivation of the word "hoosier," is not a question of the origin of a word formed to designate the State of Indiana and its people, but of the origin of a slang term widely in use in the South, signifying an uncouth rustic. There seems never to have been any attempt at a rational philological derivation, unless we may so account Mr. Charles G. Leland's remarks in Barriere and Leland's "Dictionary of Slang, Jargon and Cant," which are as follows:

"Hoosier (American). A nickname given to natives of Indiana. Bartlett cites from the Providence Journal a story which has the appearance of being an after-manufacture to suit the name, deriving hoosier from 'husher—from their primary capacity to still their opponents.' He also asserts that the Kentuckians maintained that the nickname expresses the exclamation of an Indian when he knocks at a door and exclaims 'Who's yere?' However, the word originally was not hoosier at all, but hoosieroon, or hoosheroon, hoosier being an abbreviation of this. I can remember that in 1834, having read of hoosiers, and spoken of them a boy from the West corrected me, and said that the word was properly hoosieroon. This would indicate a Spanish origin."

The source of Mr. Leland's error is plain. "Hoosieroon" was undoubtedly coined by Mr. Finley to designate a Hoosier child, and what the boy probably told Mr. Leland was that the name to apply properly to him would be Hoosieroon. But that alone would not dispose wholly of the Spanish suggestion, for "oon" or "on" is not only a Spanish ending, but is a Spanish diminutive indicating blood relation. In reality, however, Mr. Finley did not understand Spanish, and the ending was probably suggested to him by quadroon and octoroon, which, of course, were in general use. There is no Spanish word that would give any suggestion of "hoosier." The only other language of continental Europe that could be looked to for its origin would be French, but there is no French word approaching it except, perhaps, "huche," which means a kneading trough, and there is no probability of derivation from that.

In fact, "hoosier" carries Anglo-Saxon credentials. It is Anglo-Saxon in form and Anglo-Saxon in ring. If it came from any foreign language, it has been thoroughly anglicized. And in considering its derivation it is to be remembered that the Southerners have always had a remarkable faculty for creating new words and modifying old ones.

Anyone who has noted the advent of "snollygoster" in the present generation, or has read Longstreet's elucidation of "fescue," "abisselfa," and "anpersant"[11] will readily concede that. And in this connection it is to be observed that the word "yahoo" has long been in use in Southern slang, in almost exactly the same sense as "hoosier," and the latter word may possibly have developed from its last syllable. We have a very common slang word in the North—"yap"—with the same signification, which may have come from the same source, though more probably from the provincial English "yap," to yelp or bark. "Yahoo"

GREAT CONFLAGRATION AT PITTSBURGH, PA.

is commonly said to have been coined by Swift, but there is a possibility that it was in slang use in his day.

It is very probable that the chief cause of the absence of conjectures of the derivation of "Hoosier" from an English stem was the lack in our dictionaries of any word from which it could be supposed to come, and it is a singular fact that in our latest dictionaries—the Standard and the Century—there appears the word "hoose," which has been in use for centuries in England. It is used now to denote a disease common to calves, similar to the gapes in chickens, caused by the lodgement of worms in the throat. The symptoms of this disease include staring eyes, rough coat with hair turned backward, and hoarse wheezing. So forlorn an aspect might readily suggest giving the name "hooser" or "hoosier" to an uncouth, rough-looking person. In this country, for some reason,

[11] Georgia Scenes, page 73.

this disease has been known only by the name of the worm that causes it—"strongylus micrurus"—it sounds very much like "strangle us marcus" as the veterinarians pronounce it—but in England "hoose" is the common name. This word is from a very strong old stem. Halliwell, in his "Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words," gives "hooze" and "hoors," and states that "hoos" occurs in the "Promptorium Parvulorum," and "hoozy" in the "Cornwall Glossary," the latter being used also in Devonshire. Palmer, in his "Folk-Etymology," says that "hoarst —a Lincolnshire word for a cold on the chest, as if that which makes one hoarse," is a corruption of the Old English "host," a cough, Danish "hoste," Dutch "hoeste," Anglo-Saxon "hweost," a wheeziness; and refers to Old English "hoose," to cough, and Cleveland "hooze" to wheeze. Descriptions of the effect of hoose on the appearance of animals will be found in Armatage's 'Cattle Doctor," and in the "Transactions of the Highland Society of Scotland," fourth series, Vol. 10, at page 206.

There is also a possibility of a geographical origin for the word, for there is a coast parish of Cheshire, England, about seven miles west of Liverpool, named Hoose. The name probably refers to the cliffs in the vicinity, for "hoo," which occurs both in composition and independently in old English names of places, is a Saxon word signifying high. However, this is an obscure parish, and no especial peculiarity of the people is known that would probably give rise to a distinctive name for them.

There is one other possibility that is worthy of mention—that the word may come to us through England from the Hindoo. In India there is in general use a word commonly written "huzur," which is a respectful form of address to persons of rank or superiority. In "The Potter's Thumb" Mrs. Steel writes it "hoozur." Akin to it is "housha," the title of a village authority in Bengal. It may seem impossible that "hoosier" could come from so far off a source, and yet it is almost certain that our slang word "fakir," and its derivative verb "fake," came from the Hindoo through England, whither for many years people of all classes have been returning from Indian service. It is even more certain that the word "khaki" was introduced from India, and passed into general use in English and American nurseries long before khaki-cloth was known to us. Indeed, the word "Indiana," itself, goes back to India for its origin.

As a matter of fact, words pass from one language to another in slang very readily. For example, throughout England and America a kidnaper is said in thieves' slang to be "on the kinchin lay," and it can scarcely be questioned that the word is direct from the German "kindchen." The change in meaning from "huzur" to "hoosier" would be explicable by the outlandish dress and looks of the Indian grandees

from a native English standpoint, and one might naturally say of an uncouth person, "He looks like a huzur."

It is not my purpose to urge that any one of these suggested possibilities of derivation is preferable to the other, or to assert that there may not be other and more rational ones. It is sufficient to have pointed out that there are abundant sources from which the word may have been derived. The essential point is that Indiana and her people had nothing whatever to do with its origin or its signification. It was applied to us in raillery, and our only connection with it is that we have meekly borne it for some three score years and ten, and have made it widely recognized as a badge of honor, rather than a term of reproach.

Addendum, February, 1907. The greater part of the preceding was published in the Indianapolis News of Aug. 23 and 30, 1902. Afterwards I rewrote and enlarged it. Since then there have appeared two publications which threw some additional light on the subject. One of these is an account of Col. Lehmanowsky, purporting to be autobiographical, published under the title, "Under Two Captains," by Rev. W. A. Sadtler, Ph. D., of Philadelphia. This demonstrates that Lehmanowsky believed he originated the word, for he gives the following account of it:

"In this connection I may mention an amusing incident that occurred somewhat later in a town in Kentucky, where I happened for a day or two. There was a drunken brawl in progress on the street, and as quite a number were involved in it, the people with whom I was speaking began to be alarmed. I remarked just then that a few hussars would soon quiet them. My remark was caught up by some bystander, and the word hussar construed to mean the men of the State of Indiana (from which I had just come), and thus the word 'Hoosier' came into existence. Such is the irony of fate! Learned men have labored long to introduce some favored word of the most approved classic derivation, and as a rule have failed. Here a chance word of mine, miscalled by an ignorant loafer, catches the popular fancy and passes into Literature."[12]

At the same time he furnishes conclusive evidence that he did not originate it, for he says that he did not leave Washington for the West until the spring of 1833; that he went as far as Ohio with his family and passed the winter of 1833-4 in the state,[13] reaching Indiana the next spring, or more than a year after "The Hoosier's Nest" had appeared in print. His story, as given above, locates the incident at a still later date.

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[12] Pages 188-9.

[13] Pages 182-5.

The other publication is the third volume of The English Dialect Dictionary, in which appears the following:

"Hoozer, Cum. 4 (hu-zer) said of anything unusually large."

The "Cum 4" is a reference to "A Glossary of the Words and Phrases pertaining to the Dialect of Cumberland;" edition of 1899.

Although I had long been convinced that "hoosier," or some word closely remembling it, must be an old English dialect or slang word, I had never found any trace of a similar substantive with this ending until in this publication, and, in my opinion, this word "hoozer" is the original form of our "hoosier." It evidently harks back to the Anglo-Saxon "hoo" for its derivation. It might naturally signify a hill-dweller or highlander as well as something large, but either would easily give rise to the derivative idea of uncouthness and rusticity.

There is a suggestiveness in the fact that it is Cumberland dialect. The very center of hoosierdom in the South is the Cumberland Plateau with its associated Cumberland Mountains, Cumberland River, Cumberland Gap, and Cumberland Presbyterianism. The name Cumberland in these, however, is honorary in origin, the river and mountains having been named for that Duke of Cumberland who is known to the Scotch as "The Butcher of Culloden." But many of the settlers of this region, or their immediate forebears, were from Cumberland county, England, and so "hoozer" was a natural importation to the region. Thence it was probably brought to us by their migratory descendants, many of whom settled in the upper Whitewater Valley—the home of John Finley.

John Finley

The fact that John Finley made the name "Hoosier" popular makes him a person of interest in this connection; and with the preceding publication there appeared a sketch of his life, by his daughter, Mrs. Sarah A. Wrigley, from which the following is taken:

Mr. Finley's ancestors were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians; the family was driven from Scotland to Ireland by religious persecution, and failing to find the religious and political freedom they sought the seven brothers emigrated to America, in 1724. Samuel Finley became president of Princeton College; John explored the western wilds with Daniel Boone, and the youngest brother, William, settled on a farm in Western Pennsylvania. His son, Andrew, married and removed to Brownsburg, Rockridge county, Virginia, where John Finley was born, January 11, 1797.

Andrew Finley was a merchant in the village, but the family occupied a farm in a beautiful valley near the Blue Ridge Mountains. This

mountain range could not fail to impress a child of poetic temperament —the blue haze veiling its summit, the drifting clouds that clung to its side, the rising sun dispersing the mists in the valley, or, the shadows creeping over valley and mountain as the setting sun disappeared be-

JOHN FINLEY

yond the western horizon, all left lasting pictures in his memory and influenced his after life.

His school days were cut short by his father's financial reverses, following the capture of a cargo of flour by the British during the war of 1812. This misfortune threw the boy of sixteen on his own resources, and, as nothing better offered he accepted a position with a relative who was conducting a tanning and currying business in Greenbrier county. This was a most humiliating alternative for a young Virginian whose surroundings led him to look upon manual labor as only fit for slaves,

but it was part of the discipline of life which resulted in marked regard for all practical workmen, and an abhorrence of the institution of slavery.

In 1816 he joined an emigrant company and with fifty dollars in his pocket, a saddle-horse and rifle and a pair of saddlebags, turned his face towards the "Eldorado of the West." His first stopping place was Cincinnati, Ohio, but in 1820, we find him in Richmond, Ind., where he lived to see a small village develop into a thriving city.

Taking an active part in its growth, he was rewarded by the confidence and esteem of his fellow citizens who elected him to various offices of trust and responsibility. His official career began in 1822, as Justice of the Peace. He represented Wayne county in the Legislature, 1828-31, and then was Enrolling Clerk of the Senate for three years. During this time he met the leading men of the State and formed many lasting friendships. 1833-37, he edited and held a controlling interest in the principal newspaper of the county, the Richmond Palladium, and in 1837, was elected clerk of the Wayne County Courts, with a term of seven years; this necessitated a removal to the county seat, Centerville, but on the expiration of the term (1845) he returned to Richmond, having always considered it his home. Elected mayor of the city in the spring of 1852, he retained the office, by re-election, until his death, December 23, 1866, having almost continuous public service for more than forty years.

He was a man of sterling integrity; none who knew him ever doubted his word; an oath could not make it more binding. As a member of the Masonic fraternity he was active in the relief of the poor and needy; his sympathy and assistance were freely given to the ignorant negroes seeking refuge in Indiana; he looked upon them as children that had been deprived of their birthright.

A self-educated man, his reading covered a wide field; he was familiar with standard English authors and was a constant reader of the best current periodicals and newspapers, especially those containing the opinions of leading statesmen on political questions and internal improvements.

He was twice married, and had six children, one son, Maj. John H. Finley, gave his life for his country in the war for the Union—from this blow the father never recovered. A widow and three daughters survived him. Robert Burns was his favorite poet, the humor convulsed him with silent laughter, and "Highland Mary," or "The Cotter's Saturday Night" brought the quick tears to his eyes.

Mr. Finley's reputation as a poet was established when the Indiana Journal published "The Hoosier's Nest," January 1, 1833. It was the first "Carrier's Address" written by the author, and was followed by

an "address" to the Journal for eight or nine years in succession. The Palladium also had an annual "address." These were rhyming reviews of State and National questions or humorous references to peculiarities of candidates for public office. They were of local interest but did not arrest general attention as the graphic description of Hoosier life had done. After a lapse of seventy-five years "The Hoosier's Nest" is still in demand at Old Settlers' Picnics, and at the reunions of the many "Hoosier Clubs" springing up wherever Indiana's sons have become prominent in the Great West. * * *

The word Hoosieroon was coined for the poem, and "Hoosier" no longer designated a rough, uncouth backwoodsman but a self-reliant man who was able to subdue the wilderness, defend his home, and command the respect of his neighbors:

"He is, (and not the little-great)
The bone and sinew of the State."

"Bachelor's Hall" was published anonymously, and was immediately credited to the Irish poet, Thomas Moore; it was reproduced in England and Ireland many times before the authorship was established. It was set to music for "Miss Leslie's Magazine," and was sung at a banquet given for the members of the Indiana Legislature. * * *

When urged by friends to make a collection of poems for publication he found, (in 1866), that many had been lost beyond recovery, his hope of writing something more worthy of preservation made him careless of that which had been published; there is, however, considerable variety in the collection, ranging from "grave to gay." These are some of the titles: "Lines," written on opening a mound on the bank of Whitewater near Richmond, Ind. containing a human skeleton. "What is Life," "What is Faith," "A Prayer," "My Loves and Hates." This was the first poem written for publication. "Valedictory, on closing my term as Clerk of the Wayne County Courts." In lighter vein are, "Advertisment for a Wife," "The Last of the Family," "To My Old Coat," and "The Miller."

Mr. Finley was not a church member but his creed is embraced in the following sentence—"The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man."

An unpublished fragment, found after death in the pocketbook he carried, shows his truly devotional spirit:—

"My Heav'nly Father! deign to hear
The supplications of a child,
Who would before thy throne appear,
With spirit meek, and undefiled.

"Let not the vanities of earth
Forbid that I should come to Thee,
Of such as I, (by Heav'nly birth)
Thy Kingdom, Thou hast said, shall be."

Mr. Finley has always been recognized as having real poetic talent. For many years he was known as "The Hoosier Poet," an appellation since transferred to James Whitcomb Riley, who wrote of him:

"The voice that sang the Hoosier's Nest—
Of Western singers first and best—"

Strickland Gillilan—of "Off agin, on agin, gone agin, Finnigan" fame, wrote of him:

"He nursed the Infant Hoosier muse
When she could scarcely lisp her name;
Forerunner of the world's great lights
That since have added to her fame,
He blazed the way to greater things,
With Hoosier's Nest, and Bachelor's Hall;
And, while the grand world-chorus rings
With songs our Hoosier choir sings,
Let not the stream forget the springs,—
Set Finley's name before them all."

The Burnt District

There was another political venture of John Finley, not mentioned by Mrs. Wrigley, which probably connects him with another Indiana term whose origin has been a mystery. For more than half a century the Congressional district including Wayne County has been known as "The Burnt District;" and for several years past the efforts of several investigators to learn the origin and significance of the term have been fruitless. Local authorities could not explain it, and the "oldest inhabitant" knew only that it had been used as far back as he could remember. A theory was advanced that there had been a forest fire in the region at an early date; but there was no evidence of this in tradition, record, or the condition of the forest. The use of the word indicated a political origin of some sort; but no clue to it was found until recently, when Mrs. Grace Julian Clarke found in an autobiographical manuscript of her father, George W. Julian, the following note:

"Burnt District. So named by the Democrats after a fearful fire in the City of Pittsburg in the year 1841. The Whig majority was then so overwhelming that some of the leaders of the helpless minority applied to it the name of that portion of the unfortunate city which had been totally destroyed by fire."

As Mr. Julian represented the district for many years, there can be no doubt that he had the correct solution; but unfortunately there was no great fire in Pittsburg in 1841, and in that year the Democrats carried the district, electing Andrew Kennedy, "the Boy Blacksmith." The notable big fire at Pittsburg was on April 10, 1845, when twenty blocks of the business section of the place were swept out of existence, and the Indiana papers had vivid accounts of the desolation of "the burnt district." In that year also, the Democrats fared well in Indiana except in the Wayne County district, where the Congressional vote was, Caleb B. Smith, Whig, 4,863; John Finley, Democrat, 3,201; Matthew R. Hull, Free Soiler, 553. These candidates were all notables. Smith was a member of Lincoln's Cabinet, and Hull was the leader of the Methodist Abolitionists in Indiana, who went off in "the Wesleyan Connection," which forced the split in the Methodist church on the slavery question. It is to be regretted that no account of Hull is to be found in the Methodist histories of Indiana, as he was a very interesting character, and did some excellent work in behalf of the Indiana negroes long after the early Abolition movement.[14] Here were the conditions that fit Mr. Julian's explanation of the term; but there was another fire in that year that seems a more probable immediate source for the name. The election was in August, and on July 19, there was a great fire in the business section of New York, that was worse than the Pittsburg fire. Moreover, the Sentinel did a very unusual thing by printing on July 31, a cut of the burnt district in New York, which, of itself, would attract widespread attention and comment. The probability is that Finley's defeat coming so soon after—

"One woe doth tread upon another's heel"

—gave the name by which the district has since been known.

Addendum, June, 1911.[15]—I presume that most of the readers of the Quarterly have some interest in the question of the origin of the word "Hoosier"; and I have been having some experiences, in connection with it, that illustrate, in a small way, the difficulty of exhausting the sources of history. After a prolonged study of the question, in 1907, I published the results of my investigations in one of the pamphlets of the Indiana

[14] Journal, Nov. 29, 1865.

[15] Ind. Quarterly Magazine of Hist., Vol. 7, p. 60.

Historical Society. One of the theories of the origin of the word was that it was a family name, and I took the ground that I had eliminated this theory by examination of the directories of a number of Southern cities, and by inquiries of Southern congressmen, and others, without finding any trace of such a name. Imagine my surprise on stumbling

THE BURNT DISTRICT OF NEW YORK
(From The Sentinel, of July 31, 1845)

on the entry, "Hoosier, Wm. lab., r. 603 W. 11th." in the Indianapolis directory of 1911.

I called at the address and found that William had moved; but learned that he was in the employ of the city street-cleaning department, and was stationed on the next block to my place of business. He was entered on the city rolls, however, as Wm. Hoozier, and the officials pronounced the name Ho-zher—long "o". I then hunted up William, and found him a very intelligent colored man. He said his name was Hoozer; and that it came from the owner of his father, in slavery times, who was Adam Hoozer of Yadkin county, North Carolina. This was

interesting, because I had in 1907 reached the conclusion that "Hoosier" was a corruption of "hoozer," which is a dialect word of Cumberland, England; and here was an actual instance of exactly that corruption. William informed me that the family name "Hoozer" was understood to be a corruption of "Houser."

In the publication of 1907 I stated that the earliest use of the word in print that had been found up to that time, was its appearance in Finley's poem, "The Hoosier's Nest," which was issued as the "Carrier's New Years Address" of the Indianapolis Journal on January 1, 1833. Soon after my article appeared, I received a letter from Judge Timothy Howard, of South Bend, who was then preparing a history of St. Joseph county, in which he informed me that he had found an earlier use of the word in "The Northwestern Pioneer and St. Joseph's Intelligencer" of April 4, 1832. This newspaper was published at South Bend, and the article was as follows:

"A Real Hoosier.—A sturgeon, who, no doubt, left Lake Michigan on a trip of pleasure, with a view of spending a few days in the pure waters of the St. Joseph, had his joyous anticipations unexpectedly marred by running foul of a fisherman's spear near this place—being brought on terra firma, and cast into a balance, he was found to weigh 83 pounds."

This publication accords with my conclusion, in 1907, that the word had been applied to residents of Indiana for some time before it appeared in print, and that it was originally a Southern slang or dialect word, signifying a rude or uncouth rustic. The publishers, of The Northwestern Pioneer and St. Joseph's Intelligencer, at that time, were John D. and Jos. H. Defrees, who were Tennesseeans, and no doubt familiar with the use of the word in the South. The sturgeon, with its covering of plates, is a rough-looking customer as compared with common freshwater fishes; and the obvious inference of the use of the word "Hoosier" in this connection is that, while it was being applied to Indiana people, the "real Hoosier" was a rough-looking individual, like the sturgeon.

A little later, while working on my history of Indianapolis, I ran across a still earlier use in print, in the "Carrier's Address" of the Indiana Democrat for 1832, which appeared in the issue of that paper for January 3, 1832. It was customary at that time to include in these addresses references to current and local politics; and in connection with the conflicting demands from the north and south ends of the State, on the State legislature, for the disposition of the public lands, this one says:

"Your 'Ways and Means,' however great,
May find employment in our State,
While roads and ditches, rivers, lakes,
Invite improvement;—and it takes
The wisest heads and soundest hearts
To harmonize discordant parts.
Those purchasers of Canal lands—
Whose cash we've got—ask from your hands
A full compliance with all contracts
Instead of 'nullifying' compacts;
While Southern folks, remote and sordid,
Stand forth to keep the Treas'ry guarded,
Protesting in most touching tones,
'Gainst taxes, troubles, debts and loans,
In favor much of large donations,
Ask for our 'hoosiers' good plantations,
Urging each scheme of graduation
As justice to the common nation."

This publication, connecting "hoosier" with "good plantations," shows that the "country" idea in the Southern use of the word was understood; while the inclusion of the word in quotation marks indicates that, while it was then in use here in a jocular way, it was liable to give offense if used seriously. That stage quickly passed away after the publication of "The Hoosier's Nest," when the name was adopted all through the State as the popular title for its residents.

Addendum, January, 1918.—The next discovery of an earlier use was by Mr. George Cottman, who found the word in the Lawrenceburg Palladium of July 30, 1831.[16] It is there used in a humorous article copied from the Wabash Herald, treating the pending contest of four candidates for Governor as a horse race, and referring to Gov. Noble thus: "The third is a 'Noble' horse called the 'Tanner,' we are not aware where he was foaled, nor yet his pedigree, he is stabled however in Indianapolis, the center of the race track, he has been corned, littered and kept in Indiana and may be called a 'Hoosher.'" There is a still earlier use of the word in this same paper, on June 25, 1831, where an article in similar humorous vein, treating the contest of four candidates for Congress as a steamboat race, is signed "Hoosher." This paper was published at the time by D. V. Culley, and the quotations from it show that the word was already being applied to Indiana people.

[16] Hyman's Indiana Past and Present, p. 194.

These are the earliest uses of the word in print that have as yet been brought to light.

An earlier use of the word, however, has been unearthed by Miss Esther U. McNitt, of the Department of Indiana History and Archives, in the State Library, in a letter written from Cincinnati, on February 11, 1831, by G. S. Murdock, to Gen. John Tipton, at Logansport. In response to an advertisement, Murdock offers to deliver at Logansport, 600 bushels of salt at $1 per bushel; 3,000 pounds of iron, at 11 cents per pound; 1,500 pounds of steel at 30 cents per pound; and 2,000 pounds of tobacco at 15 cents per pound. He concludes his letter: "John McClure is here from Vincennes repairing a steamboat and proposes to take the whole to Logansport the first rise of water. He is anxious that I should get the contract. We are both anxious that our boat should be the first at your place. * * * Our boat will be named The Indiana Hoosier."

Here the search rests for the present, all that has been found since 1907 tending to confirm the deductions as to the origin of the word, and its application to Indiana, that were made at that time.

CHAPTER XXI

HOOSIER CHARACTER

An interesting feature of modern theories of the effect of environment on life is the recognition by sociologists of the influence of the frontier in the development of American character. That there is an influence is hardly questionable, and some of the causes of it appear quite manifest, while others that have been suggested are rather fanciful. A recognized pioneer in this line of thought is Prof. F. J. Turner, who first developed it at length.[1] Among the obvious causes suggested by him are the mixture of blood from intermarriage of pioneers of differing nationalities; the industrial independence necessarily arising from the isolation of the early settlers; and the self reliance developed in their conflict with the forces of nature, and at times with savages or lawless whites. Turner adopts the idea of successive "waves" of migration, of people of different characters and occupations. In reality it would be difficult to point to any part of the American frontier, at any period, where the population, so far as character and occupation are concerned, was not quite mixed. Finley portrays the ordinary complexion of the frontier settlements with striking accuracy, in his lines—

"Blest Indiana! In whose soil
Men seek the sure rewards of toil,
And honest poverty and worth
Find here the best retreat on earth,
While hosts of Preachers, Doctors, Lawyers,
All independent as wood-sawyers,
With men of every hue and fashion,
Flock to this rising 'Hoosher' nation.
Men who can legislate or plow,
Wage politics or milk a cow—
So plastic are their various parts,
Within the circle of their arts,
With equal tact the 'Hoosher' loons
Hunt offices or hunt raccoons."

[1] Report Am. Hist. Soc., 1893.

Of course cheap land was the great attraction to the majority, but it was not the only attraction. Indeed the trader preceded the farmer, and the speculator was always well to the front of the column. There was never a frontier where there were not men of education—sometimes in surprising numbers. With all this diversity, there was one thing common to the vast majority of them, and that was the spirit of adventure. It was not merely the desire to know, which made the Gentleman of Verona advise rather—

> "To see the wonders of the world abroad
> Than, living dully sluggardized at home
> Wear out thy youth with shapeless idleness."

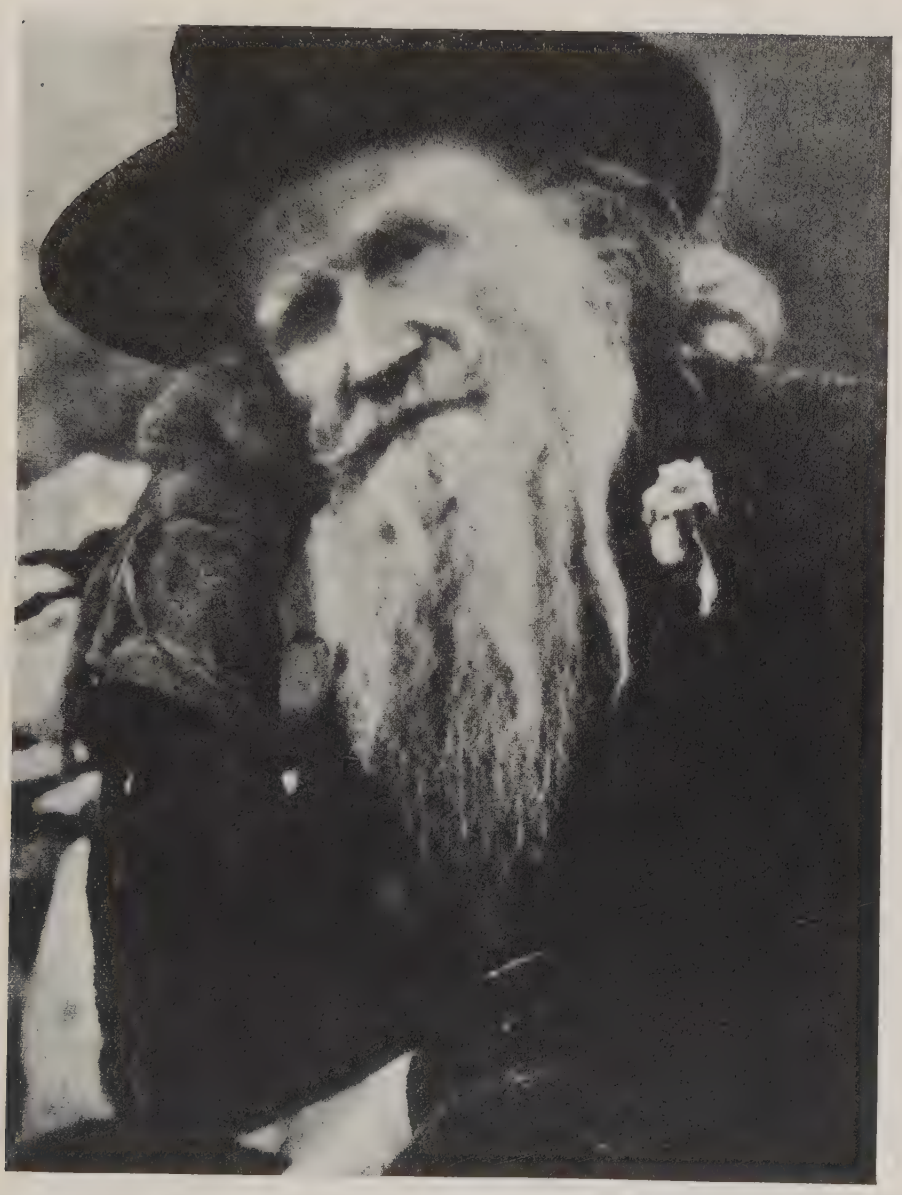
These men were fortune seekers. They broke with old associations, and the safe frugality of their old surroundings, to meet the unknown, and to make new homes amid whatever surroundings they might find. Such men are independent and self-reliant, and with them there is always more or less of the lawless element. These characteristics of the pioneers are reflected in the tendency to insubordination and mutiny that marked the frontier militia, whenever they were not satisfied with their commanders, or with anything else. The journal of Wayne's protracted effort to bring his Western army to a state of discipline is a monument to the individual independence of the frontier. These were the forebears of the West—the material with which the process of development began. They were not unworthy of Joaquin Miller's tribute—

> "What strong, uncommon men were these,
> These settlers hewing to the seas!
> Great horny-handed men and tan;
> Men blown from many a barren land
> Beyond the sea; men red of hand,
> And men in love, and men in debt,
> Like David's men in battle set;
> And men whose very hearts had died,
> Who only sought these woods to hide
> Their wretchedness, held in the van;
> Yet every man among them stood
> Alone, along that sounding wood,
> And every man somehow a man.
> They pushed the mailed wood aside,
> They toss'd the forest like a toy,
> That grand forgotten race of men—
> The boldest band that yet has been
> Together since the siege of Troy."

Of necessity, such a process of selection presages a new race—a people with marked characteristics—and to it must in large part be ascribed the result which is thus portrayed by Prof. Turner:

"From the conditions of frontier life came intellectual traits of profound importance. The works of travelers along each frontier from colonial days onward describe certain common traits, and these traits have, while softening down, still persisted as survivals in the place of their origin, even when a higher social organization succeeded. The result is that to the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. That coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic, but powerful to effect great ends; that restless nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and, withal, that buoyancy and exuberance which come with freedom,—these are traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier. We are not easily aware of the deep influence of this individualistic way of thinking upon our present conditions. It persists in the midst of a society that has passed away from the conditions that occasioned it. It makes it difficult to secure social regulation of business enterprises that are essentially public; it is a stumbling-block in the way of civil-service reform; it permeates our doctrines of education; but with the passing of the free lands a vast extension of the social tendency may be expected in America. Ratzel, the well-known geographer, has pointed out the fact that for centuries the great unoccupied area of America furnished to the American spirit something of its own largeness. It has given a largeness of design and an optimism to American thought. Since the days when the fleet of Columbus sailed into the waters of the New World, America has been another name for opportunity, and the people of the United States have taken their tone from the incessant expansion which has not only been open, but has even been forced upon them."

In addition to its being a part of the American frontier, Indiana has long attracted comment for peculiarities of its own. Mention has been made heretofore of some of the comments of Mme. Pulszky and Miss Murray. One of much earlier date is found in "A Statistical, Political and Historical Account of the United States of North America from the period of their first colonization to the present day," published at Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1819, by D. B. Warden. He says of Indiana: "This State is but recently settled; but many of the settlers are of a respectable class and their manners are more refined than could be expected in a place where society is but in its infancy. They are sober



JOAQUIN MILLER

and industrious; drunkenness is rare and quarreling rare in proportion. They set a high value on the right of personal resistance to aggression. They possess great energy of character and, though they respect the laws generally, do not hesitate sometimes to redress what they consider a public injury by a more summary mode of proceeding." Not only did the Hoosier at home attract the attention of the traveler, but the Hoosier away from home had notice from those among whom he went, as witness this comment in 1839, by the New Orleans Picayune, on the men of our flatboat merchant marine: "There is a primitive and pristine simplicity of character and independence of mind about a Hoosier that pleases us much. His step is as untrammeled by the artifices of fashion and as free from the constraint of foppery as the mighty rivers of the West are from destruction in their impetuous course to the ocean, or as the path of the buffalo herd over the wild prairie. Born on the fructuous soil of freedom, and unchecked in his growth by avarice or dissimulation, he rises to manhood with a mind unwarped and a spirit unbent like the trees of the forest around him. He loves liberty—loves it to his heart's core; he would fight, he would die for it. He cries from his soul, 'Long live liberty,' because the instinct of his free and unsophisticated nature tells him that it is the inestimable birthright and heritage of man, and he thinks that to live without it is as impossible as to exist without the free air that wantons around his Western home. He may be ignorant of the use of the eyeglass, but is his aim with the rifle less deadly? He may not be able to discuss the merits of the last novel, but thinkest thou that he is ignorant of the cardinal principles of liberty? In a word, he may not be a thing with his face hid in a stock, long hair and a shirt collar, but might not more confidence be placed in his brawny arm in time of war than in a whole regiment of such men of doubtful gender?

"We do love to see a Hoosier roll along the levee with the proceeds of the cargo of his flatboat in his pocket. It is the wages of industry, and no lordly ecclesiastic or titled layman dares claim a cent of it. See with what pity he regards those who are confined to the unchanging monotony of a city life, and observe how he despises the uniformity of dress. He has just donned a new blue dress coat with silk linings and flowered gilt buttons. His new trousers look rather short for the present fashion, but this is easily accounted for—they were of stocking fit or French cut at the instep, and thinking they pressed rather close, he has curtailed them of some six inches of their fair proportions. He glories in still sporting the same unpolished big boots, and the woolen round-topped, wide-leafed hat in which he set out from home. The

Hoosier says, or seems to say—'A life in the woods for me,' and his happy and independent life attests the wisdom of his choice."

In later editions of his "Hoosier's Nest," Finley added, in reference to critics of Indiana—

> "Our hardy yeomanry can smile
> At tourists of 'the sea-girt Isle,'
> Or wits that travel at the gallop,
> Like Basil Hall, or Mrs. Trollope."

In fact, Mrs. Trollope did not specialize on Hoosiers, but, like Dickens, remarked on Americans in general. Captain Hall, however, was affected by the independence of the Hoosier much more seriously than the Picayune man. This naval officer came across the Illinois prairies from St. Louis, in May, 1828, and crossed the Southern part of the State, through the Knobs. Apparently it was not a "joy ride." He says: "The country is hilly nearly all the way, the roads execrable, and the carriages made as rigid as if they had been cast in one piece of metal. This is quite necessary, I admit, considering the duty they have to go through. One other refinement in these vehicles I must mention. In every other part of the Union we found at least one door, though very rarely two, in any stage-coach. But upon this occasion, where so large an opening was a weakness that could not be afforded, the passengers had nothing left for it—females as well as males—but literally to mount the coachman's seat by aid of the wheel, and then scramble in at the front as well as they might. * * * During this rugged journey, we were never exposed to those privations as to food that we had met with sometimes in the South, for provisions of all kinds were in abundance. I cannot say, however, that my observations go to confirm the accounts I have read of the intelligence, and high-mindedness, as it is affectedly called, of the thinly scattered inhabitants of those new countries. I did not expect, indeed, to find any great polish of manners in the backwoods, but I must say, that although we met with no inhospitality, we encountered so many instances of coldness and gruffness, that I have no wish again to exchange the obligations and entanglements of civilization for the selfish freedom of the forest. It is not that the inhabitants of those countries are ill-natured—quite the reverse—they seem always most willing to oblige when prompted so to do. But what I complain of is the want of habitual politeness—the spontaneous desire to be civil and useful. And I strongly suspect, that such is the inevitable consequence of people living far apart, and trusting exclusively to their own exertions for their support. The same class of

things which limit the range of their good offices, limit also their means of acquiring knowledge, tend to rivet prejudices, and to augment ideas of self-importance. To talk, therefore, of people so circumstanced, being possessed of any remarkable degree of intelligence, is to declare the existence of a moral or rather a political miracle, of which civil society presents no example.'' [2]

Here are some ideas worthy of consideration. If there was either any notable amount of intelligence, or lack of it, in Indiana in 1828, it was due to the class of people that came here, and not to their conditions after coming, for they had not been here long enough to affect intelligence. But what he is talking about is manners, and manners may be affected in comparatively brief time. Almost anyone can acquire a grouch on short order, and a persistence of grouch conditions would produce results having at least an appearance of permanence. Yet he is probably right in his deduction, for certainly the tendency of isolated life, and ''trusting to their own exertions'' is to develop self-reliance. The average self-reliant man regards a proffer of assistance as a reflection on his ability. If you doubt it, offer to help some man who is working on an automobile that has stalled by the roadside, and note your welcome. It would have been strange if Hall had noted a ''spontaneous desire to be civil and useful'' among a self-reliant people. His mention of ''high-mindedness, as it is affectedly called,'' shows that he had been reading the letters of Richard Flower, who was in the same part of the State in 1819. But Flower came in a very different frame of mind. He did not like city life, and he was not wedded to class distinctions; hence it was only natural that he wrote: ''instead of being in continual broils and exposed to the affronts and insults of rude Americans I have received nothing but civility and hospitality.'' His statement to which Hall refers is this: ''The American notion of liberty and equality is highly gratifying to me. The master or employer is kept within the bounds of reason and decency towards his labourer. No curses or oaths towards their servants, or helps as they choose to call themselves (for everyone who takes money or wages, is, after all, a servant), he obeys all reasonable orders for his remuneration; and when this obedience ceases, the contract of service is at an end. I have often been surprised at the high-mindedness of American labourers, who are offended at the name of servant.''

This objection to the word ''servant'' was not peculiar to Indiana, and it was a constant source of wonder to English tourists, who never grasped the idea that the word did not have the same meaning in America that it had in England. The first English realization of this

[2] Travels in North America, Vol. 3, p. 386.

that has come to my notice is in Murray's New English Dictionary, in the entry: "In the North American Colonies in the 17th and 18th (century), and subsequently in the United States, servant was the usual designation for a slave." Among the illustrations cited are one from a Virginia law of 1643, "any such runaway servants or hired freemen"; one from a Connecticut law of 1784, "Apprentices under Age and Servants bought for Time"; and one from Uncle Tom's Cabin, "Why don't we teach our servants to read?" The same use prevailed in early Indiana. The indenture law of 1803, for the purpose of introducing slavery for life, or a period of years, of "any servant or slave of color," is entitled "An Act concerning Servants." Presumably this usage was based on the Bible, in which, in the King James version, servant and slave are not distinguished. In Indiana, the relation created by the indenture laws was called "voluntary servitude."[3] With race prejudice added to prevailing conceptions of "freedom and equality," it naturally resulted that any intimation of a condition of servitude was resented. Charles Fenno Hoffman encountered it in 1833, when he stopped at a tavern on the shore of Lake Michigan, west of Michigan City. He says: "My fingers were numb with cold; and seeing a rough-looking fellow moving from the door towards the horses of my companions, I requested him to take mine also; but upon his polite rejoinder that 'he was nobody's servant but his own,' I could only wish him 'a more civil master,' and proceeded to take care of the animal myself."

This sentiment made even stronger impression on lady tourists, in connection with domestic service. Mrs. Trollope devotes so many pages to the subject that she apologizes for her attention to it. Mme. Pulszky speaking of the ladies of the legislative delegation from Indiana that came to meet the Kossuth party at Cincinnati, says: "With the other ladies I spoke much of their household concerns. They almost all lived on farms or in small country towns, where their husbands, the Senators and Representatives, were lawyers, physicians or merchants, and come only to Indianapolis for the session. All complained of the great difficulty to get servants; colored people are scarce, whites work on their own account, and even the blacks say often, when asked to come, as a help, 'Do your business yourself.' The feeling of equality pervades this State so much that people do not like to work for wages." Soon after, Miss Murray, criticising the professed democracy of Indianapolis, said: "Ladies don't like their helps to say they 'choose to sit in the parlour, or they wont help them at all, for equality is the rule here'." It was the common demand of the girls who hired for domestic service, at this period, that they should be treated as members of the family, and

[3] Indiana as Seen by early Travelers, p. 85.

especially in the matter of eating with the family. Mrs. Trollope says of her "helps": "One of these was a pretty girl, whose natural disposition must have been gentle and kind; but her good feelings were soured, and her gentleness turned to morbid sensitiveness, by having heard a thousand and a thousand times that she was as good as any other lady, that all men were equal, and women too, and that it was a sin and a shame for a free-born American to be treated like a servant. When she found she was to dine in the kitchen, she turned up her pretty lip, and said, 'I guess that's cause you don't think I'm good enough to eat with you. You'll find that wont do here.' I found afterwards that she rarely ate any dinner at all, and generally passed the time in tears. I did every thing in my power to conciliate and make her happy, but I am sure she hated me." It may be added that while this custom has almost disappeared, in cities and towns at least, the average maid will not endure a mistress who is "uppity"; and it requires as much tact to get along with domestics as it does to manage a husband.

But in these conditions there is little that could be considered peculiar to Indiana; and we come back to the primary question whether the Hoosier does in fact differ in any material respect from other Americans; and if so, what is the cause of it? Indiana was subject to frontier influences longer than the average for American states—over half a century in all—on account of her inland condition and the slow extinction of Indian titles. The first railroad did not reach Indianapolis until 1847. So, also, the mixture of blood was greater than the average. In the battle of New England and Virginia authors, nearly everything in the United States has been claimed for either the Puritans or the Cavaliers—or both. They have a story in Colorado, that an English tourist, on visiting the Grand Canyon, looked on the stupendous walls, that seemed to rise to the skies, said: "Ah! this is really remarkable. Ah!—Was it made by the Puritans, ah, or the Cavaliers?" The Central West has also been appropriated. In his interesting and valuable "The Ohio River," Mr. Archer Butler Hulbert, of the New England forces, says: "The four 'Yankee' towns, Marietta, Columbus, and Cincinnati in Ohio, and North Bend in Indiana,(!) grew slowly but steadily. * * * The impetus given to emigration from New England and the entire seaboard by these settlements was considerable; converging on Pittsburg came thousands of easterners, some of whom came to the New England settlements but most of whom scattered up and down the Ohio River and into Virginia and Kentucky. * * * As we have seen, the fighting Virginians, Irish, Scotch-Irish, and Germans, had opened the Ohio Valley, and for nearly a generation before the New

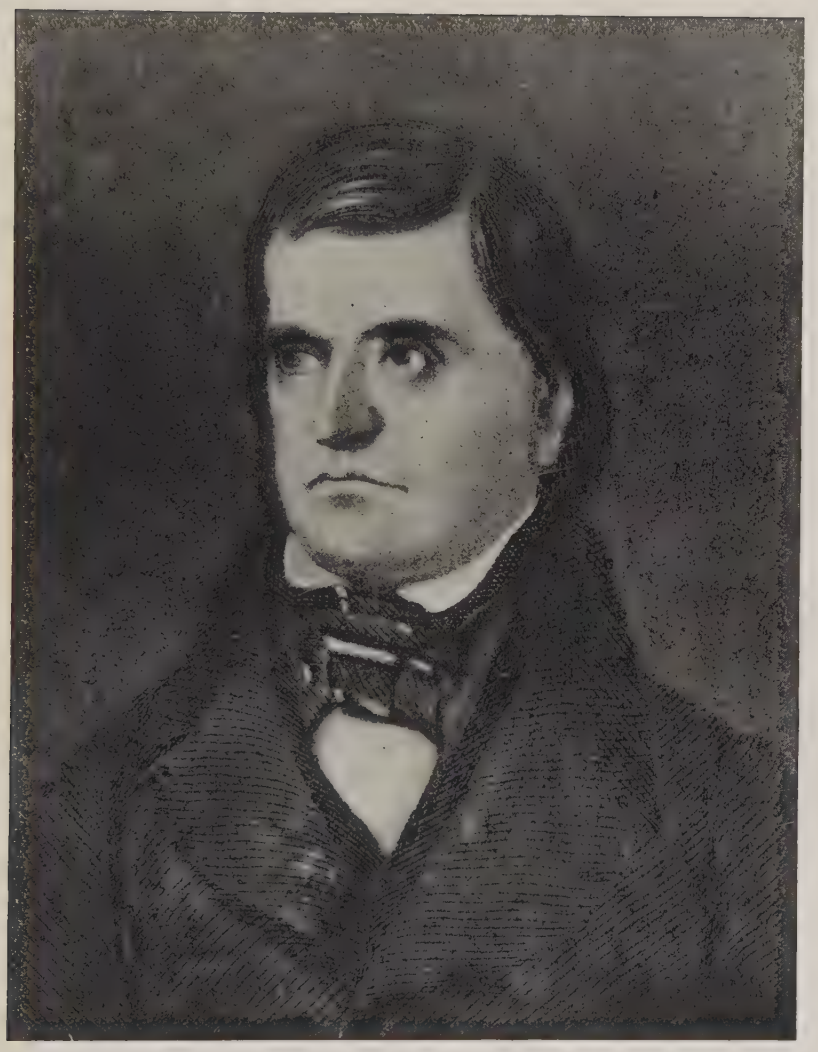
Englanders arrived these rough but hardy pioneers had been filling the Old Southwest. That their hungry hatchets had not invaded the Old Northwest was no fault of theirs. * * * The best blood in New England went toward founding Marietta, Cincinnati, and Cleveland. And the Virginians who stepped rapidly into the Scioto Valley and founded Chillicothe were men in every way worthy of their Virginian fathers, the Washingtons, Johnsons, and Lees, without whom, even the noble John Adams of Massachusetts said, 'there would never have been any Revolutionary War.' * * * The result was a marvellous cross-breeding of half a dozen different stocks between the Ohio River and Lake Erie, but producing a composite race of unparalleled energy and power.''

There is much of truth in this as to the earliest settlers of Ohio, on account of the land grants, except that the New Englanders and Virginians were in separate regions, and did not intermarry as much as might be supposed. But in reality the Puritan and Cavalier settlements on the Eastern seaboard were comparatively small, and did not migrate extensively. The oncoming waves of European immigrants that swept past them, and settled most of the country east of the Alleghenies, were of the poorer classes of the old country. Washington may have been justly called ''the Father of his Country,'' but it is too much to say that ''the Washingtons, Johnsons and Lees'' were the fathers of the Virginians that came into the Northwest. However, the fact to which I desire to call attention is the concentration of this western moving stream in southern Indiana. The pioneer movement in the United States has been chiefly on East and West lines, where not obstructed or diverted by abnormal causes. Until the thirties, the northern stream had to turn south when it reached the eastern line of Indiana, because the Indian titles in the northern part of the State had not been extinguished. The southern stream was turned to the North if it followed the Cumberland Road, or came down the Cumberland or Tennessee Rivers. The central stream, which followed the Ohio river, was brought direct to Indiana's boundary. Aside from the special settlements of French, Swiss, and Germans in Indiana, there was a considerable element everywhere that was foreign born, or of foreign parentage. There was a liberal sprinkling of the blue blood of Virginia, and of New England stock, but in Indiana all these stocks were mixed in the same settlements. In consequence, there are few natives of Indiana who do not count from three to five nationalities in a not remote ancestry. These natural causes of concentration lost most of their effect in the latter half of the last century, in which the Northern half of the State was chiefly populated. When Hugh McCulloch was looking for a location in Indiana, in 1833,

he consulted with Gen. Tilghman A. Howard, then U. S. District Attorney, telling him that he contemplated trying some point in the southern part of the State. He reports the conversation thus: "'Don't do it' said he. 'There are some nice fellows in the southern counties, but the people generally have come from Kentucky, Tennessee or the Carolinas; they are good enough people in their way, but having been raised in the States in which slavery exists, they are not enterprising; their ways are not your ways; you would not like them. Go north.' 'But' replied I, 'northern Indiana is mostly a wilderness; what in the world could a young lawyer find to do there?' 'No matter if it is a wilderness' said he; 'it will not long be a wilderness. It is' he continued, 'the most inviting country I have ever seen, and it will soon be filled by people from New York and New England—the right kind of people to develop it.'"[4]

The movement on East and West lines followed as Gen. Howard predicted, the southern stream now being turned more largely to Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas. Even in California, the southern part of the State was notably more Southern in population than the upper half. A part of the California Southerners moved north into Idaho, on account of the gold discoveries there, and there have been something of similar refluxes in Nevada, Dakota and Colorado. In Indiana the result has been to give a perceptible difference between the people of the northern and southern parts of the State; and this is emphasized by the difference of topography and soil, the flat and sandy lands of the North giving a different appearance to the towns as well as the country. But in this later period there has been a larger influx, first of Irish and Germans, and later of Scandinavians and people of Southern Europe, so that the "melting-pot" has been in use continuously. And there was a still greater difference. The northern part of Indiana was largely prairie, while the central and southern portions were covered by a heavy forest—a forest so dense that it was not permanently inhabited by Indians. To the early and scattered settlers the task of removing this forest, and bringing the land under cultivation seemed an almost hopeless one. In 1805 the people of the Whitewater Valley asked to be separated from Indiana Territory, and joined to Ohio, because they were separated from Vincennes, the capital, by nearly two hundred miles of "a Wilderness occupy'd only by Indians and likely for many years to Remain Unoccupied by any Other persons." It was one of the stated reasons for desiring the introduction of slavery. People of means could buy large tracts of land, but they could not get them cleared when

[4] Men and Measures of Half a Century, p. 78.



Gen. Tilghman A. Howard

every able-bodied man was engaged in clearing his own land. It was urged in behalf of the indenture law of 1805 that its effect would be to open and clear 700,000 acres of rich land.[5] It is difficult now to realize the labor of the pioneers who accomplished this transformation. It has been compared to the achievements of the coral insect, gradually building the reef until it reaches the surface of the water. Chip by chip each tree must be cut down, and then it must be cut up and removed in some way before the land is available. And this task was not to remove one tree, nor acres of trees but hundreds of miles of trees. Each settler did his part, making his little clearing in the forest, and gradually enlarging it as the years passed. And in this clearing, he and his family were shut in almost as on a desert island. Basil Hall was impressed by the probable effects of what he saw of "people living far apart, and trusting exclusively to their own exertions for their support." But he was traveling on a stage line, where something of outside life was visible. What would he have thought of the hundreds who did not live on traveled roads, but back in the depths of the forest, with only an occasional interview with some neighbor who was living under similar conditions?

Necessarily there is greater isolation in a timbered country than in an open country, and it cannot be questioned that isolation has an effect on the human mind. That is one of the reasons why solitary confinement has been generally abandoned by intelligent penologists, except for comparatively short periods, and for the purpose of making prisoners reflect on their misdeeds. Solitude had often been lauded by writers who had experienced it in slight amount, but when the account of Alexander Selkirk's life on his desert island reached the civilized world, there was general agreement with Cowper's lines—

"O Solitude where are the charms
That sages have seen in thy face?
Better dwell in the midst of alarms
Than reign in this horrible place."

One of the charms of "Robinson Crusoe" is DeFoe's conception of the mental effects of his life, and his notable turning towards serious thoughts. This conception is borne out historically by the experience of the mutineers of the ship Bounty, from whom there developed on Pitcairn Island one of the most religious communities on earth. Manifestly there is a great difference between enforced isolation, and that which one can leave at will. There is not the same depressing effect,

[5] Liberty Hall, March 31, 1806.

but there is the same opportunity to think out one's thoughts, and the same concentration of thought on nature, for lack of things to divert it. With the pioneer the chief diversion was to the details of his daily toil. He could not run to the grocer, the druggist, and the merchant to supply his wants. He must, in general meet them himself, and here his ingenuity was often put to test. No man was ever a closer observer of this frontier life in Indiana than Judge D. D. Banta, or wrote more intelligently concerning it. He says of this experience of self-reliance: "If the farmer had a knack at working in wood, give him an axe and an auger, or in lieu of the last a burning-iron, and he could make almost any machine he was wont to work with. It is hard to set a limit to the skill of a 'handy' man. With his sharp axe the pioneer could not only cut the logs for his cabin and notch them down, but he could make a close-fitting door and supply it with wooden hinges and a neat latch. With his axe and auger or 'burning-iron,' from the roots of an oak or ash he could fashion his hames and sled-runners. He could make all his whiffle-trees, stock his plows, make or half-sole his sled, make an axle-tree for his wagon if he had one, make a rake, a flax-break, a barrow, a scythe sneath, a grain cradle, a pitchfork, a loom, a reel, a winding blades, a washboard, a stool, a chair, and, at a pinch, a table, a bedstead, a dresser, and a cradle in which to rock the baby. If he was more than ordinarily clever he repaired his own cooperage, and adding a drawing-knife to his kit of tools, he even went so far as to make his own casks, tub, and buckets. But he usually patronized the cooper, and always the blacksmith, the tanner, and the wheelwright. He had little use for the shoemaker, because he made and mended all his own shoes; and less for the fuller and tailor, because his wife spun and wove all the cloth and cut and made all the clothes; and scarcely none at all for the house carpenter, because with his axe he could do about all the carpenter's work the fashion of the times required."[6]

If we may believe half of the teachings of modern science in regard to protein, carbohydrates, and other food elements, the labor of the frontier women called for as much ingenuity as that of the men. Charlotte Perkins Gilman says: "The art and science of cooking involve a large and thorough knowledge of nutritive value and of the laws of physiology and hygiene. As a science it verges on preventive medicine. As an art, it is capable of noble expression within its natural bounds. As it stands among us today, it is so far from being a science and akin to preventive medicine, that it is the lowest of amateur handicrafts and a prolific source of disease; and, as an art, it has developed under the

[6] Indianapolis News, June 14, 1888.

peculiar stimulus of its position as a sex-function into a voluptuous profusion as false as it is evil. Our innocent proverb, 'The way to a man's heart is through his stomach,' is a painfully plain comment on the way in which we have come to deprave our bodies and degrade our souls at the table. * * * What progress we have made in the science of cooking has been made through the study and experience of professional men cooks and chemists, not through the Sisyphean labors of our endless generations of isolated women, each beginning again where her mother began before her." Such is not the record of history. Most of the pioneer women had large families, and little of the infant mortality was due to stomach trouble. If they had known the chemical composition of foods, it would have made little difference, for there was scant room for selection. A woman situated like Mrs. McCoy, in her Indian boarding school, with no food but lye hominy in the house for weeks at a time, "degraded her soul" by cooking lye hominy. That was an extreme case. Usually there was some kind of meat at hand, and corn meal, if not flour. The shortage was in acids and sweets. If I were asked by a bright young woman for a subject for an economic sociological thesis, I would recommend The Evolution of the American Pie; for unquestionably woman put the pie in pioneer. Harriet Beecher Stowe made a start in that direction when she wrote: "The pie is an English institution, which, planted on American soil, forthwith ran rampant and burst forth into an untold variety of genera and species. Not merely the old traditional mince pie, but a thousand strictly American seedlings from that main stock, evinced the power of American housewives to adapt old institutions to new uses. Pumpkin pies, cranberry pies, huckleberry pies, custard pies, apple pies, Marlborough-pudding pies.[7] Pies with top crusts, and pies without,—pies adorned with all sorts of fanciful flutings and architectural strips laid across and around, and otherwise varied, attested the boundless fertility of the feminine mind when once let loose in a given direction."[8]

It was not a matter of choice, but of finding material from which a pie could be made, and when all the fruits and berries had been exhausted, as well as pumpkin, squash, sweet-potato and Irish potato, she moved on to vinegar pie. So, in the lack of spices, she utilized lemon and orange peel. So she made preserves of tomatoes and watermelon rinds, and pickled various vegetables. So she has gone on with all sorts of salads and puddings, until American cook books make a considerable library, with more to come. And in the general opinion of mere man, male cooks have spoiled more than they have improved. Who that has

[7] A sort of apple pie—see Fannie Merritt Farmer's New Book of Cookery, p. 307.
[8] Oldtown Folks, p. 340.

eaten hotel strawberry shortcake, has not yearned for the kind "that Mother used to make?" And her "preventive medicines" were not confined to foods. She made decoctions of medicinal plants, salves, washes, plasters and poultices. She not only made soap, but made the lye to make the soap; and this was continued long after "store soap" was available. Says George W. Sloan: "There was not a large sale for bar soap because all the old women made soft soap. No coal was burned then and there were plenty of wood ashes. The woman saved the ashes, leached them, boiled the lye down until it would float an egg, added her savings of grease to it and made soap. She had learned to add salt, and that made hard soap."[9] If there is anything in heredity, the average American can look for ingenuity on the maternal as well as the paternal side. And there were dozens of forms of industry in which both sexes participated, such as preserving meats, making candles and grease lamps, making and using dyes, tanning skins, cleaning feathers, and other efforts to add to the comforts of life, or earn an honest dollar.

It must be that the isolation of the frontier had a material effect on the religious sentiment of the pioneers. Few men who think do not realize that they are not living as good lives as they might. They may not indulge in crimes or even vices, but they are seldom exercising their virtues to their full capacity. In the early period everybody believed in the Bible. Even professed atheists had a deep-down belief, such as Stevenson pictures in his pirates in Treasure Island. They have a story in Owen County of an old farmer who was "a little near," who had a son, Absolom, who never got along financially. Absolom finally went to Texas, with his wife and children, to enter some land; and in due time wrote to his father for assistance, stating that he was out of money, could get no work, and his family were suffering from hunger. The old gentleman had a couple of notes that Absolom had given him for borrowed money, and he cancelled these, put them in an envelope, and sent them to Absolom. Some time after, his brother-in-law was telling this to James Phillips, a professed infidel of the neighborhood, who indignantly asked, "Did the old man do that?" "Yes, he did, and I sent Absolom some money myself." "Well, the old scoundrel; he ought to be in hell." "But I thought you didn't believe in hell." "I didn't; but by G—d I never saw the necessity for it before." In the isolated life, people had to think. There was dearth of amusements, and most of what there were had an athletic character that required competition to make the sport. The first settlers of Indiana were religious to begin with, and their laws were almost puritanical. There were,

[9] Fifty years in Pharmacy, Ind. Hist. Soc. Pubs., Vol. 3, p. 334.

of course, no theaters, and the early laws of the State provided that, "Every person who shall exhibit any puppet-show, wire dancing or tumbling, for money or reward, shall be fined three dollars for each offense."[10] It was not until 1831 that provision was made for licensing such shows.[11] Decent people did not play cards; and until the middle of the century, the law provided, "That if any person shall vend, or cause to be vended, any playing cards, or any obscene book, pamphlet, or print, he shall on conviction thereof, be fined in any sum not less than one nor more than three dollars for every such pack of cards, book, pamphlet, or print vended."[12] If anything in the forcible preaching of the time made an impression on the mind of an irreligious man, his thought was sure to come back to it when at his lonesome tasks, and a "conviction of sin" would naturally follow. These conditions explain such extraordinary religious movements as "the Great Awakening" of the middle of the eighteenth century, and the great revivals that swept the Western country in the first half of the nineteenth century, beginning with the Newlight revival at Cane Ridge in 1804. There was a mental effect in the abandon of emotional excitement in these religious experiences aside from the religious effect. A man cannot "let himself go" emotionally without developing the emotional side of his nature; and when he throws himself into the same condition habitually, as was done in all the evangelistic churches, there must be a development of the emotional nature that is simply impossible of religions where emotional manifestations are studiously repressed. To give expression to these emotions there is a striving for superlatives that gives a new color to language, just as there is when the emotions are stirred by anything else. The effect, from whatever cause, is well expressed by H. H. Riley: "Pioneers —men who grow up in the woods—are famous for luxuriant imaginations. Everything with them is on a sweeping scale with the natural objects amid which they dwell. The rivers, and lakes, and plains are great, and seem to run riot—so men sometimes run riot too, in thought and word, and deed. They deal largely in the extravagant, and do extravagant things in an extravagant way. I have seen a rusty pioneer, when giving his opinion upon some trite matter, garnish his language with imagery and figures, and clothe himself with an action that Demosthenes would have copied, if he had met with such in his day. Gestures all graceful, eye all fire, language rough, but strong, and an enthusiasm that was magnetic—a kind of unpremeditated natural eloquence, that many a one has sought for, but never found."[13]

[10] Rev. Stats. 1824, p. 148.

[11] Laws of 1831, p. 191.

[12] Rev. Stats. 1843, p. 985.

[13] Puddleford Papers, p. 206.

Turkey Run

Of course this characteristic was most noticeable in frontier oratory, which, with appreciation of the purpose of oratory, was designed to move the hearers to whom it was addressed. In a broad way this may be classed as legal, political and religious. It was common for the people to gather at court sessions to "hear the lawyers plead," or, in other words to argue their cases to the juries, and at especially interesting trials the court rooms were never large enough to accommodate the audiences. A description of frontier political oratory, and its effects on those who were not accustomed to it, has already been given in the account of the speech of Henry S. Lane at the Republican National Convention. But the most striking was the religious oratory, because the preacher had the most tremendous subjects to deal with, and his appeals went to the very foundations of human character, and to the highest conceptions of which man is capable. Here, oratory went to its utmost limits. One of the most noted of its many masters in Indiana was John Strange, a Virginian by birth, who began preaching in 1810, when twenty years of age. A fellow Methodist preacher describes him thus: "In the pulpit, he was peerless in voice and gesture. No one ever imitated him—for none could. He was a natural orator of the highest class. It was no studied art with him—it was Heaven's rich gift. His power over an audience, at times, seemed to be almost supernatural, causing their feelings to rise and swell, at the command of his voice, or the waving of his hand, as the ocean would surge under the call of Aeolus. Often the people were so carried away by his eloquence that, rising from their seats, they would press toward the place where he stood telling the story of the cross—portraying the dying agonies of the Savior—themselves seemingly lost to every subject but the one presented by the speaker. He was sometimes eccentric in the pulpit, but his eccentricities were always graceful. * * * By his sudden exclamation he would thrill a whole congregation as by a shock of electricity. Sometimes, when speaking of God's love to man in the redemption of the world, the joys of Christ's great salvation, the glory of heaven, his soul would be filled with such heavenly rapture that he would exclaim in his peculiar voice, 'Alleluia! Alleluia! Alleluia!' when the people would catch the spirit, and from every part of the congregation shouts of praise would ascend to heaven. Sometimes, when portraying the torments of those shut up in the prison-house of hell, and describing the wicked as in crowds they urged their way down to blackness and darkness, the sinners in the congregation would scream out, crying for mercy. Seizing upon the occasion, Mr. Strange would exclaim, in his inimitable way, 'A center shot, my Lord; load and fire again!' The backwoods hunters knew well how to apply such expressions. * * *

His powers of description were of the finest order. He could so describe a scene, that you would seem to behold, in undimmed light, that which he was portraying. When he was preaching the funeral sermon of Rev. Edwin Ray, in Indianapolis, toward the close of the discourse, while describing the second coming of Christ, his bringing with him 'them that sleep in Jesus,' descending 'in the clouds of heaven,' he stood erect for a moment, then, looking upward, cried out, 'Where is Edwin Ray?' Still looking upward, he said, 'I see him; I see him!' and then, with both hands raised as if welcoming him, he exclaimed, in a voice that seemed to go up to the clouds, 'Hail, Edwin! Hail, Edwin! Hail Edwin!' The effect upon the congregation will never be forgotten by those who heard that sermon and felt the power." [14]

Another says of him: "His leading mental traits were feeling and imagination, and, as a consequence, his sermons were highly descriptive. Sometimes his imagination would tower and soar aloft, till his hearers would be carried in feeling and fancy to the third heaven. He could paint a panoramic scene with the hand of a master, and he frequently employed metaphoric representations with wonderful effect. Once, when preaching on the love of God, he compared it to an ocean, and then he endeavored to sound it with a line. While letting down his line, he became most impassioned, and cried out, at the top of his shrill voice, 'More line—more line!' and the effect was to enrapture and convulse the entire congregation on a large encampment, while they seemed lost in wonder and adoration at the unfathomable depths of God's love to a lost world. Once while on the Madison district, he was compelled, through feebleness and extreme indisposition, to desist from preaching, while in the midst of a sermon, at a quarterly meeting. But while abruptly closing, he exclaimed, with a pathos all his own, and perfectly inimitable, 'God forbid that any of my hearers should wake up with the rich man in hell, where they must cry in vain for one drop of water to cool their parched tongues!' and suiting the action to the word, he dipped his finger in a tumbler of water that was sitting on the pulpit, and letting a drop fall on his own tongue, fell immediately back upon his seat, while the congregation was suffused in tears, and sobs and groans were heard from every part of the audience." [15] The responses of the audience were not always religious in character, although they showed the interest awakened by the discourse. Holliday tells of a frontier preacher who was holding a meeting in a bar-room—a quite common occurrence—and preaching from the text, "Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added

[14] Smith's Indiana Miscellany, pp. 154-6.

[15] Holliday's Life and Times of Rev. Allen Wiley, p. 63.

unto you." He says: "He endeavored, in plain words, to show them the absurdity and folly of serving the devil. 'Now', said he, 'if you want to be happy, the devil can't make you happy. He is the most wretched being in all the universe; and as misery loves company, he will drag you down to his own fiery abode. If you are seeking for honor, the devil has none to bestow; he is the most dishonorable being that lives. And if you are seeking for wealth, the devil has none of it; if you were to sweep hell from one end to the other, you would not get a sixpence.' A large, honest but coarse-looking fellow, sitting right before the preacher, with eyes and mouth wide open, exclaimed, unconsciously: 'God! money is as scarce there as it is here!' "

It must not be supposed that these frontier preachers were ignorant, although many of them had little schooling. Holliday says of Strange: "His education was not very thorough; yet he was a close student, and but few men ever had a better command of language than he. For years he was in the habit of carrying Walker's octavo dictionary in his saddlebags, and of studying it closely; and thus he acquired a very ready and happy use of language, and his storehouse of words seemed inexhaustible." In fact few of the preachers neglected opportunities to learn. Barton W. Stone, the Newlight leader, was well educated for the time, yet he picked up French from a French refugee in Georgia, and Hebrew in Kentucky. He says of the latter: "A Prussian doctor, a Jew of great learning, came to Lexington, and proposed to teach the Hebrew language in a short time. A class was soon made up of a motley mixture of preachers, lawyers, and others. He taught by lectures; and in a very short time we understood the language so as with ease to read, and translate by the assistance of a Lexicon." Smith makes the broad claim: "Indiana is more indebted to itinerant Methodist preachers for the high position she now occupies in science, literature, and Christianity, than to any other class of men. Though these ministers of the Lord Jesus were not cultured men, as that term is ordinarily understood, they were, nevertheless, educated in an exalted sense. Their education was such as to qualify them for their peculiar and important work. * * * They all had a fair, some of them a good, English training. Some of them, while traveling their large circuits, pursued their studies till they became good Latin, Greek, and Hebrew scholars. They were well read in the Holy Scriptures, and when they preached they used them. It would have been an anomaly to have heard one of these men preach a sermon and never make a quotation from the Scriptures, except when he read his text." [16]

There is a large basis of fact for this statement, but it should not be

[16] Indiana Miscellany, p. 45.

limited to Methodists. Itinerancy and revivals were characteristic of the "shouting Methodist," but they were shared by nearly all the Protestant sects on the frontier. The five preachers who started the Newlight movement were Presbyterians, of whom two went over to the Shakers, and two returned to the Presbyterian fold, leaving Barton W. Stone, who later joined forces with Alexander Campbell, though their sects have never fully coalesced. Clergymen of all sects traveled widely in the early period and stationed preachers often held revival meetings. John R. Moreland, a converted flatboatman, who came to the First Presbyterian Church of Indianapolis in 1828, is described by Mrs. Ketcham as "a real revival preacher, who meant good and was good. He wept with his congregation." Henry Ward Beecher was quite noted as a revival preacher when in Indiana, not only in his own church, but going out to hold meetings. The great work of the churches in book education was through the Sunday schools, for there were no real free schools in Indiana until after 1850, and more children learned to read in the Sunday schools than in the day schools. But book education is a small part of the education of life, and in early Indiana the religious teaching formed a large part of it. Foreigners could seldom grasp its import. Mrs. Trollope, who was a most decorous Episcopalian, was shocked by it. She says: "I learned that the un-national church of America required to be roused, at regular intervals, to greater energy and exertion. At these seasons the most enthusiastic of the clergy travel the country, and enter the cities and towns by scores, or by hundreds, as the accommodation of the place may admit, and for a week or fortnight, or, if the population be large, for a month; they preach and pray all day, and often for a considerable portion of the night, in the various churches and chapels of the place. This is called a Revival. * * * These itinerant clergymen are of all persuasions, I believe, except the Episcopalian, Catholic, Unitarian, and Quaker. I heard of Presbyterians of all varieties; of Baptists of I know not how many divisions; and of Methodists of more denominations than I can remember; whose innumerable shades of varying belief it would require much time to explain and more to comprehend. * * * It was at the principal of the Presbyterian churches (of Cincinnati) that I was twice witness to scenes that made me shudder." [17]

The things that shocked her there were very ordinary emotional manifestations of revival meetings; but she got her real shock when she attended an Indiana camp-meeting, in 1829. It was in a forest clearing, with tents around the outskirts, and no roof over the meeting place. "Four high frames, constructed in the form of altars, were placed

[17] Domestic Manners of the Americans, pp. 104-7.

at the four corners of the enclosure; on these were supported layers of earth and sod on which burned immense fires of blazing pine-wood. On one side a rude platform was erected to accommodate the preachers, fifteen of whom attended the meeting, and with very short intervals for necessary refreshment and private devotion, preached in rotation, day and night, from Tuesday to Saturday.'' In front of the preacher's platform was an inclosure reserved for penitents, called ''the pen.'' There were some two thousand persons in attendance. She attended a midnight meeting, and describes it thus: ''One of the preachers began in a low nasal tone, and, like all other Methodist preachers, assured us of the enormous depravity of man as he comes from the hands of his Maker, and of his perfect sanctification after he had wrestled sufficiently with the Lord to get hold of him, et caetera. The admiration of the crowd was evinced by almost constant cries of 'Amen! Amen!' 'Jesus! Jesus!' 'Glory! Glory!' and the like. But this comparative tranquility did not last long; the preacher told them that 'this night was the time fixed for anxious sinners to wrestle with the Lord'; that he and his brethren 'were at hand to help them,' and that such as needed their help were to come forward into the pen. * * * The crowd fell back at the mention of the pen, and for some minutes there was a vacant space before us. The preachers came down from their stand and placed themselves in the midst of it, beginning to sing a hymn, calling upon the penitents to come forth. As they sang they kept turning themselves round to every part of the crowd, and, by degrees, the voices of the whole multitude joined in the chorus. This was the only moment at which I perceived anything like the solemn and beautiful effect which I had heard ascribed to this woodland worship. It is certain that the combined voices of such a multitude, heard at dead of night, from the depths of their eternal forests, the many fair young faces turned upward, and looking paler and lovelier as they met the moon-beams, the dark figures of the officials in the middle of the circle, the lurid glare thrown by the altar fires on the woods beyond, did altogether produce a fine and solemn effect, that I shall not easily forget; but ere I had well enjoyed it, the scene changed, and sublimity gave place to horror and disgust. The exhortation nearly resembled that which I had heard at 'the Revival,' but the result was very different; for, instead of the few hysterical women who had distinguished themselves on that occasion, above a hundred persons, nearly all females, came forward, uttering howlings and groans, so terrible that I shall never cease to shudder when I recall them. They appeared to drag each other forward, and on the word being given, 'let us pray,' they all fell on their knees; but this posture was soon changed for others that permitted greater scope for the

convulsive movements of their limbs; and they were soon all lying on the ground in an indescribable confusion of heads and legs. They threw about their limbs with such incessant and violent motion that I was every instant expecting some serious accident to occur. But how am I to describe the sounds that proceeded from this strange mass of human beings? I know no words which can convey an idea of it. Hysterical sobbings, convulsive groans, shrieks and screams the most appalling, burst forth on all sides. I felt sick with horror. After the first wild burst that followed their prostration, the moanings, in many instances, became loudly articulate; and I then experienced a strange vibration between tragic and comic feeling. * * * The stunning noise was sometimes varied by the preachers beginning to sing; but the convulsive movements of the poor maniacs only became more violent. At length the atrocious wickedness of this horrible scene increased to a degree of grossness that drove us from our station; we returned to the carriage at about three o'clock in the morning, and passed the remainder of the night in listening to the ever increasing tumult at the pen. To sleep was impossible." [18]

The effects of these religious meetings were indeed almost incredible to one who had not seen them, and yet very similar meetings were to be seen a few years earlier in England under the preaching of John Wesley and his associates. There are various views of their merits, which are of no importance here, except to say that they had an immense effect on the morals of the people, and not only women, but hundreds of profane, drunken, and profligate men became sober and worthy citizens. But whatever one may think of the religion or the psychology of such movements, it can hardly be questioned that such religion, almost universally and constantly practised, must have had the effect of developing the emotional side of the people who were subject to its influences. It is also historically impossible to question the sincerity of these preachers. In the earliest period, they encountered danger as well as hardship; and John Strange, and others, carried rifles to protect themselves from hostile Indians, as they went from one block-house to another to minister to the scattered inhabitants. In Strange's old age and poverty his friends made up a purse, and desired to present him a small home; but he refused to accept it, saying that if he did he could no longer sing a favorite hymn—

"No foot of land do I possess.
No cabin in the wilderness,
A poor wayfaring man."

[18] Domestic Manners of the Americans, pp. 238-44.

After the War of 1812, the danger from Indians was removed, but the hardships and the impossibility of hoping for wealth or ease remained. In 1819, appealing for aid in the East, Isaac Reed, a pioneer Presbyterian preacher, wrote: "I have traveled considerable in new settlements in other parts, besides Indiana; but I have never found so great numbers, who seem to be religiously inclined, and who are professors of some sort, as in Indiana; there are all the kinds, regular and irregular, orthodox and heresy of the older states. * * * These people are without money; and but little stock. They are opening, with their own labour, farms, where the land is heavily timbered; they are living in mud-walled log cabins. What can these people do towards settling ministers, who must be supported by their salaries?—what can they do?—in money they cannot do hardly anything; the older churches, therefore, must send them missionaries, and help them to creep, till they can stand and go alone; or, ah me! their brethren perish without the gospel; and the neglect of their poor brethren will be upon them. I wish to raise for the poor inhabitants of Indiana, the Macedonian cry; 'Come over and help us.' Brethren, I tell you what I know; I speak of what I have seen; and the eagerness of those poor people, to hear the gospel and to attend upon the appointments of your missionary and the thankful prayers (which he heard some of them offer), are still fresh in his recollection; and they plead with him to plead with his older brethren, the trustees of the Connecticut Society, to send them help, as they may have ability. Brethren, you have here the map of the country before you; it has only seven Presbyterian ministers; and it has 140,000 inhabitants; these are scattered over an area of country three times as large as Connecticut; and what makes it still more important is this,—a vast tract of first-rate land has been lately brought into the market, and is now fast filling up with people, from nearly all the other states. In my late tour, I was within the bounds of this new purchase, and preached two sermons in it; and if it shall please the trustees to continue my appointment, I contemplate removing there in less than a year." No sane man can question the sincerity of men who give their lives to labor in such a field; and of course they had the confidence and affection of the people among whom they labored.

It is also to be noted that the diversity of sects, which has been mentioned, was the result of intense religious sincerity. If you start, as these men did, with a belief that the King James version is the verbally inspired word of God, and you desire to be saved, the meaning of the Bible becomes a thing of immense importance. Whenever finite minds have attempted to comprehend the infinite there has resulted vast divergence of opinion, simply because the finite mind cannot possibly com-

prehend the infinite. The chief theological difficulty of the frontier was to steer between the Scylla of Calvinism, with its doctrines of fore-ordination and election, and the Charybdis of Universalism. The preserved accounts of the mental struggles of some of these men with such problems, as also with the atonement, the Trinity, the form of baptism, and other questions that do not admit of human solution, is the most conclusive evidence of their faith. A change of belief by a clergy-

Rev. George P. Bush

man was not uncommon; and in such case he ordinarily made frank confession of it to his people, and moved over into some other flock. A notable exception to this was Rev. George P. Bush, the second minister at the First Presbyterian Church of Indianapolis. When he came there, in 1825, he was easily the most learned clergyman in Indiana, but in a few months he began to doubt that the Presbyterian form of church government was scriptural; and instead of leaving the church, he undertook to preach Congregationalism to his church. The members rebelled. The elders offered to meet him in debate on the question, but refused

to listen to his heresy with no chance to answer it. As they were paying for the preaching, they were entitled to the kind that Bush had, by implication at least, agreed to furnish; and so they dismissed him, after a protracted church row, and he went down to futurity as Indiana's first heretic, as well as becoming famous as a Bible scholar. His "Notes on the Pentateuch" were widely accepted as authoritative for a number of years. But having started on change, he kept on until he ended a follower of Swedenborg; and his memory is cherished chiefly by that sect. Another notable pastor of this same church was Dr. John A. McClung, who entered the ministry when young, and served with promise until 1831, when, because he was unable to answer some of the arguments of Gibbon against Christianity, he withdrew from the ministry, and took up the law, in which, and in politics he attained distinction. What was more important, in this period he collected and published his "Sketches of Western Adventure," which are the foundation of all that has been since written of the pioneer adventures of Kentucky. In 1848, he read Sir David Dalrymple's answer to Gibbon, and found the objections that troubled him satisfactorily disposed of. He made a thorough re-examination of the evidences of Christianity, convinced himself, and returned to the ministry. He was stationed at Indianapolis 1851-5; and was drowned at Niagara Falls, on August 6, 1859.

It is to be noted also that this exuberant religion of the frontier had a hopeful, optimistic influence, that contrasted strongly with the unsympathetic repression of Calvinistic Puritanism. This was the natural result of the tenets of the two. If you arrive at the conviction that a certain portion of mankind are foreordained to be saved, and another portion to be damned; and that their numbers were immutably fixed from the beginning of time; it is a manifest attempt to interfere with the designs of Providence to try to save those who are foreordained to be lost. It was for this reason that there was decided opposition in the early churches to missions, and Sunday schools, and tracts, as is noted by historical students.[19] It was this quite logical deduction that Isaac McCoy had to fight in the Baptist church, and which caused the division in that church, the Calvinistic or Primitive Baptists, going to themselves. Such a faith is a very solemn thing to have in your system, and develops a decorum that frowns on emotionalism of any kind. It will hardly be questioned that Dr. J. G. Holland was a reliable observer of New England life, and he pictures this repression of feeling in his poem, "Daniel Gray," thus:

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[19] Levering's Historic Indiana, pp. 169, 173, 180.

"I see him now—his form, his face, his motions,
His homespun habit, and his silver hair,—
And hear the language of his trite devotions,
Rising behind the straight-backed kitchen chair.

"I can remember how the sentence sounded—
'Help us, O Lord, to pray and not to faint!'
And how the 'conquering and to conquer' rounded
The loftier aspirations of the saint.

"He had some notions that did not improve him,
He never kissed his children—so they say;
And finest scenes and fairest flowers would move him
Less than a horse-shoe picked up in the way.

"He had a hearty hatred of oppression,
And righteous words for sin of every kind;
Alas, that the transgressor and transgression
Were linked so closely in his honest mind!

"He could see naught but vanity in beauty,
And naught but weakness in a fond caress,
And pitied men whose views of Christian duty
Allowed indulgence in such foolishness.

"Yet there were love and tenderness within him;
And I am told that when his Charlie died,
For nature's need nor gentle words could win him
From his fond vigils at the sleeper's side.

"And when they came to bury little Charlie,
They found fresh dew-drops sprinkled in his hair,
And on his breast a rose-bud gathered early,
And guessed, but did not know who placed it there."

Can you imagine one of Daniel Gray's children ever writing of him these words that Joaquin Miller, the Indiana-born poet, wrote of his Quaker father: "We had been moving West and West from my birth at Liberty, Union County, Ind., November 10, 1841 or 1842 (the Bible was burned and we don't know which year), and now were in the woods of the Miami Indian Reserve. My first recollection is of starting up from the trundle bed with my two little brothers and looking out one night

at father and mother at work burning brush heaps, which threw a lurid flare against the greased paper window. Late that autumn I was measured for my first shoes and Papa led me to his school. Then a strange old woman came, and there was mystery and a smell of mint, and one night, as we three little ones were hurried away through the woods to a neighbor's, she was very cross. We three came back alone in the cold, early morning. There was a little snow, rabbit tracks in the trail, and some quail ran hastily from cover to cover. We three little ones were all alone and silent, so silent. We knew nothing, nothing at all; but truly the divine mystery of mother nature, God's relegation of His last great work to woman, her partnership with Him in creation—not one of us had ever dreamed of. Yet we three little lads huddled up in a knot near the ice-hung eaves of the log cabin outside the corner where mother's bed stood and—did the new baby hear her silent and awed little brothers? Did she feel them, outside there, huddled close together in the cold and snow, listening, listening? For lo! a little baby cry came through the cabin wall, and then we all rushed around the corner of the cabin, jerked the latch, and all three in a heap tumbled up into the bed and peered down into the little pink face against mother's breast. Gentle, gentle, how more than ever gentle were we all six now in that little log cabin. Papa doing everything so gently, saying nothing, only doing, doing. And ever so and always toward the West, till 1852, when he had touched the sea of seas, and could go no farther. And so gentle always! Can you conceive how gentle? Seventy-two years he led and lived in the wilderness and yet never fired or even laid hand to a gun.'' [20]

If this father had repressed every gentle feeling, is it probable that fifty years later this son would have written these words: ''Jerusalem was ever but a small place. You can cover her on the map of the world with a pin's head, yet is she more than all the Babylons that have been. She loved, and devoutly loved, the sublime and the beautiful. From this love her poets were born. The cedars of Lebanon, the lilies of the valley, these were the first letters of their alphabet. And as there cannot be a great land on the page of history without first a great literature, so there cannot be a great literature without first a deep, broad, devout, and loving religion. * * * Is there such a thing as genius, inspiration? I think there is no such thing. Rather let us call it a devout and all-pervading love of the sublime, the beautiful, and the good; the never-questioning conviction that there is nothing in this world that is not beautiful or trying to be beautiful. 'And God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good.' Genius

[20] Miller's Complete Poetical Works, p. 62.

is love that is born of this truth, leading ever by plain and simple ways, and true toil and care, as all nature toils and cares, as God toils and cares; that is all. I write this down for those who may come after. We shall have higher results from the plain, sweet truth."[21] It would be absurd to say that all Indiana fathers, or even a majority of them, were like this father; but they were generally like him in the respect of not suppressing their better and higher feelings. They gave vent to their religious exaltation, and, laying aside any question as to the merits of their faith, this habit must have affected the characters of their descendants. Optimism is a common characteristic of Indiana writers. There is a striking illustration of this in a book of quotations from Indiana authors, entitled "The Hoosier Year." It was compiled in 1916, by two Indianapolis school teachers, Catherine T. Dunn and Angeline P. Carey, and gives quotations from 366 Indiana writers and speakers—one for each day in the year. In the literary line it is absolutely unique, and indeed, it is probably something that could not be done in many other States, if in any. But the impressive feature is the character of the quotations; for there is none that is not fairly worth while, and almost all are so distinctly optimistic as to be obvious contributions to "the uplift." The one notable exception to this rule is Theodore Dreiser; and it is worth traversing that pessimistic waste of his, "A Hoosier Holiday," to read, when he came to the home of James Whitcomb Riley: "We didn't go in. I wanted to, but I felt a little bashful. As I say, I had heard that he didn't approve of me." Why should he? Riley was a born optimist. It was the fact that he could see the beautiful in what was about him, and make others see it, that made him the best beloved. The beauty was there all the time, but it was not realized. That was why all Indiana, and multitudes beyond its borders, gave approval to the following:

Proclamation from the Governor of Indiana

"James Whitcomb Riley is dead and yet he liveth. While we shall never again see him with our eyes open, with them closed we will behold him and feel him and be moved to nobler deeds by the pathos and beauty of his songs. He was nature's interpreter, universal and universally will his memory ever be cherished. The people delighted in showing him honor when he was living and their love and admiration were not limited by geographical lines. In October a year ago, the anniversary of his birth was celebrated throughout our country. The cultured and the unlettered, the powerful and the humble, vied with one another to

[21] Complete Poetical Works, p. vi.

do him honor. He was Indiana's morning star, flooding her remotest and humblest sections with light and cheer when the day of our State's Centennial was ushered in; but in the middle of the year the mysterious curtain dropped between him and his generation and he passed on.

"The thousands of people of high and low degree, who passed his bier as it rested in state in our Capitol, gave conclusive evidence that the populace had looked upon him as humanity's friend. The popularity

JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY

of his poems with the children is proof that he recreated a world of love and hope and innocence. Through him more than through any other writer will future generations be made familiar with Hoosier customs and the mannerisms prevalent in our early Indiana life. His homely speech and his beautiful sympathy are among the priceless gifts he has left to society. By a matchless power of portrayal he showed that the common people were undoubtedly the best representatives of truth and honesty. His power of observation and intuition did not limit him to

the beauties and passions of humanity. He was tender and considerate and wide of view in his contemplation of animal and bird life, and he did not fail to catch and translate the music of the murmuring brook, or to see the beauty everywhere visible on the face of nature, put there by the brush of nature's Master Artist.

"This beautiful spirit should live with us forever, and as a means of honoring him and helping ourselves, it would be in keeping with a fine sense of duty to recognize in a public way the anniversary of his birth.

"Now, therefore, I, Samuel M. Ralston, as Governor of Indiana, hereby designate Saturday, the 7th of October, 1916, as Riley Day.

"I urge the people of the State generally to observe the day by decorations and otherwise. It is directed that the public schools celebrate the occasion on Friday, Oct. 6, by appropriate exercises; and it is suggested that the churches of the State make proper recognition of it on Sunday, Oct. 8; all in the belief that, in honoring Riley's memory, we are honoring ourselves, and to the end that the value and virtue of his optimism and genius shall abide with and inspire our people in all the years of the future.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused to be affixed the great seal of the State of Indiana, at the Capitol, in the city of Indianapolis, this 14th day of September, 1916.

[Seal.] SAMUEL M. RALSTON, *Governor.*"

In passing, note that this proclamation, of itself, is an illustration of the originality and initiative that might be expected from descendants of Indiana pioneers. It is without precedent in America. We observe the birthdays of some of our notable statesmen, patriots and heroes; but here for the first time is this recognition accorded to a writer. England has ennobled some of her writers, and France has made Senators of some. It needed only the man to inaugurate such a movement in America. And Governor Ralston himself had a life to develop originality. His parents were Pennsylvania emigrants to Ohio, who came to Owen County, Indiana, in 1865, when Samuel was in his eighth year. They were both Presbyterians, but personal friends of Alexander Campbell, who often visited their home. Mr. Ralston was a stock raiser, and did fairly well until the panic of 1873 reduced the family to dire poverty. Then he took a lease on 160 acres of undeveloped coal land, near Fontanet, and Samuel undertook to open it. It was a big undertaking for a green country boy of eighteen; but he went to work sinking a shaft; blasted through fourteen feet of rock, with no mishap but striking a vein of water that added largely to the task; and reached his coal. But to get it to a delivery point, he had to get it

across a creek, and that required a trestle 100 yards long and 25 feet high. There was no way to get it but to build it himself. He went to the woods, cut the timbers, and after a long and hard struggle, he got his trestle in shape, rigged up two tram cars and a rude hoist, and went to bed happy. That night there came up a heavy storm, and in the morning he found the creek a raging torrent, and a large part of his trestle washed away. He did not repress his feelings. He sat down and cried; and it was good for him. It got the grief out of his system, and uncovered his submerged resolution. When the flood subsided, he found part of his timbers, cut some more, patched up his trestle, and went to mining coal. It was emblematic of later struggles to secure an education and to make his way in the world. He saw other trestles washed away, and found other obstacles to surmount, but he found ways to overcome them. It was the self-reliance and originality of the frontier. Men who travel rough roads learn how to get out of ruts.

But, to return to Dreiser, in all Indiana he could find nothing admirable. To read his book, one would suppose that all the decent and intelligent people in Indiana had removed to New York, and gone to writing for the "Smart Set," and other esthetic publications. To make it worse, he was afflicted with the Marie Bashkirtseff idea that it is fine to bare your soul to the world, unconscious of the fact that the average soul is more presentable in a fig-leaf—much more so in pajamas. To paraphrase Wordsworth:

> A primrose by the river's brim
> Was but a yellow weed to him,
> And made him sore.

Even his own family did not escape. He says of them: "Several of the girls ran away and (in seeming, only in so far as the beliefs of my father were concerned) went to the bad. The did not go to the bad actually as time subsequently proved, though I might disagree with many as to what is bad and what is good. One of the boys, Paul, got into jail, quite innocently it seems, and was turned out by my father, only to be received back again and subsequently to become his almost sole source of support in his later years." At Terre Haute he is reminded of another brother, a railroad man, who "finally died of drunkenness (alcoholism is a nicer word) in a South Clark Street dive in Chicago, about 1905," and Sullivan calls to memory that, "My brother Rome came here once—'to get drunk and disgrace us,' as my sister said." At Warsaw he recalls an uncle and aunt who lived near there, and casually remarks: "They had four children, one of whom,

the eldest, became a thief (but a very clever one, I have heard); the second a railroad brakeman; the third the wife of an idle country loafer as worthless as her father; the fourth, a hunchbacked boy, was to me, at least, a veritable sprite of iniquity, thinking up small deviltries the whole day long. He was fond of fighting with his sister and parents, shouting vile names when angry, and so conducting himself generally that he was an object almost of loathing to such of our family as knew him. Their home was a delightful place for me to come to, so fresh, so new, so natural—not at all like our ordered home. I felt like I were housed with a kind of genial wild animal—a fox, or prairie dog or squirrel or coyote. Old Arnold had no more morals than a fox or squirrel. He never bathed." What a genial addition to a family fireside Theodore must have been! Possibly the explanation may be in what he says of his father: "He took life to be not what it is, but what it is said to be, or written to be, by others. The Catholic volumes containing that inane balderdash, 'The Lives of the Saints,' were truer than any true history —if there is such a thing—to him. He believed them absolutely. The Pope was infallible. If you didn't go to confession and communion at least once a year, you were eternally damned. I recall his once telling me that, if a small bird were to come only once every million or trillion years and rub its bill on a rock as big as the earth, the rock would be worn out before a man would see the end of hell—eternal, fiery torture—once he was in it. And then he would not see the end of it, but merely the beginning, as it were." Some descriptive ability in that—and an optimistic Hoosier would have realized at least, that the old gentleman was handing out a rattling quality of Hades. One might wish that he had come to Indiana earlier, and gone into the melting pot before the forests were cleared away. I am sure that no other Indiana writer would have written this: "Going south from North Manchester, we came to Wabash, a place about as handsome as Warsaw, if not more so, with various charming new buildings. It was on the Wabash River—the river about which my brother Paul once composed the song entitled, 'On the Banks of the Wabash Far Away' (I wrote the first verse and chorus!), and here we found a picture postcard on sale which celebrated this fact. 'On the Banks of the Wabash Far Away,' it said under a highly colored scene of some sycamore trees hanging over the stream. As my brother Paul was very proud of his authorship of this song, I was glad."

It is hard to imagine Theodore writing anything so cheerful as this song; but even if he did write part of it, why mention it? Why not let Paul have his "one little ewe lamb"? And especially why, as he writes of the family's experience at Sullivan: "And here finally when

my mother was distrait as to means of weathering the persistent storm and we were actually cold and hungry, my brother Paul, now a successful minstrel man, and the author of 'The Paul Dresser Comic Songster' (containing all the songs sung in the show) and now traveling in this region, came to her aid and removed us all to Evansville—the spring following this worst of winters." Paul did the decent thing. Why not mention that he wrote a number of songs that had a certain vogue? One of them—"I Believe It for My Mother Told Me So"—which was quite popular, really had more merit than "The Banks of the Wabash," for there is nothing in the words of the latter except the word "Wabash"; which caused it to be formally adopted as the State Song of Indiana, by an act of the Legislature. What gave it its popularity was the air. The same may be said of "Joe Bowers," "Old Kentucky Home," "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny," and other popular minstrel products. The negro minstrel did not contribute largely to the thought of the nation, but he did much to relieve the monotony of life, and he gave us our nearest approach to folk-song. The oddity of Paul Dresser and Theodore Dreiser being brothers is due to minstrelsy. Paul was born at Terre Haute in 1859. When a young fellow at Sullivan, he found that he had a talent for writing songs that took pretty well, and he was a fair singer. He was taken on by Billy Rice's troupe, with which he traveled for some time, but "Dreiser" would not do for a negro minstrel name; and so, like Al Jolson, who had the misfortune to be born at Srednick, Russia, and be christened Albert Joelson, he proceeded to naturalize. He was more quoted as a song-writer than as a minstrel, his songs being widely used by the craft until his death at New York, January 30, 1906. But, enough of pessimism. Let us turn to this picture by Riley:

"And once I saw a man who drew
  A gloom about him, like a cloak,
And wandered aimlessly. The few
  Who spoke of him at all, but spoke
Disparagingly of a mind
The Fates had faultily designed.[22]
Too indolent for modern times—
  Too fanciful, and full of whims—
For talking to himself in rhymes,
  And scrawling never-heard-of hymns
The idle life to which he clung
Was worthless as the songs he sung!

[22] As originally written and published, this line read, "That God had clumsily designed." I never could understand why Riley weakened the thought by changing it.

I saw him, in my vision, filled
With rapture o'er a spray of bloom
The wind threw in his lonely room;
And of the sweet perfume it spilled
He drank to drunkenness, and flung
His long hair back, and laughed and sung
And clapped his hands as children do
At fairly tales they listen to,
While from his flying quill there dripped
Such music on his manuscript
That he who listens to the words
May close his eyes and dream the birds
Are twittering on every hand
A language he can understand.

Note the peculiar quality of this, its striking originality. There has been much written about poetry, but where else in English literature will you find a poetical description of poetry? Note the abandon, which we have already marked in frontier oratory. Note how his poet "lets himself go." You could imagine Riley acting so, but not a New England poet, unless, perhaps, it would be Longfellow, when in the mood to write "Mr. Finney's Turnip," or

"There was a little girl,
And she had a little curl."

If there is an Indiana poet who can be given place by Riley, it is William Vaughn Moody. One would hardly think of similarity in their work, but consider this description of Col. Robert Gould Shaw, and his negro regiment, at Fort Wagner:

"Crouched in the sea fog on the moaning sand
All night he lay, speaking some simple word
From hour to hour to the slow minds that heard,
Holding each poor life gently in his hand
And breathing on the base rejected clay
Till each dark face shone mystical and grand
Against the breaking day;
And lo, the shard the potter cast away
Was grown a fiery chalice crystal-fine
Fulfilled of the divine
Great wine of battle wrath by God's ring finger stirred.
Then upward, where the shadowy bastion loomed
Huge on the mountain in the wet sea light,
Whence now, and now, infernal flowerage bloomed,

Bloomed, burst, and scattered down its deadly seed—
They swept, and died like freemen on the height,
Like freemen, and like men of noble breed;
And when the battle fell away at night
By hasty and contemptuous hands were thrust
Obscurely in a common grave with him
The fair-haired keeper of their love and trust.
Now limb doth mingle with dissolved limb
In nature's busy old democracy
To flush the mountain laurel where she blows
Sweet by the southern sea,
And heart with crumbled heart climbs in the rose:—

Poets have been writing of war since men began to write. They sang of it before letters were invented. But where in the range of poetry will you find another poetical description of a battle in which there is nothing about "the clash of arms," or "hurrying squadrons," or "the roll of musketry," and the like? Like Riley's verse above, this is the poetry of exuberant imagery. And it is complete. There is no needed detail omitted. They are crystals of poetic expression, perfect in themselves, whose beauty and power cannot be enhanced by addition or explanation. You have this same quality in Joaquin Miller's picture of the Monitor and the Merrimac:

"And where are the monsters that tore this main?
And where are the monsters that shook this shore?
The sea grew mad! And the shore shot flame!
The mad sea monsters they are no more.
The palm, and the pine, and the sea sands brown;
The far sea songs of the pleasure crews
The air like balm in this building town—
And that is the picture of Newport News."

And where, for concrete expression of a faith on which volumes have been written, will you find a more complete argument than in these lines from his "Byron"?

"In men whom men condemn as ill
I find so much of goodness still,
In men whom men pronounce divine
I find so much of sin and blot,
I do not dare to draw a line
Between the two, where God has not."

It is noteworthy that Riley, Miller and Moody were all "born poets" —*poeta nascitur non fit*—although Moody's published poetry is so classical that one might think it a product of education. But Moody wrote poetry long before he published any. He was born at Spencer, Indiana, July 8, 1868; but his parents moved to New Albany when he was five years old, and he grew up in the sound of the great rapids of the Ohio. That meant something to him, for he was a dreamer; and when he

WILLIAM VAUGHN MOODY

forgot his "chores," his sisters used to excuse him with: "Oh, never mind Will. He can't help forgetting. It's genius working." He wrote back from Harvard: "I often look back with regret to the days which I dreamed away in sleepy old New Albany (that prefix 'New' always strikes me as a joke), and I hope some of these days to come back to it—if only to assure myself that it really is there yet—a fact as to which I am sometimes skeptical." Here is an extract from a poem that he wrote when a schoolboy on "Clouds"—a poem written at sunset, while he was

sitting on the banks of the Ohio, looking westward toward the high hills, or "knobs." He always reveled in clouds and sunsets—in fact was accused of "living in the clouds," so far away were his thoughts and imagination:

"Outlined against a silver sky
Where rose-gray flushes swell and lie,
Behold, what wonder passeth by!
Icebergs of color, frozen light,
Peaks multiform and infinite—
Olympian uplands, pale gold plains
Drenched through and through with ruby rains—
Cathedrals, gateways, obelisks,
Roofs rounding into moony discs—
Dawn-dreaming walls, gold-gleaming halls,
Where all his lordly journey through
The Sun may hold his festivals.
O, Soul, that dare look up and say,
'Who will not walk that Western way?'
Be that the sunset, what the day?"

His first rude shock came in 1883, when his mother—Henrietta Stoy before marriage—to whom he erected that noble monument in his lines, "The Daguerreotype," passed from this life. In 1886 his father, Frank Burdette Moody, died, and the home was broken up. For two years he taught at the little frame school house two miles west of New Albany, prosaically but accurately designated as "No. 10"; making his daily trips from the home of his uncle, Lewis W. Stoy, on a small white pony, and carrying his cold lunch in his pocket. Then he went to Poughkeepsie, N. Y., where he made his home with a cousin, and worked his way through the military institute, graduating with high honors, and winning the Harvard scholarship. He made the Harvard course in three years, paying his expenses by teaching and literary work; and while he was there a good angel came in the person of a wealthy gentleman who wanted to send his son abroad under competent care, so he saw Europe on a salary. His fame was national; and his death on October 17, 1910, was widely lamented as of one of the most promising of American poets.

Is it not striking that when the nation was settling down to a realism in fiction that was barely distinguishable from the commonplace, there shot up a flame from the smoldering remains of romance, in Indiana, in Lew Wallace's "Fair God," followed by his "Ben Hur," by Majors' "When Knighthood Was in Flower," by Tarkington's "Monsieur Beau-

caire,'' by Elizabeth Miller's ''The Yoke''? These stories are as foreign to Indiana life as the lasting coal famine of the Esquimaux; and there is no adequate explanation of their origin but in the imagination developed by frontier isolation, frontier religion, and frontier oratory. Tarkington wandered far afield, but he came home, largely, I imagine, under the influence of Riley's movies of Indiana life, and has given us genuine Indiana novels in ''Seventeen'' and ''The Turmoil,'' and genuine Indiana sketches in ''Penrod.'' He had a ''shouting Methodist'' ancestry that ought to account for the emotional and impulsive sides in a descendant; and, by the way, the Methodists are committed to the theory of hereditary influences by their Indiana historian, Rev. F. C. Holliday, who says: ''Our population is truly composite. Like some grand piece of mosaic, in which all the colors are united, to the obscuring of none and the enhancing of the luster of each, the typical Indiana man is dependent on every element for completeness, yet as a whole is dissimilar to any part. He is neither German, nor Scotch, nor Irish, nor English, but a compound of the whole. The conqueror of our forests and the plowman of our prairies is possessed of a spirit of personal independence that may be sharpened into insolence or educated into manly self-respect. Quite a number of the early public men of Indiana were men of high moral character, and not a few of them were men of decided piety; and they left their impress upon general society. * * * A high responsibility is devolved upon, and rare opportunities are enjoyed by, the men who lay the foundations of society, whether civilly, socially, or ecclesiastically. Society, like the individual, has its educational period during which it takes on those characteristics by which it is afterward distinguished and known. History teaches us that social and intellectual peculiarities are almost as transmissible as physical traits. John Knox yet lives in the Psalm-singing and rugged Calvinistic theology of Scotland. Every country furnishes illustrations of this truth; and that community is highly favored whose early leaders possessed the requisite intellectual, social, and moral qualities. A decidedly religious impression was made upon the minds of a large proportion of the early settlers in Indiana by the preaching of the Methodist itinerants, and the value of their services is recognized by men of all parties. Our itinerant system carried the means of grace to the remotest settlements, gathered people into societies in the country, as well as in the towns and villages, and went far toward molding the minds and morals of the people.''[23]

There is something striking in the originality of lines of literature of a number of Indiana authors. That one writer should do something

[23] Indiana Methodism, pp. 20-2.

out of the ordinary would not be especially noteworthy; but when George Ade accomplishes the very difficult task of striking a novel vein of humor; when Mrs. Gene Stratton-Porter opens a new field in her Limberlost stories; when Sarah Hutchins Killikelly makes an unique place in literature with her "Curious Questions," one begins to wonder whether there is not something more than mere individual talent in it. More remarkable than any of these is the separate sphere which Juliet Virginia Strauss—"the Country Contributor"—made for herself. It has been said that she is "the most read woman in the world," but she is more than that. She is more widely read than any American essayist has ever been, not even excepting Emerson. And what is more, her essays do not have their vogue on account of any special learning in unusual lines, which is the usual attractive feature of popular essayists. She wrote from her inner consciousness, and yet her essays are free from that egotism that makes writers like Madame Guyon or Marie Bashkirtseff tiresome to the average mind. In the history of the world, nobody ever wrote so much about the common things of everyday life, and held their readers. She was born at Rockville, Indiana, January 7, 1863, and received her education in the schools of that town, and from her mother, who was a woman of unusual culture and intelligence. When a miss of sixteen, she attracted the attention of John H. Beadle, then editor of the Rockville Tribune, by a school essay, and he encouraged her to write. She essayed local and feature work in the Tribune, but years passed before she found herself. In 1892 she began her column of "Squibs and Sayings" in the Tribune, which may be called her start in literary life. She next became a correspondent of the Indianapolis Journal; and in 1902 began her department in the Indianapolis News entitled "The Country Contributor," which had a record of a long letter every week, for sixteen years, discussing all phases of common life, with perpetual freshness and vigor, until her death, May 22, 1918. In 1906 the headline, "How Mother Gets Her Halo," over the report of an address given by her in Indianapolis, caught the eye of Mr. Edward Bok, editor of the Ladies' Home Journal, and reading the report satisfied him that he had found something worth while. Correspondence resulted in Mrs. Strauss becoming the editor of the department in the Ladies' Home Journal entitled "Ideas of a Plain Country Woman," and no department of the publication has contributed more than this to make it the most widely circulated woman's paper in the world. In 1908 a number of her essays were gathered and published in book form under this same title, "Ideas of a Plain Country Woman," and this has been republished in England. She is also the author of several stories and sketches—"A Girl in Old Virginia," "What Being a Woman Has

Mrs. Juliet V. Strauss

"The Country Contributor"

Meant to Me,'' and ''Chronicles of a Queer Girl''; and she was in extensive demand on the speaker's platform. She called herself a Socialist in politics and a Presbyterian in religion; but would probably be considered a Presbyterian by most Socialists, and a Socialist by orthodox Presbyterians—if indeed there are any of that class surviving. Perhaps she might appropriately be classed as a Rational Mystic; but whether classified or ranked *sui generis,* there is no question that her writing has the Hoosier characteristics of optimism and wholesomeness.

There is an interesting field for speculation as to the effects of physical causes on human development, in America, which has not been left unoccupied. Prof. Frederick Starr laid down the broad proposition that Asia made yellow men, Africa black men, Europe white men, and America red men. He enforced his doctrine as to America by a striking illustration, recalling that during the Civil War, there were three figures that were very common in caricature—the Yankee, of the ''Uncle Sam'' type, the ''Johnny Reb,'' and ''Johnny Bull.'' The first and second were similar in most of their physical characteristics—tall, lean, lank, with high cheek bones, dark complexions, and long, straight hair. Johnny Bull was short, stout, with round face, light complexion, and short curly hair. But it is only about three centuries since Johnny Bull made the two typical settlements in this country—New England and Virginia—of which the other two were the present ideals; and every step of difference is in the direction of the American Indian—tall, lean, lank, with high cheek bones, dark complexions, and long, straight hair. Prof. Starr pertinently asks, if this change has come in three centuries of civilized life, what might be expected if instead of living in close houses, wearing hats and clothing, eating cooked food, and washing their faces with soap at intervals, as well as bathing occasionally, they had like the Indians, lived in rude shelters, worn no head-covering and little clothing, used open fires with exposure to the smoke, eaten food largely uncooked, and covered their skins extensively with grease and paint, discarding soap entirely? Wendell Phillips added a theory of mental effects, in these words: ''From Massachusetts Bay back to their own hunting-grounds, every few miles is written down in imperishable record as a spot where the scanty, scattered tribes made a stand for justice and their own rights. Neither Greece, nor Germany, nor the French, nor the Scotch, can show a prouder record. And instead of searing it over with infamy and illustrated epithets, the future will recognize it as a glorious record of a race that never melted out and never died away, but stood up manfully, man by man, foot by foot, and fought it out for the land God gave him against the world, which seemed to be poured out over him. I love the Indian because there is something in the soil and climate that

made him that is fated, in the thousand years that are coming, to mould us." To "soil and climate," ethnologists add food, topographical environment, and some minor considerations. Whatever may be the cause, it is regarded as certain that when the inhabitants of any region, on the average, show any characteristics differing from those of their neighbors, there is some natural cause for it. Such things do not come by chance.

There are two noteworthy comments on the residents of Indiana, in this connection. The first was by Count Volney, who was perhaps the first ethnologist of his day, and whose theories were based on personal observation. He went up the Wabash when he visited this country, in 1796-7, and said of the Indians there: "They have a good soil, with finer maize, and greater plenty of game than are found east of the mountains. Hence it is that the natives are a stout well-formed race. The same may be said of the Shawnese, the stature of whose women astonished me more than their beauty."[24] The second comment came in connection with the celebrated measurements of soldiers of the Civil War under the direction of Dr. B. A. Gould. During the course of this he wrote to Adjutant General Terrell of Indiana: "One thing will certainly interest you—that it is evident from our statistics, that the Indiana men are the tallest of all the natives of the United States, and these latter the tallest of all civilized countries."[25] Dr. Gould also had some correspondence with Col. Colgrove, of the Twenty-Seventh Indiana concerning Company F of his regiment, in which, out of 101 men, there were 67 who were six feet tall, or more. This Company was recruited chiefly from the vicinity of Bloomington, with others from along the line of the Monon Railroad.[26] It was commanded by Captain Peter Kop, a Frenchman, who had served in the French army in Algiers and elsewhere, and after coming to this country had been in the employ of the New Albany & Salem Railroad Company. There were two series of the Gould measurements, and after the second he had to make a slight change in his conclusions, having found that the Union soldiers from Kentucky and Tennessee averaged taller than those of Ohio and Indiana, they being grouped in these two classes. Of the first class the average of 267 men measured was 68.53 inches, and of the second the average of 1,662 men was 67.74 inches. As is commonly known, the Union soldiers of Kentucky and Tennessee were chiefly mountaineers, and Gould refers to this as follows: "Among the tallest men of Kentucky, Tennessee and West

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[24] View of the Climate and Soil of the U. S., p. 360.

[25] Terrell's Report, Vol. 1, p. 110, Appendix.

[26] There were a dozen pioneers in Washington County of such size and strength that they were known as "the Washington County Giants." Hist. Wash. Co., Stevens, p. 646.

Virginia, are the dwellers upon the slopes of the Alleghenies; the Green Mountains of Vermont furnish a race of men among the tallest in the New England States; yet on the other hand the prairies and level fields of Indiana and Illinois afford a population of pre-eminent stature." In the later examinations the soldiers from Ohio and Indiana were reported separately, and the Indiana men were the taller. In his conclusions, Gould says: "That residence in the Western States, during the years of growth, tends to produce increase of stature, seems established; and the indications are strong that the same is the case with many of the Southern States. It would moreover appear that those States which show for their natives the highest statures, are those which tend most strongly to increase the stature of those who remove thither during the period of development. * * * The suggestion that calcareous districts, by furnishing a more abundant and continuous supply of lime for the bones while growing, promote their development, and thus tend to increase the stature, seems to afford a partial explanation for this phenomenon; but it gives by no means a complete solution of the problem, for the variations of stature are not by any means proportionate to the amount of calcareous formations near the surface of the soil."[27]

It is, of course, probable that ancestry had an influence in producing this result, for the stature of their forefathers attracted notice. Unfortunately, however, most of the comments of travelers are so indefinite as to be of little value. Thus, Morris Birkbeck writes, at Madison, Indiana, on July 7, 1818: "I have good authority for contradicting a supposition that I have met with in England, respecting the inhabitants of Indiana,—that they are lawless, semi-barbarous vagabonds, dangerous to live among. On the contrary, the laws are respected, and are effectual; and the manners of the people are kind and gentle to each other, and to strangers. An unsettled country, lying contiguous to one that is settled, is always a place of retreat for rude and even abandoned characters; and such, no doubt, have taken up their unfixed abode in Indiana. These people retire, with the wolves, from the regular colonists, keeping always to the outside of the civilized settlements. * * * Of the present settlers, as I have passed along from house to house, I could not avoid receiving a most favorable impression. * * * As to the inhabitants of towns, the Americans are much alike, as far as we have had an opportunity of judging. We look in vain for any striking difference in the general deportment and appearance of the great bulk of Americans, from Norfolk on the eastern coast, to the town of Madison in Indiana. The same good-looking, well-dressed (not what we call gentlemanly) men

[27] Sanitary Memoirs—published by the U. S. Sanitary Commission, pp. 126-32; and see tables at pp. 252 and 276.

appear everywhere. Nine out of ten, native Americans, are tall and long-limbed, approaching or even exceeding six feet; in pantaloons and Wellington boots, either marching up and down with their hands in their pockets, or seated on chairs poised on the hind-feet, and the backs rested against the walls. If a hundred Americans of any class were to seat themselves, ninety-nine would shuffle their chairs to the true distance, and then throw themselves back against the nearest prop. The women exhibit a great similarity of tall, relaxed form, with consistent dress and demeanour; and are not remarkable for sprightliness of manners."[28] This, apparently, merely classes the people of Indiana with other tall Americans. So Mrs. Trollope, in her account of her trip by boat up the Mississippi, evidently writes under the impression that all flat-boatmen were Kentuckians, though probably more of those she saw were from Indiana. She says: "The deck, as is usual, was occupied by the Kentucky flat-boat men, returning from New Orleans, after having disposed of the boat and cargo which they had conveyed thither, with no other labour than that of steering her, the current bringing her down at the rate of four miles an hour. We had about two hundred of these men on board. * * * Whatever their moral characteristics may be, these Kentuckians are a very noble-looking race of men; their average height considerably exceeds that of Europeans, and their countenances, excepting when disfigured by red hair, which is not unfrequent, extremely handsome."[29]

It would perhaps be considered an oversight to omit the presentation of education, in connection with the formation of character, although it may be doubted that mere book-learning, independent of moral education, has any material effect on character. Schools were neither numerous nor of good quality during the earliest period. They will be considered more fully elsewhere, and for present purposes, two quotations from observers will suffice. In 1817, William Darby wrote of Indiana: "Colleges and schools can scarce be considered to exist as public institutions; private schools are numerous, and increasing with the population." In 1827, Isaac Reed wrote: "The State is not districted; and the common schools are generally of a low character, when compared with the schools of the Northern States. Here and there is found a district, where the school is well supported, and well taught. The schools are nearly all taught by men. It is a rare thing to see a woman teaching school. There are a good many men of public education in the State, graduates from different colleges. There are many people of common school education; but there are also many men and many women, who cannot read

[28] Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers, p.177.

[29] Domestic Manners, p. 22-4.

at all. In Indianapolis there is a common school, on a fine plan, and well supported. There are a few academies in different parts, but they are not distinguished. There is one college in its incipient state, located at Bloomington. It is the State Seminary. It is taught by a Presbyterian minister, of superior attainments, and distinguished character. * * * I believe there are more men of public education in the professions of law and medicine, than would be expected abroad, in the State so young. The ministers also of the Presbyterian church are such men, and but few of the other denominations are such. Among the common people, many are found possessing much intelligence, and who, in older States, have been men of active business. The state of learning is also on the advance. But there are many of the people without even a common school education."

I am not certain what this learned Presbyterian minister means by "men of public education," though he seems to use the phrase as equivalent to "men of higher education," or "college graduates." There is, however, possibility of a large amount of education outside of schools, and the important feature of his statement is that there was a sprinkling of well educated men throughout the State, and this is unquestionably true. And the educational influence of such men, on the American frontier was much greater than is readily understood now. This is forcibly presented in an article published only twelve years after Reed wrote, in the New York Quarterly Review, for October, 1839. It may seem strange that at that time, anybody should be worrying about what effect Western literature would have on future generations, but that is what is considered in this article, by James H. Perkins, author of that interesting work, the "Annals of the West." Speaking of the educational influence of political newspapers, he says: "But though the newspapers do much, they do less than the spoken arguments of political candidates. The Western people have much of the old Greek fondness for *viva-voce* instruction, and were Herodotus among them, the best publication of his history would be a public recitation. In this manner we have known poems brought forward in Cincinnati, and there, as everywhere, and more than elsewhere, the disposition is to instruct by lectures which afterwards go to the press. Why this is so in the region in question, and through all our country and all Europe, is an inquiry well worth making, and would lead, we suspect, to some valuable views of the disposition of our age. In connection with it might be also considered the fact that we are again returning to the pictorial, the eye-addressing; so that in two great points we may be approaching, perhaps new developments of art; and leaving the abstract and invisible, may be again on the confines of ages which shall be marked by the love and production of the concrete,

audible and visible. However, into this inquiry we cannot enter; but may remark, in passing, that the signs of a revolution in art and literature, which shall aim at something like the Grecian character, are to be seen everywhere in the great valley of our land. Perhaps on her sunny plains and fertile slopes, art will once more be seen creative; the very activity, stir, and interest in outward things, which now marks us all, may be but that darkest moment, which is so dark because it immediately precedes daybreak. The political literature of the West, marking as does the religious, a people of action, a people every man of which has grown up to think himself called upon to take an interest and part in all governmental matters and every scheme of benevolence. There is none of that deadening influence working there, which weighs men down by the consciousness that so much wealth, or certain family connections, or a definite amount of education, must precede distinction, power, and wide spreading influence. On the contrary, the western man preeminently feels that he is independent, and may not only go whither he wills, but may be whatever he wishes, and has in himself the capacity to be. From this feeling of complete independence, come the excellences and defects of western character; as that turns, our hopes or fears will be realized. On the one hand, the true political freedom of our new states produces self-respect, self-dependence, hope, courage, faith, energy, activity, skill, industry, developed minds, wide views, general interests, manliness, and frank honesty; on the other side, stand pride, irreverence, want of sympathy, selfishness, absence of spirituality. Which of the two classes of results will predominate, God only knows. * * * The political literature wants to be Christianized; what is manly, bold, the result of impulse, is very sure to have the better of what is kind, humble, and the result of Christian principle."

The remarkable fulfillment of this prediction of art development in the present age of illustrated prints, moving pictures, phonographs, victrolas, etc., when the salesman uses photographs in selling his goods, and the reader expects illustration in his daily paper, is convincing that Mr. Perkins was an unusually close and discerning observer; and that his views are worthy of special attention.

It should also be noted in this connection that there has been a notable development of painting and sculpture in the Ohio Valley region, and that Indiana has had a creditable part in it. The earlier Indiana artists were immigrants, and most of them, like Thomas Worthington Whittredge, Barton S. Hays, J. M. Dennis, and J. O. Eaton, were birds of passage. Others, like Jacob Cox and George Winters remained and worked in Indiana. The first native of Indiana to attain celebrity was William Merritt Chase, who was born at Nineveh, Indiana, November 1,

1849. The State did not start seriously into art until 1877, when John W. Love and James F. Gookins opened their art school in Indianapolis, and it has been increasing in zeal ever since. The "Indiana Group," including Steele, Forsyth, Stark, Adams, Gruelle, Bundy, and others has attracted wide attention by painting local subjects. The most striking individual development in art, however, was Amalia Kuessner (Mrs. Charles duPont Coudert), who is the only Indiana artist who has won a world-wide reputation. She was born at Greencastle, March 26, 1873, but her parents removed to Terre Haute, and she is usually credited to that place. She was educated chiefly by a governess, at home, but attended St. Mary of the Woods for a time. She had been painting on china, and doing other decorative work, when, in 1890, her family met financial reverses, and she decided to undertake miniature painting. Her first work was in Chicago, where Charles Kern, formerly of Terre Haute, and a friend of her family, secured her an introduction to art patrons. Her success was such that in 1892 she went to New York, where she made miniatures the fashionable fad. In 1896 she went to London, where she painted the King and the leading nobility of Great Britain. In 1899 she was called to Russia to paint the Empress and Grand Duchesses; and in the same year to South Africa to paint Cecil Rhodes. She married July 3, 1900, and gave up active art work for domestic life.

One comprehensive statement of Mr. Perkins is as to the foreign literature that was then being read in the West, as follows: "Not a novel of any note comes from the London press, but may be met with everywhere, from Pittsburgh to the Yellow-Stone; from New Orleans to the falls of St. Anthony. Byron thought it something like fame to be read in America; but in our day it proves no merit in a writer, that his works circulate to the Rocky Mountains. The scandal of Lady Charlotte Bury, and the poor personalities of Lady Bulwer, may be found wherever readers are found in Western America. Most of this foreign literature comes from eastern publishers, and is, of course, the same with that circulated by them in the Atlantic states. But the works most widely circulated, whether foreign or American, belong to one of two classes—narrative or religious—stories of all kinds, biographies, or religious treatises. Large and cheap editions of the most popular histories are often published in the West. Josephus, Fox's History of the Martyrs, Gibbon's Rome, as edited by Guizot, and other works of cost and size, such as Rollin's History, are printed in Cincinnati, and elsewhere, in great numbers. A 'library,' containing Dick's Theology, Guizot's Gibbon, Napier's Peninsular War, and other standard histories and theological writings, has been published in Ohio, and its publishers have already circulated from

Mrs. Amalia Küssner Coudert

The World's Most Distinguished Living Medallion Painter
(From a drawing by the Marchioness of Granby)

two to four thousand copies of each of its various volumes. A few years since, twelve thousand of Fox's Martyrs were printed. Most of these works are stereotyped, and of course, every few years new editions are required to meet the increasing demand. The characteristic, as we have said, of the literature popular in the West, is either religious teaching, or exciting narrative. Works of mental or physical science, and even of natural history, do not sell largely. The chief reading of the stirring men of the West is that which relates to stirring men. Politics, the newspapers provide for all classes; science is slighted; western taste demands something which tells of men, of life, of battle, of suffering, of heroism, skill, and wisdom; or else something which addresses man's highest nature, his holiest and deepest feelings. The character of the foreign literature which is most popular in the Mississippi Valley, shows, in short, that men read there not as speculators and students, but as actors, as working men; it proves, also, that religion, in some aspect, occupies much of their thoughts. For the future, that literature foretells a free-thinking, strong-acting population; a people liable to excitement on deep questions, and to an excitement that will come out in deeds."

His summary is as follows: "Thus we see, the literature of the Great Valley presents us distinctly with many characteristics of the people that dwell there, and a vista into the fortunes of their descendants. In the first place, the people of the West are individual; every writer has something of his own, good and bad—every speaker is still more peculiarly himself—and most of all, every actor is so. There is no stereotype cast of character and thought; but rough, independent personality. In the next place, the people of that region are very independent, in this deep and fundamental sense: They feel that it rests with them to have law or anarchy; good morals, or none at all; to be religious or irreligious. Every man feels that he is free to be what he pleases, provided he break no law, and outrage no public feeling. Hence, if men obey God, it is that free obedience, that voluntary yielding of every power to His will, which is of all things to be desired. If men grow more and more civilized and law-supporting, it is not the action of a few controlling the mass, but action of the mass, guided by the few, in whom it trusts. If then we find order and right increasing, we may be sure it is on the broadest basis that they rest. In the third place, the people of the West are earnest. They are not drudges, they are not indifferent actors; but they are stirring, hopeful, faithful, enthusiastic. In the fourth place, they are impulsive. Principles of action, based on conscience enlightened by reason, are not common among them. They are impelled by conscience as it suggests honorable feeling, by self-

respect, by affection, by every form of passion. Lastly, they are strenuous in defence of their own and others' rights, but lukewarm in the inquiry after, and submission to, duty. Such are some of the leading features of these western people, as seen in the character of their intellectual cultivation."

This article was republished in The Hesperian, for November, 1839, which was a literary magazine published at Cincinnati, by Wm. D. Gallagher, with complaint that the writer had overlooked many Western publications, and especially that he had passed by "our imaginative and miscellaneous literature with a mere allusion, assigning as cause, that upon coming to this the writer found opening upon him a wider field of discussion than he could then enter." This was exasperating to Gallagher, who had been laboring for more than ten years in behalf of Western literature, and who was the original complainant of Eastern neglect of Western talent. In reality there was a large amount of home product, for nine-tenths, or more, of the original matter in the early newspapers was contributed, in the form of letters of one sort or another, with occasional poems, and fictitious stories. Poetry came at the start. At the Fourth of July celebration at Marietta, in 1789, the oration, by Return Jonathan Meigs, was in verse. But Marietta did not hold literary ascendancy. In 1858, in an address at Ohio University, Gallagher said: "The first literary center in the West was Cincinnati. There the first newspaper ever published in our great inland valley made its appearance on the 9th day of November, 1793. Cincinnati was then five years old, and contained about 500 inhabitants. The first book written and printed in the North-West was published at Cincinnati in 1809. Between the years 1811 and 1815, there were twelve books, averaging about 200 pages each, printed in the Queen City. In 1819 the North-West had its first literary journal. It was called the Literary Cadet, and appeared on the 22d day of November, in the year mentioned. Only twenty-three numbers of the Cadet were issued. In 1824 Cincinnati had a second literary paper, and it has had thirteen since, all of which are dead. * * * Within a period of ten years, counting backward and forward from 1830, there existed a literary circle of which Cincinnati was the center, which, as a whole, has never had a superior in America." This was the literary center for Indiana in the early period, chiefly in the way of reading Cincinnati publications, though of the twenty-seven writers named by Gallagher in his "literary circle," three were residents of Indiana. The first book of original verse published in the West was published at Cincinnati in 1819. It was by Gorham A. Worth, entitled "American Bards" and averred-

"From the shores of St. John, in the Province of Maine,
To the halls of St. Boone, in the West,
Her minstrels are heard; and strain after strain,
From the cities the mountains re-echo again,
Till at length mid the prairies they rest."

In 1821, there was a competition for a prize poem at Cincinnati, in which the second prize went to a poem, "The Banks of the Ohio, by a lady of Madison, Indiana." Unfortunately her name is not preserved. In 1841 Gallagher published a volume of 264 pages of The Poetical Literature of the West, in which he gives selections from 38 writers, three from Indiana. He was a vigorous protester against Eastern neglect of the West, and, in 1859, delivered an address at Ohio University in which numerous illustrations of it were given. But, in reality, the West had as yet produced very little that was worth while, nor had the East. Almost all of the books read in America were by English authors; for the simple reason that American publishers could "pirate" them at will, and did so. On March 23, 1808, the Vincennes Sun published a list of the 210 volumes in the Vincennes Library, and only two of them were by American authors. The two were Jefferson's "Notes on Virginia," and St. George Tucker's "Dissertation on Slavery," a very rare volume proposing the abolition of slavery in Virginia, which was reprinted in New York in 1861. The connection of these two volumes with the slavery question, which was then a live political issue in Indiana, is obvious, and their good effect unquestionable. Most of the books were of history, biography and travel, with considerable poetry, including a Shakespeare in 19 volumes—suggestive of the notable Thespian Society which flourished there a few years later. It was in this same year that Fisher Ames, the accomplished Federalist, declared that we should never have an American Literature until we got rid of democracy, saying: "Liberty has never lasted long in a democracy, nor has it ever ended in anything better than despotism. As soon as our emperor has destroyed his rivals and established order in his army, he will desire to see splendor in his court, and to occupy his subjects with the cultivation of the sciences." Four years later Edward Everett attributed the lack of an American Literature—at least a poetical literature—to the difficulty of handling native names, such as Massachusetts, Memphramagog, Ameriscoggin, and Connecticut; and American devotion to the practical, saying:

"Would he one verse of easy movement frame,
The map will meet him with a hopeless name;
Nor can his pencil sketch one perfect act
But vulgar history mocks him with a fact."

But Everett did not regard the prospect as entirely hopeless in a democracy, and came very near making a perfectly good prophecy, in—

> "Oh yes; in future days our western lyres,
> Tuned to new themes, shall glow with purer fires,
> Clothed with the charms, to grace their later rhyme,
> Of every former age and foreign clime.
> Then Homer's arms shall ring in Bunker's shock,
> And Virgil's wanderer land on Plymouth rock;
> Then Dante's knights before Quebec shall fall,
> And Charles's trump on trainband chieftains call.
> Our mobs shall wear the wreaths of Tasso's Moors,
> And Barbary's coast shall yield to Baltimore's.
> Here our own bays some native Pope shall grace,
> And lovelier beauties fill Belinda's place."

The truth is that American Literature was not yet born; and that interesting event cannot fairly be placed before the advent of Bryant's Thanatopsis, in 1817, followed closely by Irving's Sketch Book, in 1818, and Cooper's Spy, in 1822. At that time, Emerson, Whittier, Hawthorne and Longfellow were unknowns. It took the East three centuries to begin a literature. Indiana has lived little over a century.

The first book known to have been printed in Indiana was announced by the Vincennes Sun, on August 8, 1807, as follows: "For sale at this office, The Real Principles of Roman Catholics in reference to God & the Country, elucided with notes by the Rev. Steven Theodore Badin." Presumably, some of the Protestants who had been locating at Vincennes, among whom were a number of Masons, had been putting heretical arguments at the French settlers, and the village priest thought it advisable to furnish his flock with some ammunition. On the other hand, it may have been merely the religious influence of the Wabash; for Shea records that, although our settlements were much later than others in the West, the first priest ordained from the West was Anthony Foucher, who was christened at Post Ouiatanon, July 22, 1741, and ordained October 30, 1774.[30] But the French were the only old settlers of Indiana; and it took a few years for children to be born in the State, and grow to years of literary indiscretion. Most of the books of Indiana, except those brought in by the settlers when they came, were bought in Cincinnati. Then the enterprising book dealers began bringing in books in lots, and selling them at auction, the first of these at Indianapolis being held on January 13, 1825. The State's capital did not have a

[30] The Catholic Church in Colonial Days, p. 578.

bookstore of its own until 1833. The first native Hoosier to produce a book of any literary merit was Rev. James Cooley Fletcher, who was born at Indianapolis in 1823. His parents were cultured people from New England, not overly puritanical, and their home was well supplied with literature of all classes. His father, Calvin Fletcher, was a prominent lawyer, and a ready writer. He kept a diary all his life, which is said by those who have examined it to have much of the quality of that of Pepys, but without its weaknesses; and the few extracts from it that have been published confirm this opinion. But unfortunately his descendants have not sufficiently appreciated its literary merit to put it in print. Rev. James Cooley Fletcher went as a missionary to Brazil, in 1851; and in 1857, in conjunction with Rev. D. P. Kidder, published "Brazil and the Brazilians," which still ranks as an authority on that subject. He married a daughter of Rev. Caesar Malan, a noted Swiss divine; and his daughter, Julia Constance Fletcher, attained popularity under the pen-name "George Fleming," though her first successes, "Kismet" and "Mirage," were published anonymously, in the No Name Series.

But enough of literature—the Hoosier is prone to enlarge on that topic when he talks of Indiana. In that line, it seems clear that the natives of Indiana are marked by optimism, ingenuity and initiative; and if so the same qualities should show elsewhere. Is it not true that they show in the legislation of the State? Indiana ranks among the "progressive" states of the Union on that account, and the reason for her standing is illustrated by her charitable and correctional system, which is considered elsewhere; and also by her educational system. Indiana produced the greatest civil engineer of the last century; and what made him great but these qualities? There were many engineers who were more learned than Captain Eads. There were many who had better opportunities for securing the guidance of the beginnings of vast enterprises. He made his way to the front by the sheer force of his native originality and ingenuity. It was displayed not only in his notable achievements of devising caissons for work under the water, in the construction of the St. Louis bridge, and making the Mississippi clear its own channel through the jetties, but also in hundreds of other expedients for overcoming obstacles that arose in the way of his plans. His specialty was "doing things that can't be done"—that others regard as impossible. It is true that no other native of Indiana ranks with him in this preeminence as an engineer; but so in all nations, and all ages, some one individual has specially exemplified the qualities of the nation in a special degree. Similar qualities if less marked, may be found in thousands of industrial and business enterprises in the State.

Indeed, the more serious question is whether we do not devote too much of our attention to overcoming material obstacles for our higher welfare.

Senator David Turpie saw much of Indiana's change from the wilderness stage to one of high civilization. He writes: "The emigrants to the country now called Indiana, in that early period spoken of, having passed the last military outpost on their way and gone thence into the depths of the wilderness, were as wholly severed from the world as Columbus when he sailed upon his first voyage into the unknown waters of the western ocean. They were in a condition of extreme, almost total, isolation. They made their home in the midst of a vast forest, for the most part unexplored and uninhabited save by roving bands of Indians. * * * Solitude seldom broken, danger always imminent, shadowed their daily life and labor. * * * The founders of Indiana were, for the most part, emigrant from the thirteen original states, and they came hither in nearly equal proportion from the North and South. They were the best element of that hardy population which inhabited the long line of the old Colonial frontier extending from Maine to Georgia. Some of them were men of intellectual attainments and of classic education, everywhere welcomed and recognized as leaders in the new community. The much greater number were actuated by one dominant purpose, one salient ambition; this was to make for themselves and for their household larger and better homes. These pioneers in emigration, leaving their former domiciles, did not leave behind them their respect for law and order, their reverence for religion, or their love of civil and political liberty. All these they carried with them upon their journey. The early legislation and the first constitution of our state show in every line and sentence of the venerable text, how thoroughly they were imbued with those principles. These predecessors in our goodly heritage had the courage to leave a land of comparative comfort and security, fortitude to endure the hardships and dangers incident to such departure, self-reliance constant and unwavering, a fixity of purpose and integrity of life, which upheld their hands and hopes in what they had undertaken. They were a thoughtful people, slow to anger, quick neither to take nor to give offense, but prompt to resent insult or injury when offered. They were diligent in their work—but took their time in doing it; they depended more than we do upon the morrow for its completion, but they did complete it. They were very frank in conversation, kindly in social intercourse. Their manner of speech was plain, direct—to use their own phrase, home-spoken, but without coarseness or duplicity. * * *

"They cherished a faith sincere and simple, unobscured by the mirage of the higher criticism. Nearly all of them belonged to some

church communion; there was much difference of opinion on these subjects, but this caused no breach of brotherly kindness or of neighborly good will and courtesy. The creed and form of worship were as free as thought itself. Not a few of these men in the vanguard of civilization were very illiterate, being able neither to read nor write, yet they were not uneducated. They had learned some of the lessons of life and knew them better than the savants of Oxford or Cambridge, or the Pilgrim Fathers, with all their erudition. They had in a very free way wrought out their destiny in the wilderness. Mental, moral, political independence was their birthright. Our forefathers dwelling under this sky of the West were a chosen people who, without the visible guidance of the cloud or pillar, made a Christian solution of the problem that for ages had embroiled their ancestors in bloodiest warfare. Even in the infancy of this commonwealth or in the days of its youth and inexperience, there was no religious test either for office or the franchise. No Baptist was banished, no Quaker was scourged or held in durance, but every one worshiped God according to the dictates of his own conscience. If any man forebore either to believe or worship, he incurred thereby no statutory pains or penalties. The founders of our state passed beyond the line of religious toleration, they eliminated from their form of polity both persecution and its victim, and provided that martyrdom should be a thing impossible. * * * Political differences were freely dealt with and questions of public moment were thoroughly debated. The ballot was as free as the mode of worship. For many years there were no statutes against bribery or intimidation at elections. None was needed. The multiform enactments of later years indicate the sensitiveness of public opinion on this subject, as they may also mark somewhat of decadence in the purity of the franchise. * * * In that primitive age there was an innate honest simplicity of manners, as of thought and action. Fraud, wrong-doing and injustice were denounced as they are at present; they were also discredited, dishonored, and branded with an ostracism more severe than that of Athens. Wealth acquired by such means could not evade, and was unable to conceal, the stigma that attached to the hidden things of dishonesty. The moral atmosphere of the time was clear and bracing; it repelled specious pretensions, resisted iniquity and steadily rejected the evil which calls itself good. Moreover, there never has been a people who wrought into the spirit of their public enactments the virtues of their private character more completely than the early settlers of Indiana. We have grown up in the shadow of their achievements; these need not be forgotten in the splendor of our own."[31]

[31] Sketches of My Own Times, pp. 50-6.

Better, indeed, if they were not only remembered, but often contemplated as lessons of private and public rectitude. We can never have cause to blush for our ancestors. They have made their records, and there is no condemnation for them. Well for us if we shall measure up to the standard of their virtues. Well for the State, if we can say, with William Vaughn Moody—

> "We are our fathers' sons: let those who lead us know!
> * * * O ye who lead,
> Take heed!
> Blindness we may forgive, but baseness we will smite."